March 3, 1959

Dr. Samuel Proctor
President
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dr. Proctor:

At our recent meeting at Atlanta University, you suggested that I send you background memoranda on two phases of the Council's program -- aid to the state councils on human relations and SRC's potentialities for public interpretation through the press and other media. I noted that you wanted these by about March 15.

Enclosed is the first of the two memos, this one concerning the state councils. It is no doubt too long for your purposes, but I thought you should have at least a brief description of each state group.

I hope to get the second memorandum off to you within a few days.

Many thanks for your willingness to have the SRC's needs considered. And, quite apart from our special interests, if I can be of any assistance to you in completing your mission, call on me.

Best personal regards to you and to Dean Henderson.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

March 3, 1959

To: Dr. Samuel Proctor
Virginia Union University

From: Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council

Re: STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Since the early days of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the 1920's, there have been state and local interracial groups across the South. Prior to 1954 they were mainly unstaffed voluntary groups with little sustained program activity. A grant from the Fund for the Republic in that year enabled the Southern Regional Council to give these state groups unprecedented financial and program assistance. Today, there are staffed human relations councils -- some with active local affiliates -- in eleven Southern states.

The Southern Regional Council continues to maintain a close, cooperative relationship with the state councils. The special grant from the Fund for the Republic has been exhausted. In addition to program services, however, the Council still provides such financial assistance as it can from its general budget, since for all the state groups fund-raising is difficult. Yet they have the unique advantage of being independent organizations with leadership and program tailored to their particular state situations. In a region as diverse and as subject to provincial suspicions as the South, this pattern has great assets.

The basic argument for support of the state councils is that they are instruments through which whites and Negroes can meet, communicate, and work together for democratic goals. In many of the states, they are the only organizations about which that can be said. They are, in fact, pilot demonstrations of those attitudes and processes which the South must learn, however gradually and painfully.

Many disinterested but knowledgeable persons have testified to the importance of the state councils and their local affiliates. As Martin Luther King said of one of them in Stride Toward Freedom:

> As the only truly interracial group in Montgomery, (the Council on Human Relations) served to keep the desperately needed channels of communication open between the races. Men often hate each other because they do not know each other; they do not know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated. In providing an avenue of communication, the Council was fulfilling a necessary condition for better race relations in the South.

Following is a brief description of each state group.

ALABAMA. Here, a dedicated interracial group, The Alabama Council on Human Relations, belies in its very existance the claims of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens' Council that all interracial activities in the state have been stopped. The Alabama Council has been instrumental in creating a state-wide interracial ministers group which meets twice a year. It has been constructively active in numerous crisis situations including the Autherine Lucy incident at the University of Alabama, the bus protest in Montgomery, and the bombings in Birmingham.

The Executive Director is Robert Hughes, courageous and dedicated thirty-year-old Methodist minister, who serves by appointment of his bishop. The state Chairman is Dr. Wilton Gregory, head of the Alabama Methodist Board of Education.

ARKANSAS. During the Little Rock crisis, Mrs. Daisy Bates, state President of the NAACP, described the Arkansas Council as "the only place where whites and Negroes meet on friendly grounds." The Arkansas Council sponsored a workshop for seven district school superintendents from the western part of the state; it was staffed by two superintendents from desegregated districts of the neighboring states of Missouri and Oklahoma. The Council played a major role in keeping the story straight with correspondents who were on the scene during the Little Rock crisis.

Nat Griswold, former long-time staff member of the AFSC Peace Commission, is Executive Director. The Associate Director is John Walker, young Negro political scientist. The immediate past Chairman is Rev. C. S. Cartwright, author of numerous articles on the Little Rock crisis.

FLORIDA. The Florida Council has gained quasi-official recognition from county and municipal governments for its work in the Greater Miami area. It has conferred steadily with school and other public officials on human relations problems. It completed a survey showing the needs of Latin American farm workers. It plans a state-wide conference on violence-prevention, which has the endorsement of the governor.

Bill Williams, the Executive Director, is an ordained Methodist minister, native of Texas, and a graduate of the public schools of Palm Beach County, Florida. The state Chairman is Dr. Hal G. Lewis of the University of Florida's School of Education.

GEORGIA. The Georgia Council has been one of the few sane voices in a state where official power has been used ruthlessly to stifle dissent. The Council led the fight to protect the freedom of speech of teachers when they were under serious attack by the segregationists. Its Atlanta affiliate worked effectively for voluntary desegregation of airport facilities and public library services. A number of the ministers who originated the widely hailed "manifestoes" are active participants in the Georgia and Atlanta Councils.

The Executive Director of the Georgia Council is Walter Cowart, a respected Methodist clergyman. The Administrative Secretary, Mrs. Luesta Knox, was an aide of one of Georgia's few liberal governors. The Chairman is McDowell Richards, President of Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Georgia.

KENTUCKY. The Kentucky Council in 1955-56 worked with state and local school officials in planning and implementing school desegregation; it is currently working on teacher integration. It is also carrying on extensive efforts in the area of merit employment. Dr. Omer Carmichael, in The Louisville Story, written with Weldon James, credits the Kentucky Council with having helped prepare Louisville for peaceful desegregation.

The Kentucky Council now uses consultants -- specialists in a wide variety of fields -- rather than full-time staff.

The state Chairman is Dr. Rufus Atwood, President of Kentucky State College.

LOUISIANA. The Louisiana Council is concentrating its efforts in New Orleans, feeling that this will produce the best results. The Council has sponsored public meetings supporting law and order, assisted in preparing the community for the peaceful acceptance of desegregation of the New Orleans public transportation system, and has worked closely with Loyola University's Industrial Relations Institute and with faculty members at Dillard and Tulane Universities.

Miss Mary Raymond, Executive Secretary, is the former Director of the New Orleans Council of Social Agencies. Father Eugene McManus is immediate past President of the Louisiana Council.

NORTH CAROLINA. The North Carolina Council has established correspondence or personal contact with more than 150 public school officials over the state, supplying them with materials and advice. It played an effective part in the initial desegregation of schools in several North Carolina cities. It cooperates with the American Friends Service Committee, the Urban League, and the NAACP on merit employment projects. It plans a state-wide conference on the International Implications of American Race Relations this spring.

Harry Jones, formerly with the National Conference of Christians and Jews, is Executive Director. The state Chairman is Dr. Raymond Wheeler, physician, of Charlotte.

SOUTH CAROLINA. The South Carolina Council is the only state-wide interracial organization. It works quietly to rally and encourage the hard-pressed liberals and moderates in this difficult state. It helped to distribute to key persons in the state the moderate South Carolinians Speak. It has assisted clergymen, professors, and school teachers caught up in the desegregation controversy.

Mrs. Alice Spearman, an experienced civic leader, serves as Executive Director. She is from a respected, old-line South Carolina family. The state Chairman is Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina.

TENNESSEE. The Tennessee Council has just reorganized its Board and secured the services of Miss Louise Young,

long-time Scarritt College professor, as Executive Director. During the initial period of public school desegregation in Nashville, it assisted in interpreting the process to key people in the capital city. It has used consultants to advise with school and other public officials in eastern and middle Tennessee. It plans to strengthen and make more effective local groups in Memphis, Knoxville, and Chattanooga.

The state Chairman is Walter Sharp, professor of Fine Arts at Vanderbilt University, a member of one of Tennessee's oldest families.

TEXAS. The Texas Council has assisted public school officials in planning desegregation in west and Southern Texas. It has sponsored workshops on the role of religious leaders in times of social transition. It has set up cooperative interagency efforts in Dallas and Austin; it is in the process of doing the same in Houston.

The Rev. Edwin Kloppe, Evangelical and Reformed clergyman, is the Executive Director. Mrs. James Crate, widow of an oilman and former President of the state Council of Church Women, is the Chairman.

VIRGINIA. Virginia has been described as an upper-South state with a deep South posture -- a position difficult to maintain. Thus, the Virginia Council is in a strategic position to help effect the contested change to a desegregated society. The local Council in Charlottesville has held a series of public forums dealing with the legal, the sociological, the psychological, and the economic aspects of desegregation. There are also active locals in Arlington, Richmond, Fairfax County, Lynchburg, and Prince William County. It has played an active role in marshaling public opinion in favor of reopening the schools in Charlottesville, Front Royal, and Norfolk. Its Board members participate in the Committees to Preserve the Public Schools in those communities. It enjoys the confidence of liberal white and Negro leaders throughout the state.

Paul Rilling, former professor at the University of Alabama and recently with the regional staff of the YMCA, serves as Executive Director. The state Chairman is Rev. Hubert Beckwith of the Fairfax County Congregational Christian Church.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

March 13, 1959

To: Dr. Samuel Proctor
Virginia Union University

From: Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council

Re: SRC's POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC INFORMATION.

John Popham, the well known Southern journalist, recently wrote in the New York Times Magazine: "In their preoccupation with the drama of desegregation and resistance, Southerners and non-Southerners alike see events in imagery that fits the South of song and fable. They seem to be guided by a composite stereotype that stems from a melange of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' 'Gone With the Wind,' and 'Tobacco Road.' Before we can understand the true nature of what is happening to the Negro we must clear up these misconceptions."

Popham might well have added that these misconceptions stem in large part from the deliberate myth-making and irrationalism of extreme segregationists, in both public and private life, who command prominent attention in the mass media.

What is needed is a program of "massive" public education aimed at dispelling the racist myths, the nightmare images of integration, the real but unjustified anxieties which the prospect of social change has aroused in the South.

Over the years, the Southern Regional Council has been best known perhaps for the facts and interpretation presented in its own publications and through its informational services to private organizations, official agencies, and the press. But to make a basic difference in the vast output of the press, radio, and television is a mammoth undertaking. It calls for a large-scale effort carried on with professional skill and with complete disregard for the usual requirements of organizational "credit."

We believe that both the skill and the technique required have been amply demonstrated by the Council's past performance. With additional resources -- and the personnel that such resources would make possible -- the Council could increase its impact in the field of opinion-making many times over. Following is a summary account of the Council's performance in the information field, which suggests the potential for a much expanded effort.

As the integration controversy has mounted in intensity, the Council's function as a source of authoritative information has grown commensurately. Representatives of virtually every major national publication and many Southern newspapers are in frequent touch with us through personal visits, long-distance telephone, or correspondence. We are similarly called upon by staff members of such agencies as the Commission on Civil Rights, and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Magazines of national circulation not only consult us for information, but also ask our detailed help in evaluating and planning articles on the South. The same is true, to a lesser degree, of television, radio, book publishers and authors. Other organizations concerned with human relations seek from us the kind of analysis that will assist them in planning and carrying out meaningful programs in the South. Attached are comments on SRC's efforts from some of these persons.

In addition to answering these many requests for information, SRC has attempted to anticipate needs which may arise. It was from such planning that the Council had available in 1957 a detailed study of Negro registration and voting in the Southern states. This material, used extensively by members of Congress and the Department of Justice as well as by the press, was available from no other source private or public. This project, now being revised and updated, is one of several continuing surveys maintained by the Council.

On occasion there is also a need for rapid collection and dissemination of information. In 1957 before the Supreme Court handed down its bus desegregation decree in Montgomery, Alabama it was felt desirable to remind Montgomery, the South, and indeed the nation, that bus desegregation could be accomplished peacefully. The SRC staff made a spot survey and found that twenty-odd Southern cities had quietly and successfully integrated their public transportation systems. Within sixty hours after this idea was conceived the information was carried in virtually every newspaper in the South and many elsewhere.

Of course not all information is intended for general use. In 1958 the Council commissioned Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted child psychologist, to spend some time in Little Rock assessing the effect of the crisis in that city on the nine Negro students in Central High School. From this study an article was published in New South. Dr. Clark's detailed findings, however, were made available to selected persons and agencies that wished to use the results of the study in their program planning, persons responsible for children who might face similar situations, and trusted newspapermen whose understanding of the situation would be helped by the information.

As might be expected, many informational services are performed without any public attribution, since the Council finds its reputation for discretion indispensable in dealing with the press, government agencies and others.

While the collection and dissemination of factual information is extremely important, we feel the Council's role in interpretation and analysis is an equally important information function. Facts in themselves, especially in so complex an area as race relations, are seldom adequate. Quite often the release of facts without comment, however commendable as attempts at objectivity, create confusion rather than clarity. One need only glance at much of the reporting in the general press to realize the need for understanding as well as statistics. The Council provides information with interpretation and analysis in Special Reports and other publications and through individual consultation with reporters, editors, commentators, and others.

Usually these services are provided on request. Occasionally an effort is made to stimulate interest in this service. For instance, during 1957 SRC felt that television coverage of conditions in Little Rock was inadequate, overemphasizing violence and omitting proper background. As a result, in the Summer of 1958 prior to school opening, SRC held in New York a background and briefing session for the directors of news and public affairs for NBC, CBS, and ABC. Knowledgeable persons from communities likely to be in the news were brought to the meeting, detailed interpretation was provided, and some of the common misconceptions were dispelled.

As an indirect result of these services the Council is frequently able to draw attention to events which might otherwise go unnoticed. Having appropriate coverage in the right media at the right time can be a valuable method of programming. An example was the expose' of violence and discrimination in Terrell County, which appeared in the Washington Post. The national attention which this story provoked has stimulated efforts at corrective action by Federal agencies and the Congress.

New South, the Council's monthly magazine is circulated to some 5,500 persons. A substantial portion of this circulation reaches Southern newspaper editors and other opinion-makers, who draw on its contents for their own activities in the public opinion field.

Staff and Operation:

All of the Council's staff shares to some degree the work involved in these functions. The staff devoted exclusively to these operations consists of three professional and four clerical persons and occasional consultants. The new Director of Research is Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, formerly on the faculties of Mount Holyoke College and Emory University. John Constable, formerly editor of a Georgia weekly, and for several years an Atlanta Constitution reporter, is Director of Information.

The Council's reference files, under the direction of Miss Marge Manderson, Research Associate, serve as the nucleus of the fact-finding and research operation. These files consist of some 300,000 clippings, pamphlets and other pertinent materials. Each month some 1,500 items are added from 40 Southern and national newspapers, magazines, and like sources. Appropriate copying and microfilm equipment is available to make maximum use of these materials.

We are well aware that the Council's information efforts meet only a fraction of the need. But we do feel that they suggest a potential which should be developed. We know of no other source that can claim Southern origins and insights and can offer similar experience and skills in this field.

SOME COMMENTS ON SRC's INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

"...the Council has earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual material." -- Editorial in the Atlanta Constitution - (2/1/57).

"The report of the Southern Regional Council that 21 cities in Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas and Tennessee have done away with bus segregation without court action is more important, actually, than the accounts of friction in other communities. For this is the way in which effective desegregation will come to the South." -- Editorial in the Washington Evening Star - (1/8/57).

"I can't begin to thank you for the kindnesses and help you gave me ten days ago. Thanks to you, a bunch of then inchoate impressions I had fell into place and continued to stay that way for the rest of the trip.... There and elsewhere through the South your name was an open sesame." -- Letter from Alfred W. Friendly, managing editor, Washington Post and Times-Herald - (3/20/57).

"Thank you so much for the copies of 'The Negro Voter in the South' which you recently sent us. As you probably know... it has created considerable interest on the Hill, and our copies are all now in heavy use." -- Letter from Charles A. Goodrum, Legislative Reference Librarian, The Library of Congress - (8/1/57).

"Thank you so much for the use of this material and the other assistance on the Ku Klux Klan story. I hope I can be of as much help to you some day." -- Letter from Clark R. Mollenhoff of LOOK Magazine - (3/22/57).

"This is to acknowledge with deepest thanks the material... for use in connection with our communication developed around the Little Rock situation. I wish I could tell you how very valuable every piece of the material will be... as we try to present an honest, and yet helpful picture to our friends abroad." -- Letter from Dorothy I. Height, YWCA National Board - (11/15/57).

"The special reports the Southern Regional Council has been distributing are most useful. I note they have been used in some notable places." -- Letter from Claude A. Barnett, director, Associated Negro Press - (9/11/57).

"The Council in my judgment serves two important functions that no other agency in the region is capable of. It remains a rallying point for moderate white Southern opinion, and keeps open essential channels of communication between the races... It also provides an indispensable source of factual information on every

aspect of the race problem; the Council's resources have prevented many a distortion in the local and national press, helped correct many that did find their way into print." -- Letter from Harry S. Ashmore, editor, Arkansas Gazette - (2/14/58).

"Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice." -- Letter from Senator Paul H. Douglas - (8/26/57).

"(The Council) fills a unique place... I think you can well understand that in a region where there is so much sound and fury it is necessary to have some organization which, year in and year out, can assemble the facts and keep them before the public." -- Letter from Ralph McGill, editor, Atlanta Constitution - (2/11/58).

"I would like to request that the Nashville Tennessean Library be placed on your permanent mailing list for all reports... These reports are extremely valuable as sources of reference for our editorial and reportorial staffs." John R. Parrish, Jr., Chief Librarian, The Nashville Tennessean - (4/29/58).

"I am always eager to have publications by the Southern Regional Council and I hope that my name will remain a permanent fixture on your mailing list." -- Melvin L. Bergheim, Project Director, Governmental Affairs Institute - (11/28/58).

"....New South [is] an excellent magazine dedicated to saving the South from destroying itself by clinging to the shabby myths of the 19th Century." -- Harry W. Ernst of the Charleston (W.Va.) Gazette - (9/29/58).

"The Southern Regional Council's influence and leadership has done much to prepare a climate of opinion favorable to interracial justice." -- Catholic Interracial Council News Service - (10/16/58).

"...special thanks for your courtesy and helpfulness to our Research Department at the time the article (on Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield) was being checked." -- Sterling W. Zisler, The Readers Digest - (6/2/58).

"For years the statistics of white and Negro voting, carefully compiled and published by the biracial Southern Regional Council, have offered clear proof of discrimination." -- Douglas Cater in The Reporter Magazine,-(1/22/59).

"...I cover this situation (race relations) from a news standpoint more than any other reporter in the country. The Southern Regional Council is the one great outfit on the scene." -- Letter from John N. Popham, former New York Times Southern correspondent, now Executive Managing Editor, Chattanooga Times.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

SAMUEL DEWITT PROCTOR, PRESIDENT
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 24, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you kindly for your memorandum of March 3rd. This will help me greatly in achieving wider perspective on some of the answers that we are looking for in the South's dilemma.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel D. Proctor

Samuel D. Proctor
President

SDP:lyj

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

November 8, 1959

Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, President
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Dr. Proctor:

Your letter of the 6th has been received in the absence of Mr. Fleming. However, he has been reached by phone and requests that we inform you that he will be in the office on November 13th at 10 a.m. and will be most happy to see you and Dr. Henderson at that time.

We very much regret that you are not able to be with us on the 10th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

SAMUEL DEWITT PROCTOR, PRESIDENT
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 6, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Perhaps that by this time you have received my second letter expressing regret and embarrassment that I cannot be present at the Board meeting because of other commitments that will not permit me to leave the campus for those days.

However, something else of tremendous import has developed and I need to talk with you at the earliest possible moment. It involves a survey that I have been asked to make by the General Education Board. There is much more that I would like to tell you on this but it would not be good to write it, far better to discuss it face to face at the earliest possible moment.

Dr. Thomas H. Henderson, Dean of the College at Virginia Union University, and I will be in Atlanta for a meeting at 2:30 on November 13th. Is it possible that you may be available to us at 10 a. m. on the morning of November 13th for conference for 30-45 minutes?

Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience because we will have to ask for another time if this is not convenient.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel D. Proctor

Samuel D. Proctor

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

File

Board

TELEPHONE 273-1773

THE AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL
COLLEGE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 27, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your statement of July 21. I know that you will render inspired leadership for the Southern Regional Council. I am willing to do whatever I can to help your work succeed.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel D. Proctor

Samuel D. Proctor
PRESIDENT

SDP/d

February 21, 1962

Dr. Samuel Proctor
President
North Carolina A. & T. College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Proctor:

This is a belated note of congratulations to you on your appointment as Peace Corps representative in Nigeria. I wish you great success and hope from time to time you will let us, at the Council, hear from you and your interesting work.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Feb. - Personal queries

TELEPHONE 273-1773

THE AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL
COLLEGE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 27, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It was kind of you to express to me the good wishes regarding my Peace Corp assignment in Nigeria. It is gratifying to know that I carry with me your concern for the success of this work.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel D. Proctor

Samuel D. Proctor
PRESIDENT

ljm

MA-
pls copy for
personal
manual
sent: 11-27-62

UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS

P.O. BOX 554
LAGOS, NIGERIA

November 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am honored to know that I have been elected to the Council to a term expiring in 1966. I am sure that my present experience will confer greater wisdom and afford more disciplined thinking in this whole area.

Give my kind regards to friends whom you may see from time to time, especially Al Dent, Luther Foster, Tom Young and Irving Carlyle.

Cordially,

Sam

Samuel D. Proctor

File Proctor, Samuel

MEMORANDUM April 23, 1964

TO: NM & JS

FROM: MMJ

Dr. Samuel D. Proctor (SRC Board member) at A. & T. College in Greensboro, has again left the College as its President to go with the Peace Corps. Would you please see that he remains on our mailing lists (to be addressed at the Peace Corps, Washington, D. C.) and removed from our Board LIST.

PEACE CORPS

Washington, D. C. 20525

April 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I understand that I must defer further membership on the Board of the Southern Regional Council until I return to the South. I will continue to think and speak highly of the efforts that you are making toward understanding and toward effecting that climate in which brotherhood and equality may best thrive.

Warmest personal regards and best wishes for every success.

Most cordially,

Sam

Samuel D. Proctor
Associate Director

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 12

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 28, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your letter of February 23 reporting on the meeting of the Southern Regional Council last week. I shall be very happy to accept the second vice presidency and shall do my best to attend as many of the meetings as possible. With regard to the presidency, I just do not see how I could undertake any additional responsibilities at the present time. I sincerely hope that Bishop Moore will accept.

Very cordially yours,

Homer P. Rainey

Homer P. Rainey, President

HPR/eh

November 28, 1944

Dr. Homer P. Rainey
108 West 27th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Dr. Rainey:

I want to say a word by way of admiration and condolence — admiration for your courage in fighting the group of politicians of the Board of Regents who were determined to "get" you and condolence for what this situation means for the liberal cause and the progress of liberal education in our native state of Texas.

I hope that this crisis will be the signal for a reaction toward decency such as took place in Georgia following Governor Talmadge's effort to sabotage the University system. Does there seem to be any hope? If there is anything which I can do personally, or which this Council can do toward the restoration of academic freedom and fair play at the University of Texas we are eager to do it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

An Educational Crisis

. . . A SUMMARY
OF TESTIMONY BEFORE A SENATE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS CONTROVERSY

November 15-28, 1944

SENATE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

Senator Penrose Metcalfe of San Angelo, Chm.; Senator A. M. Aiken, Jr., of Paris; Senator Pat Bullock of Snyder; Senator Wardlow Lane of Center; and Senator G. C. Morris of Greenville.

WITNESSES

Regents: Orville Bullington of Wichita Falls; D. F. Strickland of Mission; W. Scott Schreiner of Kerrville; H. J. Lutcher Stark of Orange; Mrs. I. D. Fairchild of Lufkin.

Dr. Homer Price Rainey, deposed president of The University of Texas.

Dr. J. Alton Burdine, vice-president of The University of Texas.

Faculty Members: Dr. Frederic Duncalf; Dr. Walter Prescott Webb; Dr. E. E. Hale; Dr. Clarence E. Ayres; Prof. J. Frank Dobie; Roy Bedichek; Dr. C. T. Stone and Dr. Raymond L. Gregory (Medical School).

Ex-Students: W. H. Francis of Dallas, president, and Robert Lee Bobbitt of San Antonio, vice-president, Ex-Students Association; and J. R. Parten of Houston, former chairman of the Board of Regents.

Also: Col. Homer Garrison, director of the Texas State Department of Public Safety; and Ralph E. Himstead, executive secretary of the American Association of University Professors, Washington, D. C.

THE INVESTIGATION

The hearing was called for 1:30 p. m. Wednesday, Nov. 15, but a recess was called until a ruling could be obtained from the Attorney General on whether the committee had the authority to conduct the hearing, following a protest by Lt. Gov. John Lee Smith.

The Attorney General ruled that the committee did have authority to make the investigation. Accordingly the hearing proceeded Thursday, Nov. 16, through Saturday, Nov. 19; Monday and Tuesday, Nov. 21-22; and Monday and Tuesday, Nov. 27-28. The committee has recessed pending call of the chairman.

CONTENTS

A. Rumors and Charges
   1. Communism
   2. Race
   3. Immorality
   4. Political Connections
B. Underlying Causes of the Controversy
   1. Academic Freedom
      Specific Examples
      a. Tenure
      b. Economics instructors
      c. Political interference
   2. University Administration
      a. General statements
      b. The Medical School controversy
C. The Emergency
D. Possible Remedies

PURPOSE OF THIS SUMMARY

Perhaps the most prevalent question in Texas—or wherever Texans gather at the crossroads of the world—is "What *is* the truth about the University of Texas controversy?"

In an effort to "get at the bottom" of the controversy, a Senate Investigating Committee held a hearing in Austin during the last two weeks of November, at which all principals in the controversy and other witnesses who felt they had contributions to make were invited to testify. Each was given the opportunity to make whatever statement he wished, then was questioned by members of the Senate Committee.

To give the facts in the situation to interested citizens of Texas, who have the welfare of the University of Texas at heart, herewith is presented a brief summary of the testimony submitted to the committee. Inasmuch as the official transcript, when completed, will be quite voluminous, this pamphlet represents only the core of the testimony in condensed form.

RUMORS AND CHARGES

As is the case in all controversies, numerous rumors, charges, personal innuendoes, and other "red herrings" have arisen to cloud the main issues.

Some of these outright or implied charges are that Dr. Homer P. Rainey, deposed president of the University, is a Communist — a rumor that has circulated periodically almost ever since he assumed the presidency — and that the University is "full of" Communism; that Dr. Rainey wants to bring Negro students into the University; that he was negligent in eradicating immorality at the University; that he was a New Deal office-holder before coming to the University; and, lately, that he "approves" of the sordid passages in the book, USA. Another "red herring" is that the American Association of University Professors is seeking to "dictate" to Texas.

All of these charges were answered, either by Dr. Rainey himself, by University faculty members, or by the Regents themselves in their testimony before the Senate Committee.

Communism

W. H. Francis — . . . Dies kept circulating reports (about Communism at the University). Rainey told him to "put up or shut up" and he shut up. The air has been full of rumors of that kind that have been vicious against the school and the student body.

D. F. Strickland — I've had neighbors complain their children came home Communists. I've had students tell me they were taught Communism. . . . I talked to Rainey. He said the University had had the Dies Committee investigate, and they didn't find any. . . . I am unable to produce any myself.

Dr. J. Alton Burdine, Vice-President — (Judge Strickland) said someone had told him there were 1,000 Communists at the University. He said he thought that figure was too high. I said I thought it was too high too — I'd boil it down to about a dozen pinkish students with Utopian dreams. I said if I knew a member of the faculty who was an out-and-out Communist, I'd want to get rid of him as quick as he — or Fascist either. I told him we'd cooperated and checked with Federal and government agents. . . . I told him we were trying to keep subversive activity out.

Q. Have you made any investigation of Communism?

Burdine — No, but I've checked with the proper government agencies.

Q. Do you think Communism is being taught?

Burdine — I believe if it were being preached, we'd get specific complaints. . . . We've not had a single specific complaint.

Q. Do they teach what Communism means?

Burdine — Government is my field. The underlying philosophy of Communism, Fascism and Democracy, taught objectively, is helpful to students. To explain them objectively is not preaching.

Q. You wouldn't fire a teacher for teaching the principles of Communism objectively?

Burdine — That's education. You can't solve any problem by closing your eyes.

Dr. Frederic Duncalf, professor of history — There is no Communism in the University. Ours is a conservative faculty.

Dr. Walter Prescott Webb, professor of history — I'll tell you how Communism comes up. You have to make some allowance for youth. They go to classes and hear lectures — sometimes read — have bull sessions. They get to imagining things — go through a set of mental gymnastics. . . . then when they've been out of school a few years, they'll be good conservatives. . . . I think everything about the University ought to be known. . . . There is no Communism.

Dr. E. E. Hale, professor of economics —

Q. Have you known anyone to teach Communism at the University of Texas?

Dr. Hale — No. I teach the theories of various forms of government, but never as a student or faculty member have I known anyone who advocated Communism.

Dr. Clarence E. Ayres, professor of economics —

Q. Do you know of any teacher advocating the overthrow of the government?

Dr. Ayres — No. . . . I think I can say there is no such person in the social science departments. We have heard these rumors and resent them intensely.

J. Frank Dobie, professor of English — A Fascist is a dictator who controls or tries to control everybody — mentally, socially, economically. A Communist is one who doesn't believe in private ownership. . . . Most people don't know what a Communist is. This hysteria . . . is founded in distrust of Democracy — motivated by powerful interests. . . . A great deal of talk of isms is based not on distrust of Communism but on distrust of Democracy.

J. R. Parten — It was in May, as I recall, of 1940 that I read in the papers the charge of Congressman Martin Dies that there was communist activity at the University. As Chairman of the Board of Regents, I challenged his statement and by letter asked Congressman Dies to give to the Board of Regents some help on this matter as we were then investigating alleged subversive activity at the University and had found no substantiating evidence. . . . It was not until some time the following year, after much insistence that evidence be produced, that Congressman Dies, by a news release at Houston, gave the University a clean bill of health.

R. L. Bobbitt — Regent Strickland will not deny that he has related on numerous occasions throughout the State that Dr. Rainey permitted "Communism to be taught" and Communists to remain upon the faculty; that Dr. Rainey was a "Negro-lover," and yet when he is placed on the witness stand by this committee, under oath, he admits that he has no facts to back up such slanders and slurs directed at the President and which, of course, result in damage and injury to the University itself.

Homer Price Rainey — I have been called a Communist. I have no interest in Communism. It doesn't have anything to compare with our Democracy. I am not in sympathy with Communism. . . . I regard myself as a liberal Democrat in the sense the term was used in the 19th century, as Woodrow Wilson used it. I hold to two sets of principles — one is the principle of Christianity, the other is the principle of Democracy. . . . Democracy is caught between Fascism and Communism — that's the problem I see ahead. . . . I'm a liberal Democrat — I want neither of the two extremes.

Racial Equality

Strickland — I told him (Dr. Rainey) I heard he presided over a large mass meeting of Negroes and whites. . . . was elected president and declined after consulting with the Board. . . . He made a speech at the University of New Mexico in which he said there were two battles in this country, . . . the second to break down race barriers.

"I assume you refer to the Negro race?" I asked him. "I do," he said. "Do you urge social equality?" He said, "What do you mean?" I asked him, "Are you in favor of Negro intermarriage?" He said, "No, I don't go that far, but neither Christianity nor Democracy makes any distinction between races."

Q. Have you the opinion and have you expressed it that Dr. Rainey believed in Negroes and whites attending the same school?

Strickland — I've made no public statement. I've just quoted what I know to be facts.

Q. Has he ever advocated putting them in the same classroom?

Strickland — He's never said that. . . .

Q. As I understand it, if you don't furnish adequate educational facilities, Negroes have a right to attend the state university?

Strickland — We send them off to schools in other states. . . . If I were going to criticize him (Rainey), I think I'd criticize his being associated with Nigger-white groups — I'd say he is a little ultra-liberal on the Nigger question.

Mrs. I. D. Fairchild —

Q. During Dr. Rainey's tenure, did you in the Board meetings gather that he advocated teaching whites and blacks in the same school.

Mrs. Fairchild — No.

Q. Did he ever say he favored that?

Mrs. Fairchild — No.

Q. Did any member of the Board charge him with that in your presence?

Mrs. Fairchild — No.

Duncalf —

Q. Another charge against Dr. Rainey is that he advocates whites and blacks in the same school. Have you heard him express such views?

Duncalf — Never heard of it until I began listening to this investigation.

Q. Did he ever express them before the faculty?

Duncalf — No.

Malcolm Wallace, president of the Students Association —

Q. Have you ever heard Dr. Rainey advocate putting Negroes and whites in the same school room?

Wallace — No.

J. Frank Dobie —

Q. Have you ever heard Dr. Rainey advocate putting Negroes and whites in the same class room?

Dobie — No. I know that he is interested in the welfare of hundreds of thousands of Negroes in Texas. The University administers a certain sum of money for technical education for Negroes. We had a Negro cook who needed to replace her teeth. . . . We learned no Negro dentist could get his dental training in Texas. I can't think Dr. Rainey's advocating of technical education is advocating social equality.

Rainey — I am a friend of the Negroes, and I am happy to be called so. We ought to be working to give them a better existence. The race problem is one of the biggest that confronts us. It can't be solved by extremists from either point of view, but must be solved by people of a liberal and tolerant point of view. We are under obligation to give the Negro equal educational opportunities **in their own schools.**

Q. Have you ever advocated Negroes and whites attending the same school?

Rainey — No.

Q. Has it been part of your thinking that they should be educated in the same class room, side by side, under the same teacher?

Rainey — Not under our system here in Texas. I'm in favor of meeting our responsibilities by giving them adequate opportunities in their own schools.

Q. Have you ever advocated racial equality, social equality, intermarriage?

Rainey — No. Those things are intimately personal.

Immorality

Orville Bullington — The most important duty delegated and entrusted by the Board to the President is to select and to recommend to the Board a faculty of the first class, without which there can never be a University of the first class. Too much care cannot be taken in investigating the character, scholarship, reputation and general fitness of persons who are to teach the youth of Texas, and mould and develop their qualities of mind and heart. . . . Recent developments have convinced the Board that President Rainey tragically failed to exercise proper care in discharging this most important trust committed to him by the Board. This conclusion was reached only when the Board learned that several teachers recommended by President Rainey were unworthy of their high profession. These have already resigned either voluntarily or by request. . . . Within a few days of the time of President Rainey's attack on the Board, another shocking incident was reported in the press. A University teacher, who had been recommended to the Board by President Rainey, and elected because the Board relied on the recommendation, was indicted by the grand jury of Travis County for an alleged unspeakable and unmentionable social crime. . . .

Rainey discovered a nest of homosexuals on the campus in September of 1943. He did not disclose it to the Board until eight months later. He was making a talk in Wichita Falls. He wired me he wanted to see me and met me in my office. He told me about it. I asked him, "Why haven't you told the Board?" He said, "I was afraid I couldn't trust the discretion of the Board." "You can't tell me without telling the Board," I told him, "for if you don't tell the Board I'm going to."

Q. Did Dr. Rainey tell you he had called in the Department of Public Safety (to investigate)?

Bullington — Yes, and I approved of it. But here's the trouble — nobody can commit the Board to expense but the Board itself. . . . We sent Strickland out there and he told them to spare no expense. We told them to go ahead and we as Regents would individually pay for it if state funds could not be used.

In July Dr. Rainey assured us all were gone. Yet the Department of Public Safety gave us a list of suspects. . . . I didn't think most of 'em were guilty. I don't know. . . . We turned over the entire file to Judge Stayton and asked him to analyze it. . . . We had an executive session and cross-examined two suspects. One confessed and one denied he was guilty.

Q. Didn't he later confess?

Bullington — I don't know. He said he would rather be put on trial under the tenure rule than confess. But when we got to Houston his resignation was on our desks.

Q. You don't mean that Dr. Rainey condoned this thing?

Bullington — No. Until we found he wasn't going fast enough. Rainey certainly knew we were just beginning our investigation when he launched his attack on the Board. I can't believe Rainey condones it, but it is a strange coincidence that he launched his attack just when he did.

Q. Do you have any special facilities for investigating crime?

Bullington — I am a cross-examining attorney. Rainey said I used district attorney methods with the English faculty.

Q. Wouldn't you have gone to the Department of Public Safety?

Bullington — Yes, but I'd have gotten on the job personally.

Q. You don't mean to say Dr. Rainey knew who these people were?

Bullington — No. My criticism is letting them get here in the first place. A psychiatrist can tell in ten minutes.

Q. You wouldn't subject every new teacher to such interrogation?

Bullington — My criticism is that we ought to make sure you don't get them here in the first place. It can be ascertained.

Burdine

Q. When you went to Harvard, were you checked by a psychiatrist?

Burdine — No.

Q. Do you know of other educational institutions that regularly require prospective faculty members to be checked by a psychiatrist?

Burdine — I don't think you would ever be able to get a faculty.

Strickland

Q. Do you think Dr. Rainey exercised proper diligence in reporting to the Department of Public Safety?

Strickland — I think he did. I have had doubts about his diligence in discovering it before some prominent ex-student out in West Texas told him about it.

Col. Homer Garrison, Director of Texas State Department of Public Safety — On or about October 20, 1943, I received a telephone call from Dr. Rainey asking if he could see me about a matter of the utmost importance. . . . The investigation was immediately begun. . . . Suspicion may fall on many — certainly once suspicion falls, you can't remove it. . . . We make thousands of checks — only a small number are guilty.

Late in March, 1944, a preliminary verbal report was made to Dr. Rainey, indicating a certain number of ex-students, students and faculty members might be guilty. . . . In April Dr. Rainey and Dr. Burdine came out for a progress report. Dr. Rainey asked how long the investigation would take. We told him we didn't know — this type of investigation was more difficult than any other. . . . The

investigation has already taken more than a year — is still in progress. . . . Many are psychopathic liars — you have to substantiate their statements, a slow and tedious and difficult task.

Q. After Dr. Rainey reported the matter to you, did he show any lack of diligence?

Garrison — The only assistance Dr. Rainey could give would be to give us any information he had — such as where we could locate the people we wanted to interrogate. He never failed to give us cooperation.

Q. The ABC of crime detection is secrecy, isn't it?

Garrison — Yes.

Q. You agreed on and insisted that you wanted the investigation kept secret?

Garrison — It's not that you don't have confidence in people, but sometimes when more than one person knows, it's apt to spread.

Q. From the time you first started working on the University case, did you work with all diligence?

Garrison — Yes.

Q. How long before you had evidence that anyone was guilty?

Garrison — From October 20 to July 12. You may get a positive statement — a confession of guilt — but you've got to substantiate it. It was eight months before we made a preliminary report to Dr. Rainey.

Mrs. Fairchild

Q. There has been some question raised about whether Dr. Rainey had used diligence or good judgment in trying to improve the faculty — that he got some on the faculty who didn't measure up. . . . Do you think he lacked diligence?

Mrs. Fairchild — He has not been lacking in any sense. . . . The faculty would stand with the faculty of any school.

Duncalf

Q. Have you ever seen him (Dr. Rainey) show any dereliction on morals?

Duncalf — Quite the contrary. He is a man of the highest moral principles. He is the last person to be charged on that score.

Wallace — I differ (from the Regents) with the way the morals case was brought out. . . . Dr. Rainey's fears of the discretion of the Regents has been borne out. . . . It is the very worst thing that could have happened — not whether such things exist, but the propriety of "spilling the beans" — a body blow to the University.

Dobie — Morals (at the University) are as good as ever. . . . I've noticed that when people get so critical about other people's morals, they're pretty apt to be not too moral themselves. The moral health of the University is sound, sane, wholesome — both student and faculty.

Bobbitt — We have seen The University of Texas discredited, besmirched, and greatly harmed by men who were appointed for and sworn to the purpose of making it a university of the first class. . . .

I refer to the testimony here of Orville Bullington when he dragged out the matter of homosexuality at the University. There was no cause or reason for Orville Bullington to do this. It has been conclusively proved that this question was not one upon which Dr. Rainey was fired by the Regents.

It has been conclusively proved that Dr. Rainey acted with propriety, with dispatch, and with thoroughness in correcting any bad morals at the University. When it got right down to cases, Mr. Bullington couldn't make any complaint against Dr. Rainey in this connection except that he delayed bringing the matter to the attention of the Board for some several months.

Ralph E. Himstead, A.A.U.P. executive secretary — When I saw the AP report of the testimony on homosexuality, I took the liberty of sending a telegram to the governor. . . . We've had a lot of experience with such situations and are aware of "red herrings." According to our information, Dr. Rainey acted wisely. . . . It is necessary to have as little publicity as possible (on such matters). . . . Mr. Bullington said that Dr. Rainey made a mistake in not telling the Board. . . . Mr. Bullington's reference to a "nest" of homosexuality created a bad impression all over the country. . . .

Rainey — Mr. Bullington said I "discovered a nest of homosexuality" in September, 1943. That was an unfortunate use of language — the time was **October** — the word "nest" misleading.

The facts are these. Sunday, October 17, one of our professors on the University lands staff called me from Midland and said he wanted to come see me the next day. We made an appointment for 9 o'clock. He told me that in a raid on a hotel in another Texas city two ex-students of the University had been taken into the hands of the law. Their testimony implicated The University of Texas. He thought I ought to go to Midland. We drove there that afternoon. I spent the next day with the sheriff, army officials, etc.

The information I obtained was very meager. One young man said he had been a student — it was his impression that there was some (homosexuality) at The University of Texas. He gave one name. I returned with the sheriff to Brownwood and caught the bus from there.

First thing the next morning I called Col. Homer Garrison to put the matter in the hands of a public authority. I was in his office within 30 minutes. I placed the matter in his hands, asking for a complete and thorough investigation. I asked him to root it out, lock, stock and barrel. He told me his department would begin the investigation as soon as arrangements could be made. He explained to me the need for secrecy. I took only Dr. Burdine into my confidence — didn't even tell my wife. I cooperated fully and completely with the Department of Public Safety. It was a long and slow process.

I did not have any information until late in the spring — an oral report on the type of investigation. It did mention certain names.

I became concerned because in picking up students for questioning rumors got around. The first one questioned spread it. It alarmed all of us. It became known among the students.

I happened to be in Wichita Falls and called on Mr. Bullington. I asked his advice and asked him if I should not tell the Board. Mr. Bullington said my memory is short — his must be shorter. His reaction was . . . humble, as mine was. He said it was terrible, that I had proceeded correctly, that I ought to tell the Board.

I acted in the first place, not the Board. It was an administrative problem. It was my duty to get the facts, then give them to the Board. There was never any other reason for my waiting. I **did not** say I couldn't trust the Board's discretion. I did say I'd kept it secret for fear it would spread and to facilitate the investigation.

As soon as I told the Board, Judge Strickland himself went to the Department of Public Safety. I began to fear they would make use of it against me in some way.

Mr. Bullington made the charge that I was responsible for withholding it from the Board. Actually I didn't have any definite information until the Board met in July. . . . Even then the Board had to turn to a lawyer to examine the evidence to see if it was definite enough for action.

Mr. Bullington said I was culpable for having them here in the first place. I know of no way in which you can determine whether a person is a homosexual. One of these men appeared before the Board's committee. Mr. Bullington and others cross-examined him. Mr. Bullington himself announced, "I don't think you are guilty." That boy went out. Three weeks later other investigators got a confession from him.

Since I've been president, Regent Bullington charges me with failure to name faculty members of outstanding character. We have greatly strengthened our method of selecting faculty members. Formerly we selected people without interviews. I've made a policy of always having a member of our staff interview prospective appointees. We have the most democratic system of any major university in the country. The budget council of each department, composed of professors in that department, is charged with specific duties of selecting staff members

and assigning courses. Any nomination originates with this council, goes to the dean, then to the vice president and president for review before going to the Board. In any institution as large as the University of Texas, no one man can know everything. The budget council initiates every recommendation. We administrators cooperate with them all along. Often a committee of professors in related departments is asked to advise. Sometimes the graduate dean is called in.

I want to assure this committee and the people of Texas that we exercise the greatest care in selecting our faculty members. Certainly the president has responsibilities in this matter, but our democratic system prevents any presidential dictatorship. I wouldn't think of nominating to the Board of Regents a faculty person without consulting the faculty.

Political Connections

Rainey —

Q. I want to know your connections before you came to the University. I have heard it rumored that you are a rabid New Dealer. Is that so?

Rainey — In 1935 I left the presidency of Bucknell University to become director of the American Youth Commission, a commission to make a study of youth problems, set up by the American Council of Education, which was established during World War I. The American Council of Education has no relation to the federal government. In 1934 it received a large grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to study problems of youth in the depression and to work out a comprehensive program. . . . Many people have confused it with the National Youth Administration, a government agency to keep youth in school. . . . **I have had no connection with the NYA.** I have never been connected with any government agency.

"U. S. A."

Orville Bullington — Complaint No. 6 (in Dr. Rainey's report to the faculty, October 12) is that the Board violated the principles of academic freedom in eliminating a novel entitled "U. S. A." as a required course of reading for Sophomores. The Board took this action after parents complained to members of the Board that the book was indecent, vulgar and filthy, and unfit to be made a required course in English for boys and girls. Board members examined copies of "U. S. A." and found that it contained much profanity, vulgarity, and was profusely interspersed with foul and obscene sex stories and blasphemous expressions. . . . The Board ordered the immediate removal of the novel from the list of books required to be read. . . .

I'd never heard of the book. . . . **We've never found out who's responsible for that book being on the reading list.**

Q. You don't say that Dr. Rainey commended the book?

Bullington — He said somebody else approved it. If that doesn't mean he agrees, why did he say it?

Q. Judge, I believe you've got your blood in that USA.

Bullington — I'll be the judge of what's suitable for these young minds.

Mrs. Fairchild — Being the only woman on the Board, I felt guilty because I didn't get excited about it. I agree it was pretty bad in spots; there were passages I could see no reason for. Still I felt that the book as a whole was not so bad after all. . . . I couldn't feel that Dr. Rainey's objection was to removing the book from the reading list. He objected to the manner in which the Board handled the matter.

Rainey — We've explained we had already dealt with this problem administratively. Dr. Burdine talked with the chairman of the English department and he said if there is any objection, the department will remove the book from the list at the end of the semester.

The important thing is not whether I approve of the book or not — it's a question of the Board's assuming the responsibility of putting the book on or off of the list.

The Board insisted on determining the responsibility for the book's being on the list. . . . They put the English committee through an inquisition. They made every member of the committee declare he or she personally had nothing to do with placing the book on the list.

I have never read the book. I have been accused of advocating the book. **All I'm advocating is the principle of freedom.** I want to place in the record a document from the English faculty as of November 18, 1944. A resolution adopted by the Department of English faculty by a vote of 34 to 2 — six not voting.

"1. The President of the University was in no way responsible for the use of Dos Passos' **The Big Money**, one of the novels in U.S.A. Responsiblity for its use in English 312Q during the first semester of the session 1942-43 lies entirely with the Department of English. The President of the University had no way of knowing that a book which would become controversial had been selected. . . .

"3. Among teachers and critics of contemporary American literature, **The Big Money** is regarded as a serious, highly moral book, in both theme and treatment. Fundamentally it is a sermon on an old text: 'The Wages of Sin is Death.' . . .

"5. The committee in charge of English 312 Q had already recognized objections to the use of **The Big Money** from within the faculty, and had voted to drop the book, before the Regents took action and before the Committee knew of any regental interest in the matter. The action of the Regents eliminated the book somewhat more promptly; they ordered it dropped immediately on January 9, whereas the Committee had recommended dropping at the end of the semester and classes continued to January 22. But the action of the Regents gave the book, of course, the Department, and the Regents themselves a kind of publicity that the Committee wanted to avoid."

A. A. U. P.

Bullington — No out of state bunch is going to dictate to the Board of Regents — the A. A. U. P. or the American College Publicity Association or anybody else. We've listened to them with all the courtesy they're entitled to, and then we go ahead and do our duty. . . . and that's going to be the way it's going to be as long as I am on that Board. That's my oath. . . . it's our conscience and our judgment that must dictate what we do.

. . . With the A. M. A. and other medical college accrediting agencies, you meet certain academic standards and you are approved. But with the A. A. U. P., they are judge and jury. . . . They call it censure, I call it blacklist. No student need worry about it — his degree will be worth just as much.

Stark — Himstead (executive secretary of the A. A. U. P.) didn't threaten. He made a wonderful speech before the Board in Houston. Himstead wishes the University conducted in accord with generally accepted academic practices. We explained to him that we have to follow the law. He said, "You'll have to have the statutes amended." I said I would suggest it the first time I had a chance. That's tonight.

Burdine — Censure by the A. A. U. P. is likely to result in two things: (a) It may be difficult to recruit outstanding members of the faculty. A teacher would prefer to go to an institution not under censure, which means that an unsatisfactory condition of academic freedom and tenure exists there. (b) If the institution is censured, many of its good faculty members are likely to leave.

The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is the accrediting organization for this region. If it blacklists a school, it is at that point that a student from our institution will not be able to transfer credits to another institution.

When the A. A. U. P. steps in, the accrediting agency usually steps in too. . . . **Both the A. A. U. P. and the Southern Association are studying our University. Also the Senate of Phi Beta Kappa.**

Q. Some witnesses are of the opinion that it doesn't matter if the University is blacklisted by the A. A. U. P. or the Southern Association. Do you agree?

Burdine — Either A. A. U. P. or Southern Association action would be serious.

Himstead — . . . The A. A. U. P. was established in 1913 by all the full professors of Johns Hopkins. . . . It is analogous to the bar association for lawyers and the medical associa-

tion for doctors. Professional problems differ, that's all.

College and university professors and research people are not employees. The relation is one of associates. After the probationary period, they are a part of the institution on whose faculty they serve. That doesn't mean they can't be dismissed, but it should be done by due process of law. Adequate cause must be shown and a hearing must be afforded at which they are accorded due process of law....

We are not a labor union, not CIO. We scrupulously avoid any connection with non-academic groups.

CAUSES OF THE CONTROVERSY

The Board of Regents and the deposed president agree that the controversy "boils down" to fundamental principles, but there the agreement ends.

A majority of the Regents stand firm on their interpretation of their rights and responsibilities under the law and the Constitution and insist that Dr. Rainey has failed to respect their authority.

Dr. Rainey, on the other hand, declares that the fundamental principles at stake are (1) academic freedom and (2) sound administrative procedure.

Vice-President J. Alton Burdine explains the controversy as a difference in attitudes toward the University and in plans for its program — that Dr. Rainey had a "positive" approach, the Regents a "negative" one, to the program of building a University of the first class.

Such matters as faculty tenure, which guarantees that a faculty member shall not be dismissed without a hearing; academic freedom, which grants a teacher the freedom of speech guaranteed in the Bill of Rights; the right of the University to remain free from political interference — these are specific academic rights which Dr. Rainey and the faculty consider have been violated.

As an example of confused administrative practice, the University Medical School situation occupied considerable prominence in the investigation of the Rainey-Regents controversy. The Medical School "pot was boiling" long before Dr. Rainey arrived as president of the University, and it has continued to boil. A little more than two years after he arrived, the Board removed the Medical School from his hands, a step which several Regents admitted was bad administrative practice. According to one Regent, even the 1941 investigation of the Medical School situation, which resulted in the dismissal of Dean Spies, was as much a "trial" of Dr. Rainey as of Dr. Spies.

Testimony

Bullington — ... There are fundamental principles involved which cannot be abandoned and upon which no compromise can be made.

1. The Board may delegate to administrative officers statutory duties imposed upon it, but may not abandon its duty to supervise the manner in which such duties are performed. . . .

2. Neither the University of Texas nor any other educational institution supported by . . . taxation should be . . . subject to the will of one man, whose acts are free from supervision . . . by representatives of the people who provide those funds.

3. It is a duty of the Board of Regents . . . to apply and interpret all rules adopted for the government of the University.

4. Members of the Board cannot without violating their oaths permit persons or organizations to dictate opinions, acts and policies for the Board . . . contrary to the judgment of members of the Board.

5. Whether in or out of the class rooms, no member of the faculty of any educational institution, . . . has academic . . . freedom to violate the law or to fail to observe generally accepted standards of courtesy, morality and common decency.

Neither I nor any other Board member opposes academic freedom. . . . We are opposed to academic license.

Strickland — ... the fundamental issue is ultimate authority. . . . Dr. Rainey said, "I'm just as much responsible to the people as you are." . . . I look at the University as a great public corporation. . . . I told him I'm attorney for banks — we ask the executives what they recommend, then use our best judgment. . . . He said, "... the trouble is, you can't run a university like a business." . . .

The 16 points (in Dr. Rainey's statement to the faculty, October 12) are not the real cause. In the last showdown, it's lack of confidence, insubordination, failure to respect the Board's authority.

Stark — ... It all stems from one fundamental thing.... Dr. Rainey came with the idea of making a great University, but he wants to operate under generally accepted academic practices. That's where we get into trouble. As long as we (Regents) have to uphold the law, we'll still have trouble. Members of the Board are nominated, confirmed by the Senate, take oaths. Perhaps our conduct may seem old-fashioned . . . in opposition to generally accepted academic practice. . . . I didn't see how we'd ever get together.

Fairchild

Q. You know these men and Dr. Rainey. In the last two or three years, do you think any man could have served as president and got along?

Fairchild — I don't believe any man could carry on his work unless he had the cooperation of the Board. It seemed to me our Board, instead of looking at important things, post-war plans, etc., brought up such little things. . . . made a mountain out of a molehill.

Dr. Rainey has been tied up with bickerings ever since he came in. During the Galveston trouble . . . I had the distinct impression in the last investigation of the Spies case that it was laying the predicate for the dismissal of Dr. Rainey. . . . They tried to bring out every little thing Dr. Rainey had done or said.

Rainey — The Regents and I have not been able to get together on a conception of what a university is. It is my belief that there are at least three factors necessary to maintain a great university. First is freedom of investigation, uninhibited by administrative directives, trustee interventions, or government regulations. Second, there must be confidence that truth is worth pursuing. . . .

The third factor is tolerance for varied ideas, assumptions and personalities. It is most important that a tolerant attitude be taken toward those actions and activities which are not actually dangerous or subversive, . . . in order that the basic principles for which universities stand shall not be destroyed for the sake of satisfying a passing whim or in compliance with the dictates of a temporary majority.

As the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes stated:

"... (men) may come to believe, even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct, that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas — that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth itself is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out. That at any rate is the theory of our Constitution."

This controversy has boiled down to two points — academic freedom and proper relationships between the Board and the administration.

Burdine — If asked to summarize in one sentence the real fundamental trouble that brought about the present crisis, I would say: The University of Texas had a positive president and a negative Board of Regents. On the first day of this hearing, Dr. Rainey gave his vision of what a university of the first class is and should be. I think it is a courageous vision, based on a confidence in the fundamental tenets of Christianity and Democracy. Dr. Rainey has a positive program for the University, and in it there is no fear — no fear of ideas so long as reason is left free to combat the bad ones.

On the other hand, the Regents have only a negative program, representing an attitude of fear, suspicion and

repression. . . . Fear of ideas, fear of Dr. Rainey and of me when we made recommendations. Theirs is a negative approach to the problem of building a great university.

A university is different from a business. It's a factory of ideas and ideas cannot be produced in a negative atmosphere.

Two questions must be asked and answered as far as the State of Texas is concerned. (1) Do the people of Texas want a university of the first class, in which they can have pride as their greatest cultural and economic asset? (2) If they do want such a university, which approach, positive or negative, can be counted upon to build it?

If a great university is wanted, I don't believe it can be built without a positive approach. You must have a president with the proper vision and the intelligence and courage to follow his vision. The presidency of a state university is no easy position! And you must also have a Board of Regents who are sympathetic and will support such a president and protect him against any outside force in opposition to such a vision.

I repeat — the President followed a positive program for making the University of Texas a university of the first class. The Board chose a negative approach. I think it is easy to see that a positive and a negative program can't go down the road together.

Concrete Illustrations of Causes of the Controversy

1. Tenure

Francis — It was early in 1943 that one Regent wanted to abolish the tenure rule which had stood for forty or fifty years. We (the Executive Council of the Ex-Students' Association) met and considered the proposition and addressed a resolution to the Board of Regents requesting that the Regents not take action to abolish the tenure rule.

The Board later re-drafted the rule. . . . In Houston at the final merry-go-round when Rainey was fired, I discovered that staff members (administrators) were left out when the new rule was adopted.

Q. You object to the tenure rule being re-written and leaving out the administrators?

Francis — Especially since it was done not long before they fired Rainey.

Q. Do you think it was done for that purpose?

Francis — It looks suspicious.

Rainey —

Q. Compare the new and old tenure rules.

Rainey — There are two or three important differences.

1. Under the new rule the Board has the right to declare an emergency and dismiss a faculty member without due process, setting aside the tenure rule. There was no emergency provision in the old rule.
2. Under the new rule the Chairman of the Board appoints the faculty committee (to hear charges against a faculty member). Under the old rule the President appointed this committee.
3. The new rule eliminates from tenure the non-teaching staff but includes instructors in its provisions.

If the University were to lose tenure and academic freedom, it would set free education in Texas back an indefinite period. It was that which led to other countries' losing their freedom. If you can't have free education, you soon lose all freedom.

Many of the present board have said publicly that they are for academic freedom, but obviously they don't mean the same thing we (the faculty and I) do.

Bullington —

Q. I understand one of the big differences between Dr. Rainey and the Regents is on the matter of tenure.

Bullington — I never understood there was any difference . . . I'm in favor of tenure. Strickland introduced a resolution I did not favor.

Q. After you got on the Board did any member of the faculty or Dr. Rainey suggest a change in the tenure rule?

Bullington — No.

Q. Then there was a move **inside** the Board of Regents to change the tenure rule? The faculty and President were satisfied with it as it was?

Bullington — Yes.

Q. The new rule, though, you think is better?

Bullington — I said that's what the joint committee (faculty and Regents) said. Yes, I think so, for it includes instructors and assistant professors.

Q. Did the old rule have an emergency clause?

Bullington — I don't know. I think so.

Strickland — I didn't know anything about tenure, but I knew you couldn't grant lifetime employment under the law. . . . Any board can pass reasonable rules and regulations. . . . Dr. Rainey gave me to understand the tenure rule had the force of law. If it were interpreted as Rainey wanted, it would usurp the powers of the Board. . . .

My resolution (to abolish the tenure rule) never got a second . . . it was the action of one man.

Q. You went on the Board in June, 1942. About January you offered your resolution on tenure. Had you had any complaint from the President or the faculty about the old tenure rule?

Strickland — No.

Q. Had you examined the tenure rule of other universities to see whether the University's was in line?

Strickland — No, but I did study it in comparison with the statutes. . . .

Burdine — The words tenure and academic freedom are confusing to the outsider. Guarantees of tenure are merely to protect the intellectual freedom of the teacher within certain limits. Therefore regulations governing tenure can be based on tradition or incorporated in rules and regulations of governing boards.

The most usual popular misconception is that tenure is supposed to give a teacher lifetime employment. That's far from the truth. Tenure seeks to protect teachers and to prevent dismissal of teachers after they reach a certain rank or years of service without a hearing.

No institution of the first class fails to have regulations governing tenure — protecting teachers against arbitrary dismissal.

Under the old rule there were two types of procedure: (1) for professors and associate professors, and (2) other members of the teaching staff and non-teaching staff.

For professors and associate professors, it provided that they might be suspended pending investigation but could not be dismissed against their will without cause stated in writing and without a hearing by a committee of their peers. That's quite important.

In the second case, a member of the teaching or non-teaching staff (other than professors or associate professors) could not be dismissed during his term of appointment without a hearing, including the right to appear with a person as counsel before the complaints and grievance committee of the Board or a special committee of the faculty.

Under the new rule the hearing is to be before a committee appointed by the Chairman of the Board after consultation with the President. The Board will consider the findings of the committee. Upon objection by the teacher in question or a member of the Board, the Board may conduct a trial **de novo** (which means discarding all evidence and making an entirely independent investigation).

The new rule has the emergency clause. Anybody can be fired at any time, simply by the Regents' stating that an emergency exists and stating charges. I personally feel that any emergency clause such as this is bad.

The remark has been made twice that the teachers of the University of Texas thought they had a lifetime contract with the State. I've never known any of our teachers who thought that. I don't see how they could in view of the nature of our appointment blanks.

2. Academic Freedom

Rainey — In the case of the three economics instructors, I worked with the Board for two days trying to get them not to take the action they contemplated and told them the University would be called into question by the whole educational fraternity. The Board turned down my leadership, went against the recommendations of the vice president, the dean, and the economics department faculty.

I think I can understand what has been going on in the minds of the Regents. They have been motivated by fear of radicalism. Some members have come on the Board with the idea of housecleaning. The case of the economics professors was handled at the first meeting after the appointment of Mr. Strickland and Mr. Schreiner. Six members of the board were present. On the first day the vote was three and three. Next day the three instructors were fired by a vote of four to two — they were actually thrown out by a minority of the whole board.

Judge Strickland offered a patriotism test, on the theory that there was radicalism in the faculty. When the University was working as hard as it was on the war effort, it seemed unfair to pick us out for such a test. We already take a teachers' oath.

There is no finer function of a University than to bring up and weigh all ideas. You can do it in a university without bloodshed. If a man's got an idea, there's the place to try it out. If he gets crackpot ideas, his peers will knock him over the head with them.

Q. One Regent said you could find only 16 points of disagreement. Was that all?

Rainey — No. . . . The controversy boiled down to two points — academic freedom and proper relationships between the Board and the administration. I was choosing those 16 cases as illustrative of these two issues. I could mention many more.

Q. Was your feeling of whether you owed this Board of Regents loyalty violated when you came out and made the charges in the 16 point statement?

Rainey — I made that statement with several things in mind. It was the only recourse I had left to bring the problems out into the open. I had plead, not asked but **plead**, so many times, and had been ignored, rebuffed. I felt hopeless to make any further effort. Now that the University is at the point of making its bid to become one of the great universities of this country, I felt that bringing these problems out into the open would help the people to see the issues.

Bullington — Complaint is made (by Dr. Rainey) that the Board refused to re-employ three instructors in economics. This is true. These men went to Dallas to attend a meeting of citizens. The evidence showed that they later issued the following statement . . . :

"In connection with the allegedly spontaneous 'mass meeting' held in Fair Park Auditorium Sunday, we should like to make the following comments:

"1. The meeting was not spontaneous — but was very organized.

"2. The meeting was not democratically conducted — but all volunteer speakers were refused.

"3. Speakers were not selected on the basis of representation — but on the basis of previously assured viewpoint.

"4. The pretended fairness at the meeting was smoothly circumvented — condemning all sides in general and labor in particular."

A hearing was had (by the Board) because of complaints which were made by the citizens of Dallas and elsewhere, and the Board of Regents voted unanimously that these instructors had violated Section 6 of the University's rules and regulations. This rule . . . provides:

"A member of the teaching staff is free to express, inside or outside the class room, his opinion on any matter that falls within the field of knowledge he is employed to teach and to study, subject only to those restrictions that are imposed by high professional ethics, fairmindedness, common sense, accurate expression, *and a generous respect for the rights, feelings and opinions of others.*"

The Board told the instructors that their actions and their public statement showed a lack of proper respect for the rights and feelings of those participating in the meeting, including Dr. Umphrey Lee, President of Southern Methodist University, one of the speakers, and the late Dr. George W. Truett, who delivered the invocation. The instructors rejected the Board's proposal that they make some proper gentlemanly statement to the effect that they did not intend to show disrespect for the rights, feelings and opinions of those at the meeting. Whereupon the Board did not re-employ them.

Q. You were on the budget committee of the department (of economics). Do you know the three instructors who were fired?

Ayres — May I give an explanation of each of them? . . . W. N. Peach — During the spring of 1942 (when this incident was under consideration) Peach was the recipient of two offers of positions: (1) the U. S. Department of Labor which was supplying statisticians to the Regional Office of Price Administration; (2) the Federal Reserve Board of Dallas, which was seeking a statistician to fill a research job. While the incident was still pending, Peach accepted the second offer and applied for a leave of absence from the University. What was dropped was a leave of absence, not the prospect of teaching.

A University colleague reported a conversation with Mr. Bullington in 1942: "We haven't got the kind of economics department we ought to have. We ought to have the kind of men that banks employ." Peach was already employed by the Federal Reserve Bank. Another senior professor of the department was a director in the Federal Reserve Bank.

Peach was with the Dallas Federal Reserve Bank from July, 1942, until about January, 1944. He was married, had one child, was over 26, but felt he should enlist and did. He received a commission in the Navy and is now a lieutenant (jg) on an LSM (landing ship medium).

Gordon was already called by the draft board before the Dallas incident and had received an extension to finish the academic year. . . . Under no circumstancess could Gordon have continued here. . . . He was commissioned in the counter-intelligence corps. Counter-intelligence officers work in civilian clothes — it is in effect secret service. There was careful investigation of his character and antecedents, not only of him but of the people he gave as references. He is now with the Seventh Army — and has won the good conduct medal and the Purple Heart.

Foster is older, is now about 38, is married, and has a daughter. . . . He was not drafted and is not in the armed services. In the summer of 1942 (August 5) Prof. Paul Titus at Kenyon College in Ohio wrote the chairman of the department and asked if any one of these three was available. He had seen about the firing. . . . Foster was the only one available. He was offered a temporary position at Kenyon College. . . . In the spring Titus tried to make arrangements to retain him. But Foster had been filling in for a man on leave. He realized if he were permanently retained, someone else would have lost his place. Foster . . . withdrew. . . . Foster received a flat offer from the Federal Housing Authority at Cleveland, which he accepted. He also teaches at Cleveland College.

Q. Was there anything in the statement which the instructors made which might be termed offensive to anybody?

Ayres — . . . It was our opinion that no valid objection could be made to any of the acts of the instructors. . . .

Mr. Hoblitzelle wrote a letter to the Board in response to Mr. Bullington's query, in which he said he had never been subjected to such insulting behavior.

The instructors asked for two minutes' time (as speakers at the meeting) to explain misstatements about the Fair Labor wages and hours act, which appeared in an advertisement of the meeting. Hoblitzelle refused and stated no volunteer speakers would be permitted. . . . Peach questioned the propriety of asking a group of citizens to adopt resolutions based on misinformation. Hoblitzelle protested he didn't see any misstatement. Peach then said, "Have you read the act?" Hoblitzelle stared him in the face for a minute, then turned and walked away.

Q. Were the three instructors called before the Board of Regents?

Ayres — Yes.

Q. Did Mr. Strickland engage in questioning them?

Ayres — I think so. . . .

Q. Interstate Theaters is operated by Hoblitzelle. Judge Strickland is employed by the same firm and was so employed at the time of this case. Since Judge Strickland's

boss said he had received the greatest insult, was it conducive to a fair hearing to have the employee pass on the question (of an insult to his boss)?

Ayres — I would rather not pass on the propriety of another man's act. I think a very sensitive and scrupulous man might have felt he should not participate.

Q. What did the instructors think was misleading?

Ayres — The advertisement (announcing the meeting) was so worded as to give the impression that the act limits the number of hours a person may work to 40 per week. The truth is that a person may work any number of hours but shall be paid overtime wages for all over 40 hours a week. . . . It is a statistical fact that all defense plants were working much more than 40 hours per week.

Q. Had you been President of the University of Texas, would you have recommended re-employing the three instructors?

Ayres — For a president of a university not to accept the recommendation of the department's budget council would be a most direct showing of lack of confidence. Recommendations of appointment are most important. In bringing these three instructors to our department, we have followed the best personnel methods we know. . . . Either the Board should reinstate the three or remove ~~the~~ entire faculty of the department.

Q. Did anybody else write the Board?

Ayres — **Judge R. Whitfield Davidson.**

Q. Did Dr. Lee or Dr. Truett?

Ayres — No. . . . In a public statement the names of Dr. Truett and Dr. Lee were mentioned, but not that they were offended. I regard the public statement of the Regents as one of the most outrageous acts on the part of any public authority. It meant in effect that following its action in dropping the instructors, the Board did its best to blast their character. . . . Every word (in the Board's announcement of their dismissal) was either a suppression of truth or a suggestion of falsehood. . . . The three instructors attended the meeting as spectators and never raised a hand to attract attention. They made no effort to speak. . . . For any public official to use his privilege to defame those subject to his authority is so outrageous . . . .

3. Political Interference

Rainey — I would like to suggest that you look into the control of all educational institutions in Texas, examine the men and how they got on these boards, the State Board of Education, A. & M., Texas Tech, A. & I., and our Board. There is such an interlocking that it frightens me.

Parten — About the middle of the summer of 1940, ... I had a conversation with a prominent Texas attorney who came to my office to tell me of his attendance at a meeting of several business executives and attorneys whose declared purpose was to influence educational board appointments of men who could be counted upon to eliminate from the teaching staffs in higher education of Texas all radical elements in the faculties. . . . .

Only a few weeks after the conversation . . . I was playing golf . . . with my friend, the late Fred Branson (former member of the Board of Regents) . . . He repeated the same story I had heard a few weeks earlier in Houston. . . . I recall he said he was not at the meeting but had heard of it on good authority. . . .

Bobbitt — . . . . I have heard from honorable and reliable sources of a particular meeting in . . . Houston attended by O'Daniel and a number of his supporters in which this proposition of limiting the academic freedom of some of our institutions of higher learning and of restricting the teaching of certain subjects and the getting rid of certain teachers was generally discussed.

It is reported that these . . . gentlemen decided that . . . the safe and effective method would be to secure control of the governing boards of these institutions of higher learning. . . . it is interesting to note that Regent and Lobbyist Strickland . . . has done a pretty good job of admitting that such condition does exist.

As I recall his testimony, he stated that "in his organization" there was a representative on the Texas Tech Board.

Mr. Strickland further testified to this committee that a long-time client of his holds membership on the Board of Directors of . . . A. & M. College.

Furthermore, Mr. Strickland told this committee . . . that yet another client of his . . . was a member of the Board of Directors of A. & I. College.

. . . Mr. Dobie submitted information . . . that Mr. Jim West . . . had requested, and that there had been appointed to the Board of Regents of the University of Texas, two . . . Regents by the name of Bullington and Harrison.

The public records of the State further show that on the State Board of Education . . . there serves the attorney, as I understand, for the West Estate in the person of Mr. Stevenson.

The records of our State show that Mr. Maco Stewart . . . managed to get himself appointed by O'Daniel on the State Board of Education. . . . Mr. Stewart was able also to secure the appointment on the Board of Regents of the University of Texas of one of his employees, . . . Mr. Fred Branson. . . .

. . . I . . . submit that large corporations, big monopolists and rich industrialists in . . . Texas are very much interested in the educational program of our State.

Administrative Procedure

Duncalf — The faculty is the working part of the University. The function of the administration (deans, vice president, president) and the Regents really is to assist the faculty. If they fail to do that, they have failed to fulfill their true functions.

The President stands between the faculty and the Regents. Dr. Rainey is sympathetic with the faculty. The faculty has been able to work with unusual harmony. We can't quite understand why the Regents don't get along with him.

Q. Could a university ever be successfully operated if the regents attempt to operate it themselves?

Duncalf — No, it would be very difficult. If it were successful, it would be because the faculty and deans carry on.

Q. Have you found the Regents jealous of their prerogatives and power, interfering in matters that should be left to the administration?

Duncalf — The Regents have reverted to their legal powers and have assumed that because they have legal powers, they have to use them.

Bullington — The Board has not failed to recognize the proper relationships between it and President Rainey. The best evidence of this is that after six years as President he is able to find only 16 points wherein the Board has differed from his recommendations. Members of the Board, with only one or two exceptions, have had considerable experience as employers, as members of civic and business governing boards. . . . We think we know what is and what is not interference with the functions of an executive.

Rainey — A president has two major functions: (1) to get together as fine a collection of scholars as possible, and (2) to set conditions for them to work in as stimulating and happy an atmosphere as possible, in their relations with each other, with students, and with the administration.

There has evolved a set of principles in educational administration. The major difficulty here is the Board's refusal to recognize these principles. The President has no legal power under the statutes, he has moral power only. . . . Around the presidency has grown up tradition, ideals and principles which flow through him as the central figure. If those relationships are violated, if the governing board goes around him in relationships with the faculty and with the public, his leadership is brought to naught. Those relationships have been violated. . . .

The Board has taken the attitude that under the law they are charged with the operation of the University. So they are. They have fallen back on their powers under the law. I have never questioned the legal authority of the Board. But under the law this Board is given broad discretionary power. They could observe these relationships if they have the will to do it . . . The Board can function through their executive officers.

Lack of these principles will undermine the morale of the faculty. They don't know where authority proceeds, they get the idea that the University is being administered on a political basis.

Medical School Controversy — An Example of Improper Administrative Procedure

Bullington — . . . He (Dr. Rainey) complained that Regent Harrison and I made a private and unannounced visit to the Medical College at Galveston in June, 1941. We did visit the Medical College . . . in our official capacity as Regents without consulting anyone. . . .

Regent Harrison and I were the only new Regents appointed by the Governor in 1941. After we became Regents we found the Board closely divided on the question of retaining or discharging Dean (John W.) Spies, because of a heated controversy existing between Spies and a majority of the faculty. . . . We could not properly decide what was best for the Medical College until we understood the facts. . . . Accordingly we went to Galveston. . . . We worked two days and got the facts. We found only one faculty member during our investigation that believed Dean Spies could ever work out the difficulties existing at the medical school. We concluded that the situation required a new Dean. . . . I suggested to the Chairman (of the Board) that . . . it would be an act of courtesy to inform Dr. Rainey that a majority of the Board opposed the re-election of Dean Spies. The Chairman agreed to the suggestion and later did so inform Dr. Rainey. . . . Dr. Rainey . . . at the next meeting lengthily lectured the Regents . . . on their function as Regents, and criticized them for encroaching upon what he claimed was his prerogative as President of the University. Later all organized medical groups in Texas recommended that the Board give Dean Spies another opportunity. The Board accepted their recommendation. . . . .

. . . the conclusion reached by Regent Harrison and by me was later shown to be correct when the Board unanimously removed Dr. Spies as Dean, and this ended the trouble. . . .

. . . The Regents were obliged to make (an) investigation when the Medical College was placed on probation by the Association of American Medical Colleges and by the Committee on Medical Education of the American Medical Association. . . . An overwhelming majority of the faculty petitioned the Board to remove Dr. Spies as Dean, and almost as many of the faculty requested the Board to no longer permit Dr. Rainey to have any connection with or supervision over the Medical Branch. . . .

Accordingly the Board ordered Dr. Rainey to cease all supervision of the Medical Branch and leave the matter of working the Medical Branch out of its difficulty entirely to the vice president and dean to be elected . . . Later Dr. Chauncey D. Leake, nationally prominent in medical education circles, was elected vice president and dean of the Medical Branch. The Board instructed Dr. Leake to take over the complete management and supervision of the Medical Branch, subject to the approval of the Board. . . . The results speak for themselves.

Turmoil and friction have ended. The college has been taken off probation by the two national accrediting bodies.

Rainey — . . . . Sometime shortly after their selection, without ever mentioning it to the President or discussing it with the Dean of the Medical Branch, these two Regents (Harrison and Bullington) went to Galveston and made a personal "survey" of the medical situation. They spent a day and a half or two days in Galveston interviewing various members of the faculty and citizens of Galveston. In this "survey" they seemed certain that they had found the answer to our problems in Galveston and a short time later, joining with other members of the Board, sent an ultimatum to me as President that I should not renominate Dean Spies at the forthcoming meeting of the Board of Regents on July 9, 1941, and that if I did renominate him, they would have to vote him down.

It should be noted that this demand . . . came after great progress had been made in straightening out the affairs of the Medical School. . . . After a year's study by faculty committees, aided by committees of doctors representing county and state medical societies . . . ., a thoroughly modern program of medical education was proposed for the Medical School. . . . This program received almost universal approval by the medical profession in Texas and our request for adequate funds to finance it was supported strongly by them in the Legislature. . . . The Legislature in 1941, prior to the ultimatum spoken of above, appropriated approximately one million dollars a year for the operation of the Medical Branch. . . . Thus the ultimatum of the Board Members not to reappoint Dean Spies came at the time of the greatest success for the Medical Program that had been achieved by any administration in the history of the University.

I plead with (the Board) for more than a week (not to take this action). However, . . . on July 8, 1941, the Board announced to the public its intention not to re-employ Dean Spies, but said that the matter would be finally determined at a later meeting. . . . A veritable avalanche of protests from the medical profession in Texas descended upon the Regents . . . . and the pressure upon the Board increased to such an extent that when the Board met again on July 26 it reversed its former decision and re-employed Dean Spies. . . . the Regents did not support either him (Dean Spies) or me in the months that followed, and their refusal to do so led to one crisis after another until a year later . . . there was nothing that could be done except to get a new administration for the Medical School.

. . . I did not hire Dean Spies, . . . but since he was the Dean, I felt it my duty . . . to support him insofar as I was able and to try to give his administration a chance to succeed.

When a new dean was to be selected the Board . . . set the President aside and called upon a committee of doctors in the State to advise the Board. . . . This is a most unsound policy of university administration, since outside committees . . . are not composed of responsible administrative officers of the institution.

Q. Did you recommend the dismissal of Dean Spies?

Rainey — Any person being a party (to a controversy) has some blame. Any administrative officer makes mistakes. When the Board first determined to fire him, I thought it unjust. In July, 1941, we had made marked progress. . . . I begged the Board not to throw him out. But they did. The Medical Profession supported him . . . and the Board reinstated him. But they would not support him or me. That encouraged an element in the faculty to go ahead. That element organized the biggest sabotage campaign against an educator I've ever seen. It was done by many people but centered in Galveston. Anonymous literature was sent out all over the State. No man could succeed under an organized campaign to throw him out.

I have never seen a more difficult or tangled situation. The Board made an investigation in 1939, then asked me to make a study and report to them. In January, 1940, I reported . . . There was not a line of my report changed. The Board adopted them (my recommendations) as a policy and instructed me to carry them out.

There were four administative agencies at the Medical Branch: (1) the board of the Sealy-Smith Foundation (2) a five-person board of managers for the hospital (the hospital had been leased to the city), (3) the executive committee of the Medical School (the faculty of the Medical School as far back as 1914 ceased to be a deliberative authority and placed authority in the hands of an executive committee, theoretically elected annually, but there had been no change for ten years. Faculty members said they were intimidated.) and (4) the Board of Regents.

These administrative agencies were interlocking. One man was chairman of the Sealy-Smith Foundation, also on the Board of Managers, also head of surgery, also member of the Board of Regents. Furthermore a member of the Sealy family on the Sealy-Smith Foundation board gave him a proxy. The medical faculty and dean had nothing to do with the school and hospital administration, nor did the Board of Regents.

The Board of Regents had decided to change this before I came to Texas.

Parten — Dr. H. Y. Benedict (former President) used to complain about Medical School matters going directly to the Board without a chance for him to handle and pass upon them in due order. . . . He said . . . though it was traditional, he did not like to see the Board and President "rubber stamp" all actions of the controlling elements of the medical faculty and/or the Sealy-Smith Foundation.

About a year before he passed away, he remarked to me that some day a courageous Board and a President who would have to be younger that he were going to have to take charge of the Medical School in fact. . . .

Later when a search for a Dean of the Medical School was in progress under the administration of Acting President J. W. Calhoun (and this search ran concurrently with a search for a permanent President of the University, I was called into conference by Dr. Randall and Dr. Aynesworth (the medical committee of the Board.) I was told they had reached an agreement that things at the Medical School were not going well, that control of the Medical School had always been at Galveston and that they were in agreement that the Board of Regents should support Dr. Calhoun in securing an outstanding dean who could be counted upon to bring the Medical School directly under the control of the President and Regents. . . .

. . . the Board of Regents and the Acting President through the new dean (Spies) started out early in 1939 to take charge in fact of the Medical School. . . .

Resistance came quickly. . . . In the spring of 1939 a crisis had developed between the Foundation-employed superintendent of the hospital . . . and some of the part-time teaching staff on the one hand, and the new dean on the other. Feeling was so intense as to cause one Regent, on the day before Dr. Rainey took over as President . . . to say that Dean Spies would have to go. I can tell you . . . that the Medical School "pot was boiling" and the lid was not easy to hold down even on the day that Dr. Rainey took office.

The new President (Rainey), supported by a majority of the Regents, wrestled valiantly with the problem throughout 1939 and 1940. . . . I understand it was in 1942 that the Board decided as a first step in solving the problem of the Medical School . . . to turn all control back to Galveston. Dean Spies was discharged. It seems odd, at least to me, that in the course of these events, the solution chosen was . . . a complete reversion to the system of which Dr. Benedict had complained only a few years before.

Throughout the year 1940, when the Medical School . . . was giving the Board and the administration much concern, it was common gossip that if Dr. Rainey did not cease to give support to Dean Spies, there were certain forces that would get his, Dr. Rainey's, job as well because he was considered a little "pink" anyway.

Strickland —

Q. Was it good administrative procedure to select yourselves the dean or vice president of the Medical School and discontinue Rainey's (connection with the school)?

Strickland — Dr. Rainey agreed to it. I don't think it was, but he admitted he couldn't get along (in the situation).

Q. Is it your thought that the policy of (the dean of the Medical School) reporting directly to the Board is a good policy?

Strickland — It's a bad policy. We've got to get a president who can deal with the Medical School. . . .

Q. Didn't you recommend moving the College of Pharmacy?

Strickland — Yes. And we were criticized for it.

Q. Do you think that was a good move?

Strickland — I did then, but I'm not so sure now. We followed the recommendation of Dr. Leake. He said it would save money. . . . If any mistake was made, it can be remedied. The change won't be made until it's gone into thoroughly.

Fairchild —

Q. Did you have a committee composed of members of the Board to go into the Medical School (matter)?

Fairchild — Yes. The committee investigated in Galveston on several occasions, concerning Dean Spies. Dr. Rainey was brought up each time.

Q. Did you gain the impression that it was an investigation of Dr. Rainey?

Fairchild — I had that distinct impression in the last investigation of the Spies case. . . . During the investigation in the spring of 1942. I felt it laid the emphasis on Dr. Rainey.

Rainey — The Board said I had been a party to the controversy . . . so the Board appointed a committee of doctors (to make the selection of the new dean of the medical school).

Q. Who was on the committee?

Rainey — Dr. W. E. Stone of the Medical School faculty, Dr. O. B. Kiel of Wichita Falls, Dr. C. O. Terrell of Fort Worth and Dr. Judson Taylor of Houston. This committee made suggestions to the Board and nominated the new dean. . . . It is a coincidence that the two doctors recently appointed to the Board of Regents (Dr. Terrell and Dr. Taylor) are the same who were on the committee to choose a dean.

Q. Had Dr. Stone taken any part in the controversy?

Rainey — He was active against Dr. Spies.

THE EMERGENCY

When the Regents on November 1 dismissed Dr. Rainey as president of the University, they declared an emergency existed that required his immediate removal. The testimony presented before the Senate Committee revealed that that "emergency" was created by Dr. Rainey's October 12 statement before the General Faculty, in which he charged the Regents with violation of (1) academic freedom and (2) sound principles of administration, and listed 16 specific cases of such violations. With the exception of Mrs. Fairchild, the Regents insisted that Dr. Rainey retract that statement. However, two Regents admitted in their testimony before the Senate Committee that they would have voted to remove him even had he retracted the statement.

Testimony

Bobbitt — President W. H. Francis of the Ex-Students' Association appointed a committee of five members . . . to join a faculty committee . . . to meet with the Regents on October 31.

We met with the Regents in the Rice Hotel, and for two days and nights . . . worked most diligently and in the utmost good faith trying to compose the differences between the President and the Regents.

Judge J. C. Hutcheson was spokesman for the Ex-Student committee and the faculty committee. At our first meeting with the Regents we presented to them the resolution of the faculty (a declaration on sound administrative procedure together with suggestions for composing the crisis).

In connection with this declaration, it was suggested that a special committee be appointed by the Board of Regents from the teaching faculty to serve in a liaison capacity for the purpose of considering future problems of board and administrative relationships and differences of policy. . . . We felt that certainly this arrangement would form a basis of accord and save the threatening crisis. . . .

To our surprise and disappointment, . . . after the commitees had thus agreed and after the Regents had led the committees to feel that matters could be worked out on this basis, the Regents "balked" and demanded that President Rainey withdraw **in toto his** statement to the Faculty of October 12.

. . . the committees . . . went over the situation fully with Dr. Rainey. . . . We had numerous conferences with the Regents . . . and we were all led to believe that if Dr. Rainey would make a statement withdrawing all personalities and reflections, expressed or implied, from the statement of October 12, . . . we could go forward in a cooperative manner. . . .

Much to our surprise and chagrin, we received word . . . that the Regents were adamant in their demand that the entire statement, . . . of October 12 be withdrawn. . . .

Dr. Rainey stated that in good conscience he had gone as far as he felt he could possibly go to maintain self-respect, and the principles of . . . academic freedom, and the proper administration of great educational institutions.

. . . it is now clear that Dr. Rainey was to be "fired" without regard to his withdrawal . . . of his statement of October 12.

. . . Dr. Rainey stood firm on his principles. He was dismissed, upon the motion of a Regent who had attended only one meeting out of the last eleven, and for the purported reasons stated in the order which are so general as to invite suspicion of everyone concerned.

Bullington —

Q. Did you or any member of the Board make any proposition to Dr. Rainey if he'd retract those 16 points?

Bullington — Not a trade. I told him he shouldn't have made that statement. . . . The least he could do was retract. . . .

Q. What would have been the Board's action if he had? Would it have made any difference?

Bullington — I don't know, but I don't think so.

Stark —

Q. Would you have voted to keep Dr. Rainey as president if he had not made those 16 charges against the Board?

Stark — No.

Schreiner — I don't say I wouldn't have composed other differences . . . It was the statement that stood in the way.

Strickland — . . . then for the administrator to go out and attack (the Board). . . . I never had any hope after that. The Board had to quit or Rainey had to. You can't read (Rainey's statement) and find any justice. . . . It might have changed the results if Dr. Rainey had retracted his statement. I don't think any member of the Board would have removed him because of injured pride.

Fairchild —

Q. Did you ask him to withdraw the 16 points?

Fairchild — No. I felt he shouldn't. I told him, "I feel if you did retract, I wouldn't want you for my president. I'd vote against you."

POSSIBLE REMEDIES

Almost every witness was asked by the Senate Committee what suggestions he could offer to solve the present controversy and to avoid a recurrence of such a situation so damaging to the University's welfare. Predominant were suggestions that all members of the present Board except Mrs. Fairchild should resign, and that a new Board be constituted of men and women previously unconnected with the controversy who could approach the situation with but one interest at heart—the welfare of the University. Dr. Rainey, the faculty representatives, and one Regent suggested a thorough study of governing boards, their duties and powers. Several advocated changes in the statutes and even the Constitution to set up additional safeguards against political manipulation of the Board.

Testimony

Bullington — . . . This crisis will pass as other crises have passed, with right triumphant, if the facts and issues are properly understood. The University is greater than any one man. It is greater than any group or organization of men. The Regents acted with, and have, a firm and steadfast belief in the necessity and the righteousness of their decision. They obeyed their oaths of office.

Himstead — The A. A. U. P. has given a lot of thought to selecting trustees. Power corrupts. Some states elect trustees. I think appointment is better. But on such terms that no one governor can determine a majority. . . . Normally the Texas plan is one of the better ways. There is no way of avoiding misuse of power.

Stark — . . . No one not on the Board can realize how much work is entailed. . . . As far as educational part is concerned, I've heard the senators ask if we are trained. I say we are not. More and more we are dependent on the administration. We devote 10 per cent of our attention to the educational program and 90 per cent to business interests.

I suggest a thorough study of directing boards. . . . An exhaustive study should be made. . . . We may have to pass a statute calling for a professional board of Regents who will handle the business interests of the University and leave the educational program to professional educators. . . . There are going to have to be a lot of changes in the statutes regarding the Board of Regents.

Strickland — It would be a fine thing if the length of tenure (of Regents) or the number of Regents were changed so one governor could not control the Board.

Duncalf — At its November 4th meeting, the General Faculty of the University adopted a resolution asking the Governor to consult with the faculty and ex-students and a second resolution asking for Dr. Rainey's reinstatement. Another resolution provided for appointment of a committee to study the operation of this and other universities as to boards, tenure, etc.

Dobie — The only remedy I see is for the present Board members with the exception of Mrs. Fairchild to resign, then to get a new Board appointed with a freer mind. If the present members resign and another Board of the same complexion is appointed, we won't be any better off.

Parten — . . . those four Regents who remain upon the Board and who were of the majority of the Board which failed . . . to solve this controversy . . . have served out fully their period of usefulness . . . and should tender their resignations to the Governor. The Governor should . . . accept such resignations . . . and should . . . select new appointees to the Board who will represent . . . a true cross-section in thinking of the great body of people of this State who are really interested in the quality as well as the quantity of higher education.

Bobbitt — . . . if the Governor would call for the resignations of these Regents who have already expressed their desire to quit, they would promptly step aside. If Governor Stevenson would then appoint Regents duly qualified and free from hatred and prejudice, and if the Senate will promptly . . . "consent to the appointment . . .," the way will be clear.

Rainey — . . . I don't want to leave without trying to make some helpful constructive suggestions. I would suggest (1) That a very careful and comprehensive study of the government of the University be made — of laws, the Constitution (of Texas), the Rules and Regulations of the Board of Regents — to lay the foundation for a fine program. . . . (2) That the faculty and the Board itself appoint a committee to study tenure and academic freedom, to arrive at clear conceptions, to revamp the whole area so the University will come out with an understanding that will be accepted and recognized. . . .

I still believe if that could be the outcome of this controversy, it will not have been in vain. . . .

What I have done, I have done with the best interests of the University of Texas at heart and for no other reason.

The real danger is not Communism but the dangers that are going to arise in the world because of power. I fear that now this nation is getting to be so powerful that we may lose sight of the principles for which we have stood for so long.

Democracy is a tolerant and a liberal thing. These are difficult times for liberals and there are going to be difficult times ahead. Intellectuals are the first to be liquidated in any revolution because they are tolerant.

If we lose the battle in our schools, we will have gone a long way toward losing it in general. For that reason, I have felt that it is more important for me to stand for those principles of freedom and democracy in the University of Texas than it is for me to be president of the University.

[The printing and distribution of this summary was paid for by the contributions of individuals.]

December 12, 1944

Dr. Homer P. Rainey
108 West 27th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Dr. Rainey:

The Southern Regional Council, at its annual meeting in Atlanta on December 6, unanimously adopted a resolution deploring the action of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas in dismissing you from the presidency of the University and expressing confidence in your liberal leadership.

It is hard to tell whether such resolutions help or hurt the persons involved, but we wanted to express ourselves, and we voted to give the resolution to the press. Perhaps you have already seen notice of it. I am enclosing a copy of the resolution and a clipping from the Atlanta Constitution of December 7.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosures - 2
Constitution clipping
Rainey resolution

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RESOLUTION

HOMER P. RAINEY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

The Southern Regional Council wishes to protest the dismissal of Dr. Homer P. Rainey as President of the University of Texas. The Council believes this is a startling infringement of personal and academic freedom, and a severe blow to those Southern persons and agencies working for democratic rights.

The Southern Regional Council believes in Dr. Rainey because of his long and effective participation in progressive movements. It believes in him because of his close association with us in the formation of SRC which he now serves as Vice-President. The Council commends him for the stand he has taken, and applauds those Texas citizens and those students and faculty members at the University of Texas who gave him such unqualified support.

Bowles Exposes Industry Scheme to Hike Stove Prices

OPA Chief Says Plot Might Have Cost Public $25,000,000

By Elizabeth Donahue
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—"It certainly looked authentic but this story is a counterfeit."

That is how OPA Administrator Chester A. Bowles summed up the propaganda campaign staged by a "small minority" of the stove industry which seeks higher prices while its wartime profits are inflated four times above the prewar level.

The first government official to outline the case history of a campaign for higher prices, Bowles described the drive as "only one of many steps planned by a firm employed by a minority group to help raise prices for their already profitable industry."

"All of the facts," Bowles said, "might have sounded perfectly plausible if you did not know the facts about the wartime earnings of the above industry."

Prize Propaganda

The OPA Administrator disclosed that on the basis of "confidential" paper issued by a publicity firm to its clients in the stove manufacturing business, the whole price propaganda story could be traced from its source.

Bowles

He revealed that a recent OPA survey showed that firms still making stoves under price restrictions "made three times the profits before taxes in the first half of this year as in a similar period before the war." Bowles added that other firms which have converted part of their plants to war work, "averaged four times the profits" they accumulated during peace time.

The plot of the higher-price-and-profit drive, Bowles said, "is easy and interesting to reconstruct." It was unveiled to him by men in the industry who refused to participate in the campaign. It developed this way:

A publicity agent got in touch with his clients last May and offered to get them higher profits under a plan designed "to intimidate Congress and the OPA into granting higher stove prices."

The plan envisioned a vast propaganda drive and included editorial matter which Bowles said was to be circulated among "700 newspapers as well as all leading business editors, financial writers, economists and radio commentators."

Editorials Prepared

A number of finished editorials were prepared for the editors to slap into print and the publicity agent soon reported to his clients that the editorials had already been dispatched "to several hundred papers which will probably publish them."

In a sharp reminder to the press to be on the lookout for the publicity handouts, Bowles declared "I am sure the alert and public-spirited newspaper editors of the country will be interested to know that such editorials are headed their way."

Quoting from the overall plan the OPA chief disclosed that some of the Nation's leading economists had been persuaded by the skilled public relations expert "to prepare a special article on the stove industry's need for higher prices." The article, it was pointed out, "is to be published soon in a leading financial paper and reprints sent to members of Congress and leading writers."

Bowles pointed out that the publicity plan also showed that the agent wrote his clients "we have prepared a statement" to be made by certain economists. The plan boasted further, according to Bowles, that it had lined up the big-game economists "to lend their reputations to publicity man's words."

Promises to Industry

Through the combined efforts of these groups and "leading business men and civic groups," the industry was promised that "the cause of higher stove prices" would be victorious.

Emphasizing that the plan was also designed to "appeal to all of you who are waiting to buy stoves," Bowles related that the publicity firm was looking for "a small town where the stove industry was the main industry, giving jobs to many of the townspeople."

"The idea," the OPA Administrator said, "was to picture the sad effects on the inhabitants if OPA doesn't increase the stove industry's wartime profits."

Commending the patriotism of the stove industry as a whole, Bowles said "If this selfish effort had succeeded" the industry stood to gain—and the public lose—$22,000,000 to $25,000,000.

Bowles said the organized propaganda drive originated last Spring when Congress was considering renewal of the Price Control Act. This case, he added "is the latest example of pressure group activity. It is the work of a misguided minority in the stove industry."

Ask Immediate Wage Rise OK

By United Press

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—Philip Murray, CIO president, has demanded prompt approval by the Office of Price Administration and the Office of Economic Stabilization of fringe wage increases granted by the War Labor Board for 400,000 workers of 86 basic steel companies.

Murray and a delegation of CIO and United Steel Workers, CIO, representatives conferred for two hours with Price Administrator Chester Bowles and Economic Stabilizer Fred M. Vinson.

Following the conference Murray hinted that the steel workers did not obtain all they sought and announced he would make a formal statement later.

White House Holds Fate of No-Strike Pact

FDR or Vinson Must Decide on Action In Ward Walkout

By John T. Moutoux
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16.—The White House will have to call Sewell Avery's bluff or jeopardize continuation of the no-strike pledge and peaceful settlement of wartime labor disputes, labor leaders here believe.

The showdown with the head of Montgomery Ward and Co. is expected to come soon. Unless Avery does an unexpected about-face by Monday night, five Montgomery Ward non-compliance cases will be referred by the War Labor Board to the White House.

It will then be up to Economic Stabilization Director Fred M. Vinson or President Roosevelt to decide what action, if any, shall be taken to bring Avery in line with the vast majority of the country's employers who have had cases before the WLB and who have abided by Board decisions.

Range of Action

Speculation as to what action the President will take ranges all the way from no action at all to Government seizure of the entire nationwide Montgomery Ward system.

Failure to act, union leaders warn, may have disastrous effects on the Nation's industrial relations.

Lloyd Garrison, public member of the WLB, quoted approvingly from the majority report of the Ramspeck Committee of the House on last May's seizure of Ward's Chicago properties.

Stable Policy

"If the order of the Board could not and should not be enforced in this case, it could not and would not be enforced by others. If the order of the Board could be disregarded at pleasure by one business or one union, all could exercise the same right and anything like a stable war labor policy would be gone.

Garrison

"The situation demanded prompt, firm, and courageous action, and in our judgment the course pursued was not only within the Constitutional power but was the plain duty of the President."

Garrison said those were his views in the present situation, and Dr. Frank Graham, presiding, said the quotation was "a good note to end these hearings on."

Civilian Gas Quota

Petroleum Administrator Harold L. Ickes has announced that civilian drivers will be allocated 1,144,000 barrels of auto gasoline daily for the first three months of 1945.

Man and the Beasts in the North

Way up in the northern barren lands, Coast Guard Commodore Earl G. Rose of Staten Island finds that man's best friend is his husky sledge team. Coast Guardsmen in Arctic climes patrol against enemy action. *Coast Guard Photo*

Rank and File of UAW Seen Retaining No-Strike Pledge

By Arnold Beichman
Staff Correspondent

DETROIT, Dec. 16.—The biggest union in America, with more than 1,100,000 members is the United Auto Workers, CIO, which in less than three weeks will begin mailing ballots to its members in a referendum to decide whether or not it should retain its no-strike pledge for the duration of the war.

Predicting anything about any action of the UAW membership, a turbulent, independent body, is always hazardous. However, UAW leaders and spokesmen interviewed here say that retention of the no-strike pledge is certain—but probably by a close vote.

Results of the balloting will not be known until sometime in March since union members are not only scattered throughout the country but also because about 300,000 of them, now in the armed forces, are scattered all over the world, and they, too, are to vote.

The referendum is the outgrowth of a particularly bitter fight at the last UAW convention over retention of the no-strike pledge.

The three dominant viewpoints expressed at the union conclave were:

¶ Majority—unconditional reaffirmation of the pledge.

¶ Minority—lifting the pledge in non-war plants after Germany's defeat.

¶ "Minor"-minority — outright repeal of the pledge.

None of these resolutions passed. What happened at the convention was that as one of three resolutions came up for a vote, proponents of the other two ganged up to defeat it.

However, the delegates finally passed two resolutons—to uphold the pledge and to call for a referendum among the membership as to its continuance.

The no-strike pledge has been a recurring and dynamite-laden problem in the UAW since its adoption by the CIO shortly after Pearl Harbor.

It should be made clear that the anti-strike pledge sentiment is not the result of agitation by top UAW leaders. To put it frankly and analytically, it reflects the opinions of UAW members many of whom are new to the labor movement.

It is this sentiment which made it a foregone conclusion that the week-old strike of Montgomery, Ward workers here would receive the blessing and sanction of CIO leaders of local unions and top UAW officials. It is this kind of sentiment which at the next UAW convention, regardless of the referendum result, may lead to amending the no-strike pledge to permit walkouts in plants handling civilian production.

What makes the present referendum significant is not merely that it is the only one being planned on the no-strike pledge by a labor organization today but rather that it is even being planned, that it became imperative to consult the union membership as the only way out of a major split within the UAW.

The referendum call symbolizes the opinion held by various factions within the UAW—Left and Right—that, in the words of Walter P. Reuther, UAW vice president and proponent of the no-strike pledge modification after the German defeat, "collective bargaining has in too many cases become collective begging."

Students at University of Texas in Austin demonstrate in protest against actions of the Board of Regents, including the oust

First-Hand Report on Capture of University of T

Regents Use Power To Block All Social and Progressive Moves

Because the firing Nov. 1 of Homer P. Rainey of Texas has a tremendous bearing on the whole question of academic freedom in this country, we sent Evelyn Seeley out to Texas to find out what was going on. Evelyn Seeley has been a teacher as well as a reporter, having taught journalism at Sarah Lawrence College and New York University. Last Spring she wrote the story which caused Dr. Edmund Day, president of Cornell University, to restore a course on contemporary Russia which had been dropped because of World-Telegram *Red-baiting.*

By Evelyn Seeley

It takes a long time to get to Texas without priority; it makes you very tired; it costs a lot of money, and you have no business taking up space needed by armed forces or war workers unless it is important.

As I made my way to Austin, on whatever means of transportation could afford me space, I wondered if the story of Dr. Homer Rainey's firing from the presidency of Texas University was big enough to warrant all this.

I found that the Rainey situation is the beginning and a part of the biggest story in the country. Exposed in Texas I saw a well-defined pattern of native fascism, so like Hitler's own it didn't take economics professors to point it out.

"This is the battleground," was the first thing I heard someone saying in the corridors of the State Capitol as I came in during a recess in the Senate hearings on the university crisis.

"This is a matter of life and death," Dr. Blake Smith, pastor of the University Baptist Church and president of the Austin Ministerial Alliance, said to me. "We are involved in the issues for which our boys are dying."

I got there in time to hear Dr. Rainey, a calm and measured speaker who does not throw terms around, put it this way:

"The real danger in Texas is not Communism but its opposite. The real danger here is arising out of our tremendous wealth and power and its threat to control our educational, economic and government institutions. Gentlemen, I know you are concerned. If we lose this battle in our schools, we have gone a long way toward losing it generally."

I got there for the last two days of the hearings, and the testimony I heard packed into those two days, and talks I had later with faculty members, students, State officials, progressive leaders, politicians, millionaires and editors—on both sides of the fence—showed me the whole picture good and clear.

I heard the chronology of sniping and barrage by which the Regents, representing the tremendous vested interests in and out of Texas—and the powerful reactionary individuals and forces back of them, cut away Rainey's support and then at last got him.

I saw how they designed the pattern, and sketched its background, right out of Goebbels' book on how to stir up and play upon the fears and prejudices and taboos of the people.

Communism, morals, race prejudice—these were the issues they used for weapons.

What the Record Shows

Here is the record of the Regents in this case:

1941

¶ Blocked and short-circuited Dr. Rainey, who, since his arrival late in '39 had concentrated on clearing up the University Medical School problem (in Galveston). This was a terrific headache, almost insoluble, and Rainey, like everybody concerned in trying to solve it, made enemies. But he had been given the go-ahead and was making progress when suddenly Gov. W. Lee ("Pappy") O'Daniel replaced three liberal Regents by three reactionary oil millionaires, two of whom immediately plunged into the Medical School mess over Dr. Rainey's head and pushed him and his program out.

¶ Attempted to cut from the faculty budget Dr. Robert Montgomery, brilliant New Deal economist, popular and effective with students.

1942

¶ Fired three young economics instructors who, denied permission to speak from the floor to correct misstatements about labor laws at a big anti-labor rally in Dallas, published a protesting letter in the Dallas *News* and refused to retract or apologize to the Regents, as they requested. This so-called "patriotic mass meeting" had been organized during a series of strikes by Karl Hoblitzelle, Dallas millionaire known for his anti-labor activities. The economists asked permission to speak in order to correct the impression, in this completely anti-union setup, that workers were forbidden by law to work more than 40 hours a week. The Regents fired them on the basis of impolite and improper behavior and failed to reappoint them.

¶ Refused to grant a leave of absence to Dr. G. W. Stumberg, law professor who had defended the economics instructors, when he was asked to go to Casablanca for the Board of Economic Warfare. His resignation was accepted.

¶ Banned the book *U. S. A.*, Dos Passos' recently-published trilogy—*42d Parallel, 1919,* and *The Big Money*—from the sophomore reading life in Contemporary American literature, as "lewd and obscene" and tried by inquisition methods to isolate and fire the professor who put it on the list.

¶ Regent D. Frank Strickland attempted to impose a "patriotism test," exhibiting a questionnaire to be filled out by all faculty and employes, on the basis that "unpatriotic attitudes and activities" would be discovered and those responsible removed from the university.

¶ When Rainey opposed and the board refused to adopt the patriotism test, Strickland led an attempt to destroy academic tenure, a long-established policy in the best universities which the Regent called "a self-perpetuating feudal system." (The American Association of University Professors which strongly protects tenure was called "the professors' CIO labor union" by the Regents.) Strickland's resolution tried to strike out the clause which establishes the right of a professor to have charges preferred against him and a full hearing on them before he is discharged. This started a long controversy, during which the principle of tenure was upheld by the State Attorney General. But the Regents won in effect, bringing about a revision that greatly weakened tenure and, according to Dr. Rainey, deeply damaged faculty security and morale.

¶ Voted down the long-repeated request for a School of Social Work at the university. Voted down eight appropriation requests for social science projects. One vote discontinued the university's work for rural people at Medina Valley where a model community had been set up. (One regent remarked, "I don't see why we should teach them to brush their teeth.") Another vote withheld $150 for a study of the effects of the Sacco-Vanzetti case on American literature; on the grounds that "Justice Frankfurter has already made martyrs of these two men and there is no reason to study the matter any further."

1943

¶ Threatened an investigation of the university's purchase of "lewd, obscene, and atheistic" books by Byron and Shelley.

¶ Threatened to censor the *Daily Texan,* student newspaper, which has repeatedly won first prize among college papers for excellence, always pro-Rainey.

¶ Fired Arthur L. Brandon, public relations director whom Dr. Rainey brought with him by agreement with the board, without trial or cause. (Their charges, I learned, not published or preferred for obvious reasons, were: 1. No Regents' pictures appeared alongside Rainey's in special university edition of Dallas *News [because they didn't get there before deadline];* 2. That the University News Service wasn't desired, although 150 wires from the Texas press testified to the contrary when Brandon was fired; 3. That Brandon allowed bad publicity about the university to be published.) The Regents called this an economy measure, although at the same meeting they raised the salary budget $200,000.

1944

¶ Gagged Dr. Rainey, asking him not to make so many speeches, "especially to religious groups." (One speech in question was made at Christ Church in New York on *Fulfilling Commitments of Science, Democracy and Christianity* and what it said in essence was "the present status of our democracy is not good enough.")

¶ Rainey, fed up at last and having now an open issue of the violation of academic freedom, came before the faculty on Oct. 12 with a 16-p events, and

¶ Regents voted 6 to regents diss ber of the b had died th

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with a 16-point statement outlining all these events, and many more.

¶ Regents met in Houston on Nov. 1 and voted 6 to 2 to fire Dr. Rainey. (The two regents dissenting resigned. The ninth member of the board, who had been pro-Rainey, had died the day before.)

These were the events by which the regents blocked Rainey's ordinary administrative practices, hindered his development of the university, and repeatedly violated the principle of academic freedom on which democracy is founded. And this was the Goebbels' line, brought out in the hearings, which ran through and accompanied it.

("Unsuccessful efforts have been made by the Regents to divert our attention from the main issue (academic freedom)," Dr. Rainey said in a recent broadcast, "by dragging in certain 'red herrings' such as Communism, the morals issue, the Negro problem, the case of a conscientious objector, and a book on the reading list which they described as foul and obscene.")

About the Communist Issue

The red scare is old at U. T. I was told that each time a bill to tax Texas' vast—and largely Wall Street-owned – natural resources is introduced, the oil lobbyists cry "red" and divert legislative attention to the university.

When Martin Dies and his committee came to the University in the Spring of 1940, Rainey opened the doors to him. Dies stayed two weeks, giving the press statements full of dire Moscow implications. But when, at the end of six months of Dies' stalling, Rainey wired to Dies to "put up or shut up," Dies reported to the press a clean bill of health for the university.

On the witness stand under oath, Regent Strickland confessed he could offer no evidence of Communism at the university.

(Dr. Rainey in a recent radio speech scored the attacks on the patriotism of his faculty members and told of the university's big war training program which has trained thousands of men for the Navy, gave more than 100 faculty members to the armed services, and trained some 20,000 men for production industries.)

"Communist" has been whispered by red-baiters against the Raineys too, for their general liberal views and because they say some good things about Russia, which they have visited. (Mrs. Rainey, an excellent speaker, is in demand by student and women's club groups.)

The Raineys were impressed by Russia's accomplishments in education and economic improvement, and by Russian youth's enthusiasm for their country; but they also lump Communism with fascism as denying individual value and liberty. Their constantly-emphasized point is that democracy and Christianity serve the people without the denial of freedom, but that democracy must live up to its commitments if it is to inspire American youth and grow in strength against the dangers of totalitarianism.

That's their point for democracy, but even to talk about Russia and Communism gives fuel for whispers among their enemies.

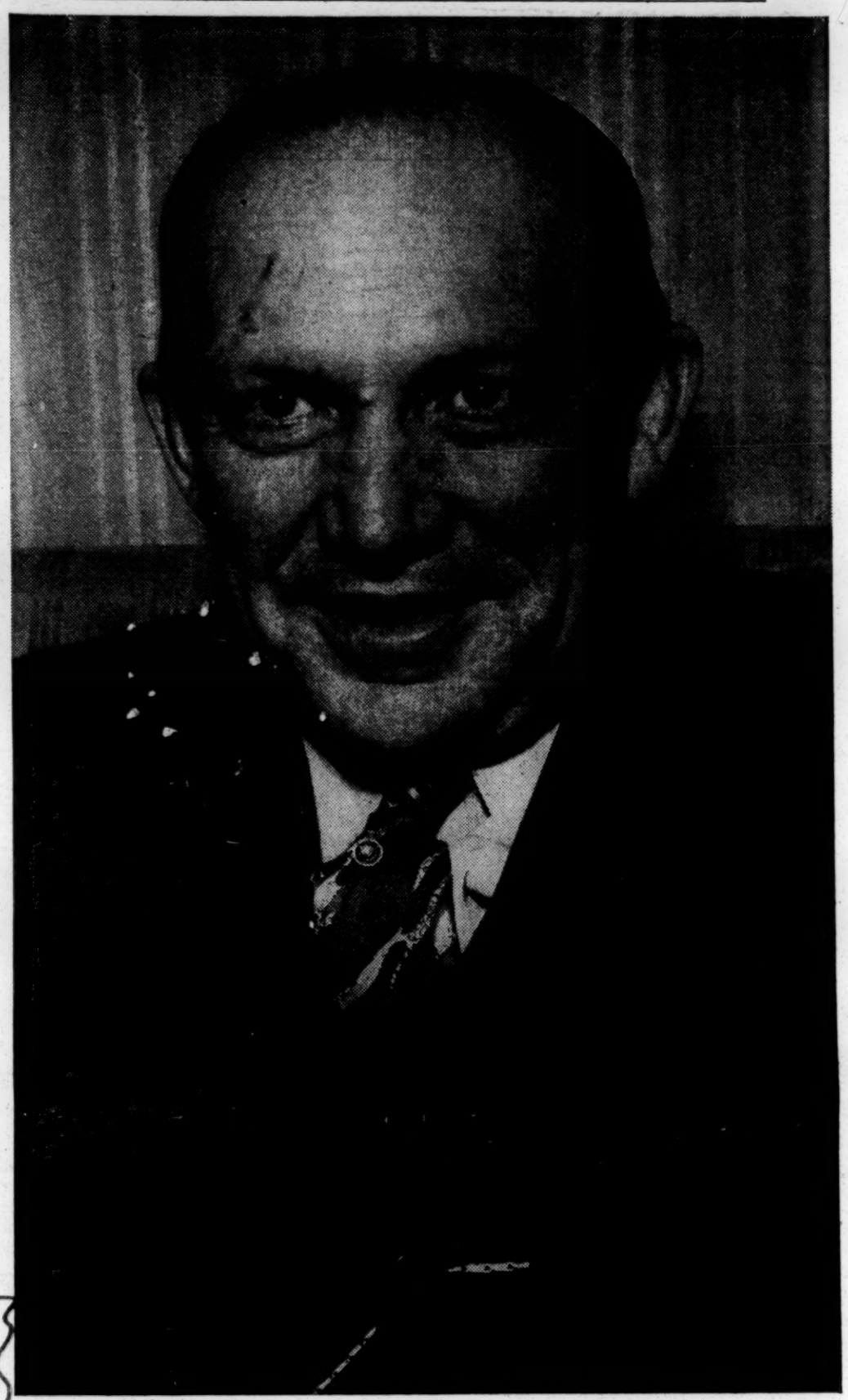
What Was the Race Bias Issue?

Regent Strickland, reported as calling Rainey "nigger lover," started the rumor that Dr. Rainey was trying to bring Negroes into the university. All that he was able to bring out was what I heard Dr. Rainey testify and what he said to me at his home about his "conservative and constructive" stand as a vice president of the Southern Regional Council, Virginius Dabney's group of middle-roaders.

This group stands for abolition of the poll tax and Jim Crow practices in transportation, for equal civil and political and educational rights. It stands for parallel, not shared, social development. The Texas legislature appropriates money to send an occasional Negro who asks for it out of the state for higher education. The council would pool the resources of the Southern states and establish Negro institutions of higher education. Neither Rainey, nor anyone else in this group, has ever suggested mixed education—anathema in the South.

"I want the people of Texas to know exactly how I stand on the race question," Rainey said at the hearing, "and I believe they will support me. It is the number one problem of Texas and the South and we must help solve it."

Regent Strickland testified as to difference of opinion between him and Dr. Rainey concerning the place of Negroes in society. He said he had objected to out-of-state trips by Dr. Rainey when they were connected with inter-racial organizations.



This is Dr. Homer Rainey, former president of the University of Texas, who was fired by the Regents only because of his progressive views.
Photo by Morris Gordon, PM

How Morals Issue Was Used

Regent Orville Bullington on Nov. 17 insisted on volunteering testimony about an investigation of what he called "a nest of homosexuality" at the university then under way but up to that point highly confidential and secret for obvious reasons. I heard Rainey testify how, on the first report of one case of homosexuality he had gone to Homer Garrison, Jr., director of public safety, and asked him to investigate thoroughly and if he found any to "root it out lock, stock and barrel."

Garrison testified that Dr. Rainey had exercised full dilligence and that secrecy had been essential to the success of this type of investigation.

There was no testimony warranting the regent's damaging phrase, "a nest of homosexuality."

Bullington, who was criticized as being so eager to get Rainey he would destroy the university's reputation to do so, admitted Rainey had followed the proper course but said he had to "spill the beans" because Rainey's failure to confide the situation to the Regents was "one of the causes of his dismissal."

The implications from Bullington's testimony were that in not telling the Regents about the situation he had condoned it, which was far from being the case.

The Dos Passos book, *U. S. A.*, was used to smear Rainey and his faculty not only as to morals but patriotism as well. Although the faculty had removed it from the reading list of contemporary American fiction at the first complaint and before the Regents took it up officially, this was and is one of their favorite anti-Rainey weapons. A mimeographed mixture of out-of-context phrases, mentioning radicals or non-conformists, criticizing Big Business, and just the plain obscenity of the contemporary vulgate, is being circulated over the state by Rainey's enemies as an attempt to show the university is sponsoring this sort of teaching.

This is the way they worked on the surface, confusing and frightening the people, as they struck at the roots of academic freedom.

NEXT: The secret Houston meeting where Texas big business plotted to get rid of Rainey.

Negro GIs' Trial Bares Vitcim as a Psychopath

No Evidence Yet Links Accused Men With Lynching

Special Correspondence

FORT LAWTON, Wash., Dec. 16.—Only two undisputed facts are apparent in the welter of testimony offered in the trial of the 41 Negro soldiers here charged with rioting:

¶ After taps on Aug. 14 an undetermined number of Negro soldiers were called from their barracks by non-coms whose identities are in dispute, and led into a free-for-all fracas against Italian prisoners of war. Knives, clubs and stones sent more than a score of the Italians to the post hospital.

¶ Eight hours later, the body of Gugliomo Olivotto, one of the prisoners of war, was found hanging from a guy wire on the camp's obstacle course.

Lt. Col. Leon Jaworski, trial judge advocate, who is directing the prosecution, has introduced evidence which he claims shows that the Italian was lynched, but has not been able by direct evidence to link any of the accused with the hanging or place them near the obstacle course.

Face Murder Charge

Three of the accused face an additional charge of murder, which the prosecution bases on their identification as leaders of the rioting.

Maj. William Beeks, defending the Negroes, created a sensation at the trial by charging Olivotto was a suicide. He produced a letter written July 17 by the U. S. officer commanding the Italian service unit asking for a mental examination of Olivotto. Other witnesses, Italian and American, testified the dead man had a morbid fear of Negroes growing out of experiences with French Morrocan troops who captured him in North Africa.

The trio accused of the murder —Cpl. Luther Larkin, 23, of Helena, Ark.; Sgt. Arthur J. Hurks, 23, of Houston, Tex., and Pvt. William G. Jones, 21, of Decatur, Ill.—all deny participating in the fight. Larkin also denies "blowing the company out," with which he has been accused, and charges the troops were actually summoned by Sgt. Robert Gresham, a member of their company, who testified for the prosecution and identified a number of those accused of taking part in the fight.

Hurks testified that not only did he not lead the fighting, but that he kept other Negroes from participating.

Resented Contrast

Previous reports of good relations between the Negroes and the Italians prior to the fight was disputed by much of the evidence. It was well established that on the evening of the fracas two Negroes were badly beaten by the Italians and dumped near the barracks. This is considered the spark which set off the smouldering resentment of the Negroes to Jim Crow treatment on and off the post while newspapers carried stories of alleged pampering of the Italians by military authorities.

The prosecution and the nine-officer court, as well as defense counsel, appear to be bending over backward to assure the accused a fair trial. The defendants have been granted an additional delay to await witnesses being flown back from overseas to testify. Observers from Negro and other interested organizations are welcomed by officials, and are on hand daily in the makeshift courtroom.

Procedure

The procedure of the court is somewhat similar to that of a civil court, but under military law no hung jury is possible. One ballot is taken with a two-thirds vote required for conviction unless the penalty is more than 10 years, in which case a three-fourths vote is necessary.

Defendants not convicted are immediately freed to return to their units. All convictions automatically go to the Judge Advocate General on appeal and death sentences must receive the personal approval of the President.

Nineteen of the accused will not take the stand on their own behalf or take advantage of the unusual court martial procedure which permits them to make unsworn statements not subject to cross examination.

Two of those in the original group of 43 accused were dropped for lack of evidence against them. One defendant suffering from influenza was brought into the courtroom in a wheelchair and fear was expressed that the trial may be further delayed if the disease spreads to other defendants or members of the court.

Many of the defendants in this case are seasoned soldiers, some with as much as three years of service to their credit. Good conduct medals, non-com stripes and overseas ribbons are much in evidence.

Dead Hero Not On Post's Rolls

Special Correspondence

GARDENA, Cal., Dec. 16.—The Veterans of Foreign Wars post in this Los Angeles suburb has taken a leaf out of the Hood River, Ore., American Legion post's record and has refused to carry the names of Japanese-American soldiers on the Honor Roll it has erected for Gardena servicemen and women.

One of the Nisei soldiers names omitted is that of Pfc. Kiyoshi K. Muranaga, who won the Distinguished Service Cross and lost his life when he, single-handedly destroyed a German 88 emplacement in Italy.

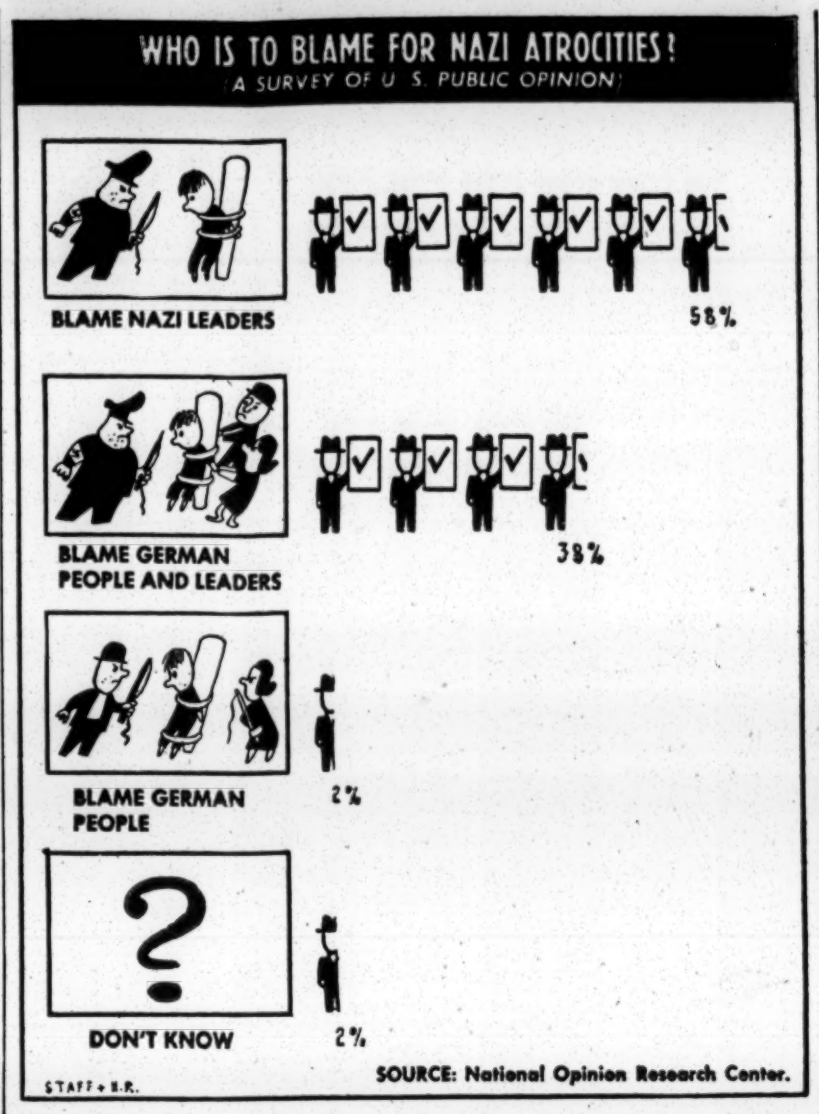
Another Nisei name the post does does not permit listing is that of a Japanese-American reported missing in action. A third is the name of a soldier badly wounded.

Not So Good

A House labor subcommittee has estimated in a report to Congress that 25,566,000 persons in the U. S. A. are handicapped by chronic disease or physical impairment.

The report said that 16,336,000 of this number were in the employable age category of between 15 and 64 years of age.

Epileptic children were placed at 700,000 and 13,000,000 persons classed as cardiac cases.



A Wounded Nisei Finds All Americans Not Like Barber

By J. S. Qualey

When Pvt. Raymond Matsuda, 29, in uniform and on crutches because of a crippling wound in the knee received in action on the Italian front in July, was kicked out of a barber shop in Poston, Ariz., in November because he was a "Jap," he was not quite sure just what he had been fighting for.

Now, however, the Hawaiian-born infantryman, is beginning to feel that maybe his sacrifice was not in vain after all.

The story of Matsuda's treatment in Poston was carried in many U. S. newspapers and it brought an avalanche of letters from citizens disgusted because a wounded American soldier should receive such Nazi-like treatment in the country he fought to protect.

The Hawaiian-born Nisei hero is back in the veterans' hospital at Modesto, Cal., convalescing from the effects of the gunshot wound in his leg. The Potson incident occurred when he was visiting friends at a war relocation center near the small Arizona town.

Mabel E. Roy, national secretary of Remember Bataan, an organization for Bataan relief, wrote Matsuda from the Michigan chapter headquarters in Pontiac:

"We, whose sons are prisoners of the Japanese and taken at the fall of Bataan and Corregidor, some of whom are still in the Philippines, some in Japan, wish you to know this does not meet with our approval. We are deeply incensed. . . . You are a much better citizen than the barber."

Mrs. Henry N. McLean, Sr., of Jasper, Ala., who had one son killed in action in Germany and has three other boys in the armed forces, said even she had "never given a sacrifice as you have."

She wrote that the story of Matsuda's treatment "hurt me very much."

Mrs. Dorothy G. M. Linden, wife of a veteran, wrote the newspaper in Poston:

"My guess is that they (the three sons of the barber who are in the armed services) will be deeply mortified and ashamed of their father's act now that they themselves are going through the mill from which the Japanese-American emerged crippled."

Many plain soldiers and commissioned officers in all branches of the service, on the war fronts and in domestic camps, also wrote the Hawaiian soldier expressing contempt for the barber's action and assuring Matsuda that they could be depended upon to fight such conduct and attitudes in America.

John H. Farrell, industrial secretary of the Greater Muskegon Chamber of Commerce, Muskegon, Mich., had this to say:

"As a former infantryman, World War I, with four battle stars on my service ribbon, a Purple Heart and Silver Star, I for one of perhaps millions of ex-service and servicemen resent bitterly the action taken by the owner of the barber shop in Poston. It is fortunate (for the barber) that I was not there when the incident happened."

Even the Boy Scouts had no stomach for the action. Troop 326 of Washington wrote congratulating Pvt. Matsuda "for blasting the Nazis."

A number of messages to Matsuda echoed the words of John Kluska of Chicago, who wrote:

"You are just as good an American as any of us."

New Congress Will Conduct A Self-Search

Creaking Machinery to Get Full Going Over

By Milton Murray
PM's Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16. — A serious attempt to retrieve the prestige once held by Congress and a thorough review of its creaking machinery is assured in the next session next year.

Both parties are in agreement that the Congress is not the power it was supposed to be under the Constitution.

While occasional revolts have been staged on specific issues, there has been no doubt over the past 12 years that Congress was failing to exercise its share of originating government program and policy.

The fear that "we will see Congress degenerate into a body merely of carping critics" was widely held and finally expressed Friday on the House floor by Rep. A. S. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.).

Amended

Monroney was one of the sponsors of a joint resolution for a review of Congressional procedure and operations. Passed by the Senate, the resolution was slightly amended and approved by the House yesterday. The amendments reduce the time of the investigation from six months to three months and cut out a $10,000 ceiling on costs.

The resolution sets up a 12-man committee, six from each House of which not more than three are to be members of the majority party.

The committee is directed to "make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress." It is to recommend improvements with a "view toward strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the U. S. Government and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the Constitution."

The committee is authorized to employ such experts, technicians and consultants as it deems necessary.

Handicaps

Behind the review is the idea that Congress is hampered in creating legislation by lack of essential legal, technical and even clerical assistance.

Monroney pointed out that probably 90 per cent of the legislation passing through Congress originates in executive departments or agencies.

"Business and pressure groups know the legislation they want us to pass," he said, "while we are handicapped by limited resources to find out what is being asked of us."

As an example he cited the banking and finance committee which, writing legislation dealing with the control of billions of dollars, has one $2600-a-year assistant.

Rep. Everett M. Dirksen (R., Ill.) supported Monroney's arguments. He said:

"We have investigated everybody from Fanny Perkins to Sidney Hillman. It's time we turn the searchlight on ourselves."

108 W. 27 St.

Austin, Texas
December 22, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 12 and the enclosed Resolution passed by the Council on December 6 concerning the situation here at The University of Texas. I appreciate this expression of support, for such expressions have been a source of great encouragement to me at this time.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

Homer P. Rainey

Homer P. Rainey

HPR/eh

Austin, Texas
January 16, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Aven., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I offer my apologies for my long delay in answering your fine letter of November 28. I appreciate your expression of support of my stand in the controversy. The situation is still unsettled, and it is to be hoped that out of it all will come some real values to the University and to the State.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

Homer P. Rainey

Homer P. Rainey

HPR/eh

Rainey

January 25, 1945

Ex-Students' Association
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Dear Sirs:

I want to thank you for sending us a copy of "An Educational Crisis". It is a very illuminating summary of the testimony given before the Senate Committee which investigated the University of Texas controversy.

As you no doubt know, Dr. Rainey is one of the Vice Presidents of the Southern Regional Council. At its annual meeting on December 6, 1944 the Council passed a resolution concerning the action of the Board of Regents of the University of Texas in dismissing Dr. Rainey. This resolution was published in the press and in the December issue of the Southern Frontier, a copy of which is enclosed.

If you publish any additional material on the University controversy, we shall be pleased to receive copies.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:M/j
Encl.
Dec. issue of SF

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THE CONTROVERSY

At the University of Texas

1939-1945

A Documentary History

BY

HENRY NASH SMITH

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A PAPER READ AT THE REQUEST
OF THE STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM
AUGUST 13, 1945

STUDENT COMMITTEE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM
STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

September 28, 1945

Dr. Homer P. Rainey
202 Forest Trail
Austin, Texas

My dear Dr. Rainey:

You will recall that at the recent meeting of the SRC Executive Committee there was mention of a letter from Mr. Carter Wesley, in which Mr. Wesley expressed his views on my reply to an editorial which had been published by Mr. P. B. Young and on other matters concerning the Council's policies.

Mr. Wesley intended for copies of this letter to go to all members of the Executive Committee, but it appears that you did not receive a copy. I enclose a copy herewith for your information.

In my reply to Mr. Wesley I simply thanked him for his letter and expressed the hope that he could be present at the Executive Committee meeting on September 18. I had a couple of cordial notes from him indicating that he was trying to get to the meeting. Unfortunately, he was not able to arrange travel reservations.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Same letter sent to: Mr. Leonard Haas
Mr. C. H. Gillman
Msgr. T. James McNamara

HOMER P. RAINEY
AUSTIN, TEXAS

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OCT 4 1945
Southern Regional Council

2202 Forest Trail
October 2, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have your letter of September 28, enclosing me a copy of the letter from Mr. Carter Wesley. I thank you for sending it to me.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours

Homer P. Rainey

HPR:ar

Homer P. Rainey

SRC Board membership

December 13, 1945

Dr. Homer P. Rainey
2202 Forest Trail
Austin, Texas

Dear Dr. Rainey:

At the annual meeting of the Council last month some changes were made in our slate of officers for 1946. Mr. Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Virginia, was elected President and Commander Frank Spencer, of Savannah, Georgia, was elected Second Vice President.

In behalf of the Council, I wish to express appreciation for your service as Second Vice President during the past two years. We trust you will continue as an active regular member of SRC.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

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Southern Refional Co.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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"Speak to the people that they go forward"

JAQUES POWER SAW COMPANY .. Denison, Texas

— PRESENTS —

Religion In Life

By DR. HOMER P. RAINEY

EMINENT EDUCATOR AND RELIGIOUS LEADER

RADIO ADDRESSES PRESENTED FROM JANUARY 2 THROUGH JANUARY 9, 1946

RADIO TALK JAN. 2, 1946

Texas As An Agricultural State

Today, I want to go a step further in the development of a new era of world life and apply it to some of our particular problems here in Texas. Specifically, for the next few days, I want to discuss with you some of the major problems facing Texas agriculture. Texas has been and is a major agricultural state. Texas, particularly, has been and continues to be a great producer of agricultural raw materials. Unquestionably, there are great powerful forces working upon agriculture, and in agriculture we are going to experience some very far-reaching changes. It is, therefore, in the field of agriculture that we, here in Texas, are going to have to work out some new patterns and new techniques and new relationships.

I want, therefore, today to talk to you about Texas as an agricultural state and to discuss with you a few of the fundamental and basic factors that are influencing the changes that we are now experiencing and will continue to experience in the future with regard to Texas agriculture. I sincerely hope that these discussions will contribute something to our understanding of Texas farm problems and will help us in working out new policies and programs that will lead toward the improvement of farm life and farm living in Texas. Rural and farm people in Texas are living and have been living for many years under conditions that did not provide for them the standard of living to which they were entitled. If we are to have the type of life that we want and can have in Texas, we must give serious consideration to the improvement of Texas agriculture and farm life in Texas.

Let us then take a look at some of these basic factors affecting Texas agriculture.

There are two sets of basic forces that influence and control agricultural conditions in Texas. The first of these, of course, is our natural environment, and the second is the set of social and economic and political forces that operate upon Texas agriculture.

The natural forces that affect Texas and determine its advantages or disadvantages as an agricultural state are very important. The vast extent of the Texas territory gives the state a wide variety of geological formations and a range of soil types

DR. HOMER P. RAINEY

that no other state in the union possesses. It, also, possesses equally as great a range of climatic, rainfall, and weather conditions. Actually, Texas has as many rainfall zones as almost the entire United States. "It also has soil types and lengths of growing seasons to accommodate practically every major type of agricultural enterprise in the nation." Because of its location in the southern part of the United States, it has a range of length of growing season greater than any other state. This growing season exends from 180 days in the north Panhandle to 300 growing days in the Gulf Coast Plain. Thus, the wide variety and distribution of these natural conditions affecting agriculture in Texas provide the state with an opportunity for agricultural development that no other state in the union possesses.

Let us take a brief look at the major food and agricultural raw materials that are produced in Texas. A knowledge of the abundance and variety of these products that we produce in Texas will help us better to understand the agricultural problems that we are facing. Dr. A. B. Cox who is a specialist in farm problems on the faculty of the University of Texas classifies the agricultural raw materials and food products of Texas into several major groups as food grains; fibers; animals and animal products; feed grains; hay and forage crops; fruits, vegetables and nuts; vegetable oil seed crops; forests and forest products; marine products; and game. Dr. Cox then states, "Texas has the peculiar distinction of being first, or close to the top, among the states in the production of the key products in each group except sugar and tobacco, and it produces large quantities of cane for syrup." For our purposes here, it is not necessary for us to go into the details of production in these various groupings. The important fact, however, for us to note is that with respect to all of these products, Texas produces them almost entirely as raw materials and does not develop them into finished products. For example, less than 5% of the cotton grown in Texas is manufactured in the state; and less than 3% of its wool and none of its mohair are processed in Texas; and only a small percentage of its vast production of forest and marine products is effectively utilized in Texas.

These facts lead us naturally into a discussion of the social, economic, and political forces that are influencing the agricultural pattern of Texas. Let us look first at the development of manufacturing in Texas and its influence upon Texas agriculture. Until rather recently, Texas has had very little manufacturing. This fact has vitally affected its agriculture. It has meant that Texas has had to send her agricultural products abroad to find her markets. Take cotton, for example, in the southeastern part of the United States, particularly in the Carolinas, they have developed cotton mills there for the manufacture of their cotton; but Texas cotton has not been used in these mills, due to the fact of high freight rates and tariff rates. It has been cheaper for Texas to ship her cotton to England and Japan for manufacture than it has been to send it even to the eastern part of the United States. This fact leads to the important conclusion of the fundamenal relaionship between agriculture and industry. Industry is dependent upon the raw materials of agriculture for its development; and in turn, agriculture is dependent upon industry for a market for its raw materials. As industry develops in Texas, therefore, it will vitally affect and change the agricultural problem in Texas. If the raw materials from the farms of Texas can be processed and manufactured in Texas, it will relieve the

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By DR. HOMER P. RAINEY

EMINENT EDUCATOR AND RELIGIOUS LEADER

RADIO ADDRESSES PRESENTED FROM JANUARY 25 THROUGH FEBRUARY 2, 1946

RADIO TALK JAN. 25, 1946

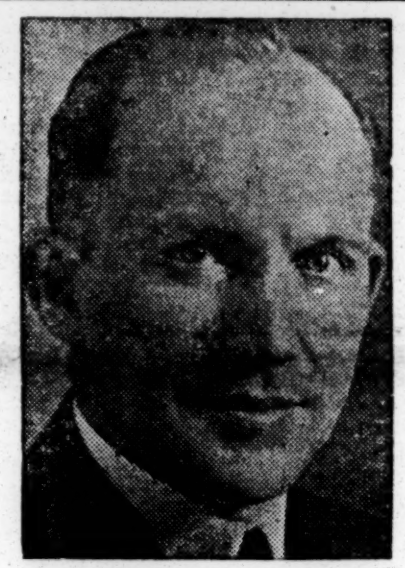
The Welfare Problem in Texas

In these talks that I have been making since last September, I have been placing a great deal of stress upon our economic, educational, health, social and welfare problems of Texas. As one who has been responsible for educational leadership in Texas, I have been greatly concerned over the generally poor position that Texas holds in all of these fields. I have been especially worried because our potential resources are so great that we might have a much better and higher standard of living for all of our people than we do have. There is a wide gap between our economic ability to support a high standard of living and the actual standard of living that our people have. I have been trying, therefore, to arouse our people's interest in these problems and to furnish them with facts and information concerning these problems and have been trying also to make constructive recommendations for dealing with these problems.

On this program already I have discussed such things as our educational problem, health problems, and more recently I have gone into considerable detail on our agricultural and farm problems. I want to begin today a series of talks on our welfare problems in Texas. I want to spend the next several days in discussing these problems in considerable detail.

Texas has one of the most difficult welfare problems of any state in the union. As we go forward with these talks, I will try to analyze these problems in considerable detail.

What do we mean by "welfare problems"? "Welfare" broadly interpreted is the problem of group recognition and assumption of the obligation to provide for the minimum needs, at least, of those individuals among us whose welfare is threatened by dangers beyond their individual control. In other words, it is the problem of taking care of the needy people in our population who are unable to take care of themselves. People falling into these conditions are of a number of types. They include needly children, needly blind, needly old folks, and other unfortunate citizens whose welfare is jeopardized by certain dangers or hardships, such as sickness, accidents, disease, unemployment, old age, and such things.



DR. HOMER P. RAINEY

In recent years, however, our concept of welfare has been considerably expanded or enlarged; and we now have another term which we apply to the same problem, and that is "social security." Social security is a more inclusive idea than just that of meeting the needs of unfortunate people. The industrial age in which we live with its rapid shifts from employment to unemployment, from booms to depressions has created a mass social security problem. We are, therefore, coming to think of welfare problems in more comprehensive terms than we have ever had to think of them before.

Furthermore, our methods for meeting the welfare or social security needs of our people has had to undergo very definite changes in recent years. There was a time of course, when the needs of the poor and independent people were met almost wholly by charity granted either by individuals or by churches, charitable aid societies, and mostly through private support. The welfare of companies' employees, when sickness or misfortune overtook them, was not regarded as a responsibility of their employers nor of the governmental agencies. In more recent times, however, our thinking about these problems has undergone a definite change; and today by far the greater part of our welfare work is carried on through public agencies, local, state, and federal; and our national governments are assuming more and more responsibility through the adoption of comprehensive social security programs.

These changes have come about for many reasons. One of the most important reasons, of course, was that of necessity. Private aid simply broke down, because it was unable to deal with an ever-increasing problem of social need. More recently, of course, the larger governmental units, such as the states and federal governments, have had to enter the picture primarily because these needs were produced by large economic forces on a nationwide scale. When we talk about welfare problems or social security today, we are, therefore, concerned with the most basic economic and political problems of our national life. Our problem however, is still greatly complicated, due to the fact that we have not yet made a complete transition from our concept of private charity and private agencies to a broad national social security program. The result is that our welfare programs in all of our states, cities, and local communities today are terribly complicated and confused, due to the multiplicity of private, local state, and national agencies — all operating in the same field with overlapping functions and responsibilities and with little or no coordination of their work. In our cities, for example, we will have scores and scores of welfare agencies — some of which are local, some are state, others are federal and national — all operating in the same community. Various means have been employed in attempts to coordinate the work of these numerous agencies. Various types of welfare associations and councils have been organized for this purpose. Some progress has been made, but there is still a great need for further clarification of the functions of all of these numberous agencies.

The most important development in this entire field in recent years has been the federal social security program. This program is a social insurance program and is financed partially by payments made by the workers, who eventually receive the benefits, and by their employers, who treat the expense as overhead. Employers and employees both contribute to a fund which is to be used for the payment of social security benefits which include many things,

WHO IS HOMER P. RAINEY?

Boyd Sinclair

Dr. Homer Price Rainey, a native Texan, is one of America's foremost educators. Time magazine in its issue of Nov. 13, 1944, called him "one of the leading U. S. educators."

Since 1939, when he completed a four-year study on modern youth, he has been called one of the greatest authorities on young people of today.

But if you expect this 50-year-old native of Clarksville, Tex., who was born on a farm at Peter's Prairie, two or three miles from the Red River County seat, to be a cantankerous, bewhiskered professor who walks around mumbling Latin words, you are in for a big surprise.

Instead, this former professional baseball pitcher, who was named after the late Homer Price, renowned newspaper columnist of The Marshall News Messenger, is a broad-shouldered, firm-jawed, candid-eyed, youthful-appearing man who looks like a moderately prosperous business man rather than a famous educator, religious leader, and radio speaker.

Dr. Rainey was born Jan. 19, 1896. His father, Edward L. Rainey, was a Red River County farmer who was born also at Clarksville. His mother, Jenny Price Rainey, was born at Tupelo, Miss.

The name Rainey is closely identified with Texas and native Texans. Dr. Rainey's brother, Guy C. Rainey, lives at Falfurrias, Tex. Dr. Rainey's wife is a native Texan, the former Mildred Collins of Lovelady, Tex., his high school sweetheart. She is the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. W. B. Collins.

Dr. Rainey's two daughters, Helen and Lenore, are studying at the University of Texas. The eldest, Helen, is the wife of Curry Gillmore of Dallas, Tex.—an Army private until his recent discharge. Dr. Rainey himself is a veteran of World War I. He was a private in the Army and was at Camp MacArthur near Waco when the war ended.

Rainey was only about two years of age when his family left the Red River County farm.

Besides his early life at Clarksville, Dr. Rainey has lived at widely separated places in Texas—at Eliasville, Ferris, Lovelady, Sherman and Austin. He attended Grade School at Eliasville from 1903 to 1912, high school in Ferris in 1912-13 and in Lovelady in 1913-14.

Dr. Rainey, who has been talked of widely in Texas as a possible Democratic candidate for governor, worked on a farm as early as he can remember. Raineys, big and little, had to work for a living, and

at the age of eight, Homer was doing a man's work on the farm, driving a three-mule team behind a plow. At Eliasville, in Young County, he rode the range for a nearby cattleman in off seasons. He milked cows, picked cotton, and did all the other things any Texas farm boy does. Growing up in West Texas gave Rainey a progressive outlook toward life which he has never lost.

Dr. Rainey contributed to his own support while in high school, working in a drug store in the afternoons and on Saturdays. He was graduated at the head of his class in Lovelady High School.

Borrows Pension Check

On leaving high school, Homer Rainey wanted to go to college, but he had no money. He borrowed $40 from his grandmother's Confederate pension check and set out for Sherman to enter Austin College and to find work for his own support.

That he found work and supported himself 100 per cent can best be revealed by listing some of the things he did to keep himself in school. He made his own shirts, worked in a cottonseed house, waited on tables, ran a cleaning and pressing agency, took care of children, and tutored other students in their work. He took his A. B. degree from Austin College in 1919. When he left school he had money in the bank.

Teaches at Sherman

He was preparing to enter the University of Texas School of Law when he received a telegram from the late Dr. T. S. Clyce, president of Austin College at Sherman, asking him to come there for an interview. Homer had long wavered between law and the ministry as a career, but on reaching Sherman, Dr. Clyce persuaded him to take a job as instructor at his old school. Once in the teaching profession, Rainey knew he had found himself. He felt that here was a calling big enough to demand his best.

Receives Doctor's Degree

Three years of teaching at Austin College were followed by two years of graduate study at the University of Chicago, where, at the end of his first year, he was awarded his master's degree, and at the end of the second his doctor's degree. This degree was granted with the high honor of "magna cum laude." This was in 1924.

Dr. Rainey, while at the University of Chicago, still had his financial troubles. He had married in the meantime, and he and Mrs. Rainey lived in a one-room apartment. Mrs. Rainey worked in a department store, but even then money was scarce and he was almost forced to quit when the Rockefeller Foundation granted him one of its $2,000 research fellowships.

After leaving Chicago, he taught educational administration at the

University of Oregon. He was deep in the work of being a college professor when another important telegram changed his life again.

"Will you consider the Presidency of Franklin College?" it read.

Youngest College President

Franklin College, an old Baptist school in Indiana, had selected a 31-year-old man for its head. Rainey was hailed by newspapers the nation over as the youngest college president in America. After four years there, he accepted an offer to be president of Bucknell University, another Baptist school, at Lewisburg, Pa.

At Bucknell, Rainey began educational improvements which won the attention of educators everywhere. He was happy in his work of trying to better modern education when the Rockefeller Foundation set aside $800,000 for the most intensive survey ever made of youth problems. Out of this grew the American Youth Commission, established in 1935, and Homer P. Rainey was picked to carry on the work. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War under Woodrow Wilson, was chairman of the Board of Directors of the Commission. Before Rainey's directorship of the Commission was finished, Baker was succeeded by Owen D. Young, of the General Electric Corp., in the chairmanship. Rainey, as executive director, was responsible to these men.

Writes Book on Youth

The mammoth job of the Commission took Rainey four years to complete, and out of this study appeared his book, "How Fare American Youth," and a dozen or more volumes published by his staff, which dealt with a comprehensive program of care and education of young people from 12 to 25 years of age. (Rainey is also author of "Public School Finance," which deals with his specialty in educational administration.)

So important was the American Youth Commission program considered that Life magazine devoted its whole issue of June 6, 1938, to this problem, basing its story on the work of Dr. Rainey and his research staff.

Made Texas U. President

After finishing this work with the American Youth Commission, Dr. Rainey immediately began work on trying to make the highest educational institution of the people of Texas into a university of the first class. In order to try to get the people to know what their university was and what it might be, Rainey made many speeches in and out of Texas, especially to religious groups.

What a battle Rainey was fighting to preserve and promote the standing of the University did not generally become known to Texas people until 1944, when it was revealed by an Austin newspaper that

one member of the Board of Regents had telephoned the vice-presidnt of the University, telling him to tell Rainey to stop making so many out-of-state speeches, such as those before religious groups.

Brings Fight Into Open

Attempts to limit his speech convinced Rainey that it was time for him to bring this and other restrictions out into the open. Accordingly, he brought out in a 16-point speech the various ways in which the University Board of Regents had interfered with and limited full and free study, research, teaching, and administrative procedure at the University.

At a meeting of the Board of Regents shortly thereafter, pressure was put upon Dr. Rainey to withdraw his charges. Rainey stood firm and would not take back a single word of his charges. Rainey was fired by the Board immediately, despite the fact that he was backed almost 100 per cent by the students, faculty, ex-students, and by the resolutions of church groups and other Texas people throughout the State.

Active Religious Leader

Three of the Regents resigned immediately after Rainey was fired. New ones were appointed, and again, despite students, faculty members and thousands of Texas people calling for Rainey's reinstatement, in spite of hundreds of resolutions in front of them, the Regents voted not to give the presidency back to Rainey. On a roll call vote, 92 per cent of the professors of the University asked for Rainey's reinstatement.

Dr. Rainey has a record of 38 years as an active religious leader. He joined the Baptist Church at the age of 12 and participated in active Christian work at that age. Today he is deacon and Sunday School teacher at the University Baptist Church in Austin. He was an ordained Baptist minister at 21, and served as assistant pastor of the Sherman Baptist Church, the second largest in Texas. He has a good tenor voice and helped to pay his way through Austin College by directing two church choirs. He taught Sunday School while in college and was president of the Y. M. C. A.

Ex-Pro Baseball Pitcher

Rainey took an interest in athletics from his earliest kid days. He was a pitcher on a kids' team, kept his sports interest through college, once having gone through part of one season pitching and batting with one arm in a sling. He was noted for his fast curve.

Rainey was a professional baseball pitcher for parts of two seasons, pitching for the Sherman team in the Texas-Oklahoma League and for Galveston and Houston in the Texas League. He was known as "Preacher" Rainey and "High Pockets" Rainey in his baseball days.

Because of his religious beliefs, an agreement was made that he would not play ball on Sunday. While in college he participated also in basketball, football, track events, tennis, and bowling.

Mason and Rotarian

Dr. Rainey holds three honorary degress from American colleges and universities. He was awarded the honorary degree of doctor of laws by Austin College in 1932, and in the same year received the same degrees from Denison University in Ohio and Washington and Jefferson College in Pennsylvania.

Dr. Rainey is a member of Rotary, Masons, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Phi Beta Kappa honorary society, and Phi Delta Kappa, education fraternity. His favorite forms of recreation are hunting and fishing, tennis, golf, music, singing, and listening to singing.

Fine Public Speaker

He is an accomplished public speaker, having delivered more than 100 speeches a year in Texas for the past few years. He uses simple, understandable words; he has a clear, pleasant voice with enough power to reach the last row in any hall with conversational tones. While head of the American Youth Commission, he spoke 24 times in one week.

He weighs 190 pounds, and while he's only 5 feet, 9½ inches tall, he's not a pound overweight. He used to keep in trim by playing tennis with John Van Ryn, who a few years back held the world's doubles title with Wilmer Allison. He likes to rake and spade the yard of his home and never misses a chance to take a swim in the icy waters of Zilker Spring, natural swimming pool of Austin.

On 20 Radio Stations

Since he was fired as president of the University of Texas, Dr. Rainey has appeared over Texas radio stations in a series of talks called "Religion in Life." He has made more than 200 addresses on the series and thousands of Texas people have written for copies of these speeches. The series of addresses, sponsored by the Jaques Power Saw Co. of Denison, Texas, was begun in August, 1945. His talks cover Texas over 20 stations.

Homer Price Rainey is a modest and humble man—but totally unafraid. A fellow-worker once referred to him as "a commonsense American with a strong desire for work."

□

HITTING ON ALL FOUR

"How are you getting along at school?"

"Fine! I'm learning words of four cylinders now."

SRC

THE NEW SIGN

HARLEM BRANCH Y.M.C.A.

100th Year of the YMCA - 43rd Year of the Harlem Branch YMCA

Vol. XXV | FEBRUARY 12, 1944 | No. 22

MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN NOW!

Mr. Moe Gayle, President of Artists Representatives, Inc., presents his $100.00 contribution to Financial Campaign Chairman, Comm. S. J. Battle, while Rudolph J. Thomas, Campaign Director and Charles Buchanan, Manager of the Savoy, look on.

VICTORY LUNCHEON TO BE HELD FEBRUARY 18

Workers in the 1944 Financial Campaign are now addressing themselves to the final effort to insure its success. Such progress has been made since the last report meeting, that the goal of $290,-673 is now in sight.

(Continued on page 3, col. 1)

TOWN HALL RECITAL

Tickets for Miss Edith Sewell's New York Recital at Town Hall on Sunday, Feb. 20th at 3 p.m. are available at the Harlem YMCA, YWCA and at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street. There are still a few seats left in the Y Box. If interested see Mr. Henderson.

Nation to Stress Negro's Service in Armed Forces During Week of Feb. 13-20

Negro History Week in 1944, February 13 to 20, will emphasize the role of "The Negro Soldier in the Wars of the United States," according to Harcourt Tynes, president of the New York Branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Observances will take place in almost every large city in the nation.

In New York State, the week's celebration will get a start with a proclamation by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. Mayor F. H. LaGuardia will carry the torch for the City of New York. The citizens of the city and state will be urged to join in the observance and help spread a wider knowledge of the history and achievements of the Negro in the United States and elsewhere.

Sunday, Feb. 3, over C.B.S. announcement of "those Negro and White persons who have done the most to influence race relations in terms of real democracy during the past year".

Sunday, Feb. 20, Annual Breakfast at Grand St. Boys' Club. Dr. Ernest B. Kalibala, guest speaker.

WHICH WAY OUT? SOUTH OR NORTH?

"Negro American, What Now?", is the general theme of Harlem's first "Town Hall" meeting scheduled for February 27 at 4:00 p.m.

Two outstanding speakers—one from the South and one from the North—will attempt to answer the forum's specific theme for that day: "Which Road to Full Citizenship?" They will be Dr. Ira DeA Reid, Author, Atlanta U. Profes-

(Continued on page 3, col. 3)

SERVICEMEN'S NOTES

Eugene Theodore came in from Tuskeegee where he is about to get his wings as a member of the United States Air Force . . . Louis Graves is out in Chicago and he writes that he is doing the town up brown . . . We heard that Lt. Neil Cooper is enjoying the "sunny" Italian clime while serving his "Uncle Samuel" . . . We met 1st Sgt. Cressfield and his lovely wife the former Virginia Thomas at the Savoy last Tuesday . . . Chief Forrest Walker, former Recruiting Officer in the Annex is now a member of the Naval Psychological Department at Grand Central Palace . . . His successor is Chief Harold Johnson of St. Louis who has been connected with Y work in St. Louis and Cleveland for a number of years . . .

Basketball: There has been a great increase in basketball activities. Company competition has been very keen. One game, held last Saturday night between Company I and Company L, was an excellent exhibition of basketball ability, good sportsmanship and keen friendly rivalry. Both teams brought with them a live-wire rooting section. L Company won the game because of the height of its men. They were giants in comparison to the midgets in Company I. It was really refreshing to witness the esteem and friendliness exhibited when Capt. Borsfield entered the Gymnasium. In short, it was one of the most interesting games we have had so far.

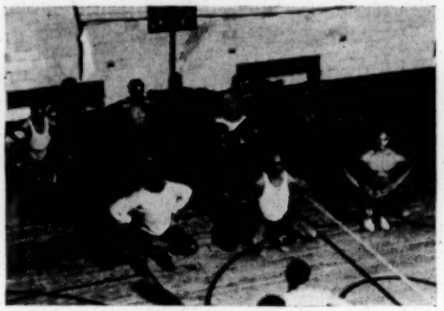
Another outstanding game will be played no February 19th between members of Chief "ALPHA" Foster's Coast Guard team and the 372nd Regimental team.

VICTORY LUNCHEON

(*Continued from page* 1, *col.* 1)

Victory will be celebrated at a luncheon at the Commodore Hotel at 12:30 o'clock, Friday, Feb. 18th. Chairman Frank Totton is promising a hilarious time, and all workers are urged to make a special effort to be present.

Among prizes which will be awarded will be those to the Branches making the best showings, in relation to their individual goals. The classes are: 1—Fort Slocum, Pennsylvania, and Sloane House, with goals of $4,000 or under; 2—Bronx Union, Governors Island, Harlem, Seamen's House and Uptown, with goals over $4,000 and under $18,000; and, 3—East Third Street, Intercollegiate, McBurney and West Side, with goals over $18,000.



GYM CLASS

Calisthenics is one way to keep physically fit. Class meets on Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 9:00 p.m.

Interracial Service Feb. 13

The second in a series of Sunday Worship services sponsored by the Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York, will be held February 13th at the Broadway Tabernacle, Broadway and 59th Street.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Saturday, February 12th

8:30	Christian Youth Council Mtg.	*Log Cabin.*
9:00	Servicemen's Dance.	*Theatre.*

Sunday, February 13th

8:30	Record Concert.	*Theatre.*

Monday, February 14th

4:00	Volleyball.	*Gym.*
6:15	Financial Campaign.	*Rm.* 208-10.

Tuesday, February 15th

10:00	Staff Conference.	*Home Room*
12:30	Ministers and Staff Volleyball.	*Gym.*
8:00	Personality and Speech Class.	*Rm.* 212.
8:30	Judo Instruction.	*Gym.*
9:00	Servicemen's Dance.	*Savoy.*

Wednesday, February 16th

9:00	Mid-week Devotions.	*Lobby.*
7:30	Bowling Club meeting.	*Y.M.D.*
7:30	Bridge Tourney.	*Y.M.D.*

Thursday, February 17th

4:00	Volleyball.	*Gym.*
6:15	Final Financial Campaign Mtg.	*Rm.* 208-10.
8:30	Hostess Meeting.	*Rm.* 211.
8:30	Judo Instruction.	*Gym.*
9:00	Lens Art Camera Club.	*Rm.* 1.
9:00	Servicemen's Party.	*Gym.*

Friday, February 18th

7:00	Badminton Class.	*Gym.*
8:00	Servicemen's Basketball Practice.	*Gym.*
9:00	Co-Ed Capers. Games, Swimming, Dancing.	*Y.M.D.*

PIOUS YET BIASED

(*Continued from page* 2, *col.* 1)

caves of Asiatic lands to the temples and towers of modern times.

Apparent, in the boldest manner and in the most glaring terms, the Negro has undertaken the task of acquainting the world with his story of achievement. During the month of February, special emphasis is placed on his march of progress. Further concentration is focused upon Negro History Week when the attention of the public is called to some of the undeniable facts which serve to bolster his morale and convert unbelievers to a sense of justice and fair play.

This biased attitude has affected the thinking of many in our own nation. Beginning with the textbooks used in our public and private schools, young Americans grow up with the conviction that if they are to believe the vast majority of textbook writers, the Negro has always been a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water". The glorious ages of the past dating beyond the civilization of the Egyptians at which time black people ruled nations, smelted iron, built cities, constructed temples and created laws, have been totally disregarded by biased recorders of the past. The age of exploration which opened up the

(*Continued on page* 4, *col.* 3)

WHICH WAY OUT?

(*Continued from page* 1, *col.* 3)

sor, and Associate Executive Director of the newly formed Southern Regional Council—for the South, and Dr. Algernon Black, Director of the Ethical Culture Society—for the North. Dr. Channing T. Tobias will serve as moderator.

The public forum is scheduled to take place in the Harlem's Boys' Club Auditorium on West 134th Street and is sponsored by the newly formed Harlem Council of Public Affairs (HCPA).

"Inspite of the number of forums in many of our institutions," says James E. Allen, Chairman, HCPA's Planning Committee, "a distinct need is felt for a Harlem 'Town Hall' comparable in size and as broad in scope as the leading forums today. Our purpose," he continued, "is to help the local forums to do a better job by affording them an opportunity to share in the major problems brought to Harlem by a community wide institution such as that which we will initiate."

Free tickets may be secured from Mr. L. F. Hunt, Secretary of the Planning Committee.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Southeastern Regional Conference

Place: St. Mary's House
930 Walker Avenue
Greensboro, N. C.

Time: March 1 - 2, 1944

Theme: BUILDING NOW FOR PEACE

Speakers:

A. J. Muste
National Secretary F. O. R.

Ira DeA. Reid
Professor, Atlanta University
Co-Sec'y. Southern Regional Council

Perry Saito
Youth Secretary F. O. R.

Constance Rumbough
Southern Secretary F. O. R.

Others

Program

Wednesday, March 1

7:00 p.m. Registration and room assignment. For those arriving early room assignments will be made during the afternoon.

7:30 p.m. Worship
Key-Note Address, Building for Peace. A. J. Muste
Discussion

Thursday, March 2

9:00 a.m. Worship

9:30 a.m. National and International F.O.R., present program and activities; C.O. matters, A. J. Muste
Discussion

11:00 a.m. The Southern F.O.R., its 1944 emphases, our summer work camp, Constance Rumbough

12:00 Lunch

Afternoon session

2:00 p.m. Worship

2:30 p.m. The Southern Regional Council, Ira DeA. Reid
Discussion: How can the F.O.R. cooperate with the Southern Regional Council?

4:00 p.m. Japanese-Americans, Perry Saito
Discussion

5:00 p.m. Recreation

6:00 p.m. Supper

Evening session

7:30 p.m. Worship

8:00 p.m. Building for Peace Through Interracial Relations, Dr. Ira DeA Reid
Discussion

Expenses: Conference fee 75¢; students, 50¢. Lunch and supper, total 75¢. Rooms are being secured for out-of-town guests in the homes of local F. O. R. members and friends for a token fee of 25¢ per person. It is important that requests for reservations be sent in as early as possible to Margot Fletcher, St. Mary's House, 930 Walker Avenue, Greensboro, N. C.

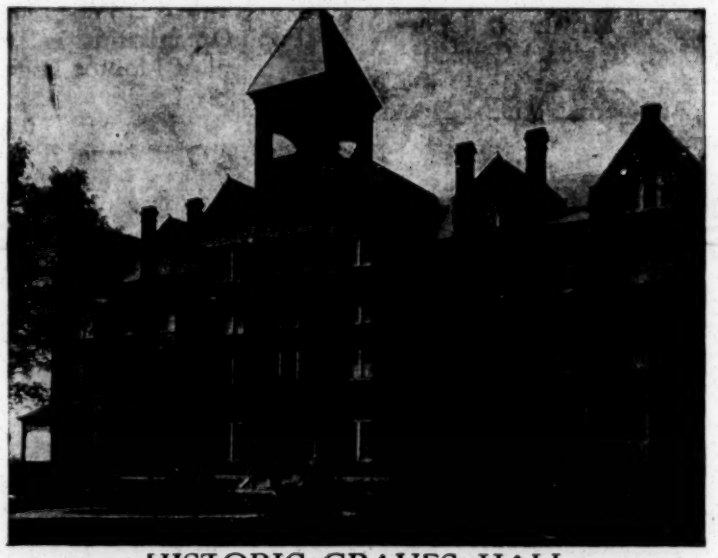
. . . PROGRAM . . .

OF

Georgia Teachers

AND

Education Association



HISTORIC GRAVES HALL
Morehouse College

April 13 and 14, 1944

Atlanta, Georgia

Theme: "Education for Living in a Democratic World"

Group meetings will be held at Clark College and Morehouse College and The Atlanta School of Social Work, at the time and in the rooms indicated.

The Representative Assembly will convene in Davage Chapel, Clark College, 5:00 P. M. Thursday and Friday.

The evening sessions will be held in Sisters Chapel, Spelman College, 8:00 o'clock.

THURSDAY, APRIL 13

7:30 to 8:00—Concert
David T. Howard Band

8:00 O'Clock P. M.

Sisters Chapel—Spelman College

Mr. I. E. Washington, President . . . . . Presiding
Music . . . . . America
The Congregation
Invocation . . . . . Rev. J. W. Thomas
Pastor Warren Memorial Church
Music . . . . . Booker Washington High School
Address—"Scouting" . . . . . Mr. A. A. Taylor
Assistant to Director of Inter-racial Scouting
Address—"Library Service Available to Georgia Teachers" . . . . . Mrs. Mary Jones
State Department of Education School Libraries
Music . . . . . Morris Brown College
Address—"Pioneering for the New South" . . . . . Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director for the Southern Regional Council
Announcements
Music . . . . . Negro National Hymn
The Congregation
Benediction . . . . . Rev. B. J. Johnson
Pastor Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist Church

FRIDAY, APRIL 14

Sisters Chapel—Spelman College

7:30-8:00—Concert . Washington High School Orchestra

8:00 O'Clock

Mr. E. G. Granberry, Vice President, Presiding
Music . . . . . "The Star Spangled Banner"
The Congregation
Invocation . . . . . Rev. B. L. Davis
Pastor Liberty Baptist Church
Music . . . . . Atlanta-Spelman-Morehouse Chorus
The President's Address . . . . Mr. I. E. Washington
Music . . . . . Booker Washington High School
Address—"Economic Significance of Teachers' Salary—Equalization" . . . Attorney A. T. Walden
Music . . . . . Clark College
Benediction . . . . . Rev. David Norris
Pastor Flipper Temple A. M. E. Church

DEPARTMENTAL MEETINGS

MEETING OF COLLEGE SECTION

Georgia Teachers and Education Association
From 10:00 A. M. to 11:45 A. M., April 14, 1944
Clark College, Room 208

Co-Chairmen—Dean B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, President Aaron Brown, Albany State College

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION AND LEADERS

"Areas of Inter-College Cooperation in Georgia"
Dr. Aaron Brown, President, Albany State College
"Areas of Cooperation in Teacher Education"
Dr. J. W. Lyda, Paine College, Augusta, Ga.
"Areas Involving Local Projects"
Mrs. C. J. Duncan, Fort Valley State College
"Program of Georgia Committee on Cooperation in Teacher Education"
Dr. Alphonso Elder, Director, Department of Education, Atlanta University.

HIGH SCHOOL SECTION

Clark College, Room 101

W. A. Robinson, Consultant

Specific topic for discussion: The high school as a democratic organization.

Brief statement of aim: Since we are looking forward to a democratic post war world it is hoped that this discussion will help those who are engaged in high school work, clarify their thinking as to just how democratic action may get into the organization, teaching, and administration, of our high schools.

Outline of Topic

The High School as a Democratic Organization

1. Pupil-teacher Planning—Dr. Alphonso Elder, Atlanta University
2. Faculty meetings and Conferences—Mr. L. S. Molette, Griffin, Ga., Principal Vocational High School.
3. Principal-Superintendent Relationships—Mr. M. L. Heard, Principal of Albany High School.
4. Pupil Organiaztions and Activities—Mr. Luther Ison, Principal of Monroe High School.
5. Assembly Programs—Mr. C. N. Cornell, Principal Booker T. Washington High School, Atlanta, Ga.

This will be a forum discussion. The above leaders will do advanced thinking in these areas and will guide and stimulate the thinking and discussion.

THE ELEMENTARY SECTION

Co-Chairmen—Miss Hermese Johnson, Ft. Valley State College. Miss Alma Stegall, Jeanes Supervisor, Lowndes County.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:30-11:30 A. M.

Clark College, Davage Chapel

The subtheme: "Promoting Health Practices Through Democratic Living."

There will be a round table discussion with audience participation on the theme. This discussion will be engineered by a core discussion group and several coordinators, and will be centered around certain specific areas with definite emphases.

The members of the round table will attempt to present briefly the general point of view of health education and then discuss the following areas:

a. Personal hygiene
   1. Cleanliness
   2. Food
   3. Clothing
   4. Shelter
   5. Rest
   6. Air, sunshine, etc.
   7. Proper exercise
   8. Proper elimination
b. Mental and emotional health in everyday living
   1. How to reduce superstition
   2. Delinquency, juvenile and adult
   3. Guidance in all teaching for self-direction
c. Newer trends in sex education
d. Communicable diseases
   1. Emphasis on syphilis
   2. Emphasis on gonorrhea
e. Home, school and community sanitation
f. Materials and their uses to promote health practices

The members of the discussion group with their specific area assignments are as follows:

General point of view—Mrs. Callie Montgomery, Tchr. Atlanta Schools.

Personal hygiene—Miss M. D. S. Walker, Home Ec. Supv., Georgia State College.

Mental and emotional health—Mrs. Lucille Baker, Instr., Spelman College.

Newer trends in sex education—Miss Alma Stegall, Jeanes Supv., Lowndes County.

Communicable diseases—Mrs. Lottie Harris, Tchr. Atlanta Schools.

Home, school and community sanitation—Miss Lillian Price, Prin. Jr. H. S., Statesboro.

Materials and their uses—Mrs. Annie C. McPheeters, Librarian, Atlanta.

Chairman—M. M. Atkinson, Insr. Fort Valley State College.

Coordinators—Mrs. H. A. Whiting, Instr. Atlanta University; Loutilla V. Guinn, Instr. Atlanta School of Social Work; P. Q. Yancey, M.D.; W. J. Lyde, Prof. Paine College; Anne Cochran, Prof. Morris Brown College.

There will be an exhibit of free and low cost materials, and of photographs and posters.

THE GEORGIA NEGRO VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Friday, April 14, 11:00 A. M.

Morehouse College Chapel

Mrs. Vivian Smith Walker, President . . . Presiding

Introduction of Speaker . . . . Mr. M. D. Mobley
State Director of Vocational Education

Address—"Outlook for Vocational Education in the Post War Period . . . Mr. John A. McCarthy
President of American Vocational Association and Director of Vocational Education in New Jersey

Business session

HOME ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT 1944

Annual Meeting, Spelman College

Room 311 Giles Hall

Friday, April 14, 9:30-11:30 A M.

Mrs. Annie Belle Hatcher, President . . . Presiding

Theme: "Home Economics Education in the War Effort."

Wartime Nutrition Problems—Miss Lorna Barber, Director, Nutrition Service Southeastern Area, A. R. C.

Wartime Clothing Problems—Miss B. Dorwen Jolly, Head of Home Economics Department, Clark College.

Housing and Family Welfare—Miss Willie Vie Dowdy, Specialist in Housing, Georgia Extension Service.

How Art in the Home Builds Family Morale—Mrs. Virginia Akridge, Booker T. Washington High School.

MEETING OF JEANES SUPERVISORS

Miss Frankie Golden, Jeanes Supervisor of Chatham County, President

9:30-11:30 Friday, 14th

Home Economics Room, Thayer Hall, Clark College

SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

TECHNIQUES FOR EXPANDING JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

Friday, April 14, 3:00 to 5:00 P. M.

Room 26, Science Hall, Morehouse College

Are you interested in the function and scope of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee? What about its program of aiding the integration of members of minority groups in industries essential to our defense? To what extent has labor acted to aid or hinder the use of technique for expanding job opportunities for Negroes? What are practical approaches which an Urban League unit would stress to give functional meaning to techniques of obtaining jobs and keeping jobs? What can teachers do to help in these areas? These questions and other related ones will be dealt with by the speakers and those who attend this group meeting.

CHAIRMAN

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Department of Economics, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

DISCUSSION LEADERS

Mr. James Tipton, Fair Practice Examiner, Regional Fair Employment Practice Committee.

Mr. Paul Styles, Director of Disputes, Regional War Labor Board.

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League.

Mr. John A. Griffin, Professor of Economics Georgia School of Technology

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SYMPOSIUM ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Atlanta School of Social Work—3:00-5:00 P. M.

Chairman—Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director of Atlanta School of Social Work.

Discussion Leaders:

"Juvenile Delinquency in the War and Post War World"
Mr. Alonzo G. Moron, Manager of the University and John Hope Homes.

"Delinquency and the Negro Boy in Georgia"
Mr. Andrew J. Lewis II, Attendance Officer in the Atlanta Public Schools for Negroes.

"Delinquency and the Negro Girl in Georgia"
Mrs. Salina Shaw, Supervisor of Case Work, Field Work of Fulton County Department of Public Welfare.

"A Program of Treatment"
Miss Ernestine McGill, Instructor and Supervisor in Child Welfare.

Discussion.

PANEL DISCUSSION

Davage Chapel, Clark College

3:00 to 5:00 P. M.

Dr. Ira De Reid, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University, Presiding.

Topic: "What Are Citizenship Handicaps of Negroes in Georgia? What Can Be Done About Them?"

Members of Panel:

Mr. J. W. Dobbs, President Atlanta Civic and Political League.

Rev. M. L. King, Pastor Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Mr. R. E. Cureton, Head Department of Social Sciences, Booker Washington High School.

SYMPOSIUM ON TUBERCULOSIS

Mrs. Milton W. Bell, Chairman

Room 208, Clark College

Dr. Homer E. Nash—"The A B C's of Tuberculosis."

Mrs. L. D. Shivery—"The Use of Teaching Materials on Tuberculosis."

Showing of two films on Tuberculosis.

Mr. L. L. Young, Secretary Georgia Tuberculosis Association —"State and Local Tuberculosis Associations as Resources in a Community."

Question and Answer Period.

* * *

We have arranged this symposium as to time so that there will be twenty to thirty minutes of the two hours at the close of the talks which can be used for a question period. We are also arranging for some very practical and informative exhibit material on tuberculosis for the teachers.

VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL

Friday, April 14, 3:00 to 5:00 P. M.

Room 10, Sales Hall, Morehouse College

A discussion of the Prevalence of Venereal Diseases among Negroes in Georgia and the methods of their control.

Dr. W. A. Mason, of the State Health Department, is in charge of this group discussion.

Nelson Jackson, Social Protection Division of F. D. A.

SYMPOSIUM ON NUTRITION

Room 11 Sale Hall, Morehouse College

Friday, 3-5 P. M.

Miss Myra Reagan, Presiding

Nutritionist for War Food Administration of the Southern Region

"Health Conditions as Found in Georgia"

Miss Mary Emma Barnes, Nutritionist for State Health Department

"The School Lunch Program"

Mrs. Lucile Watson, Supervisor of the State Lunch Fund

"Nutrition Education in Elementary Schools"

Miss Inez Wallace, State Supervisor of Vocational Home Economics

"Operation of School Lunches"

Mrs. Carrie W. Moore, Jeanes Supervisor of Morgan Co.

Discussion

Clark College Chapel

11:45-1:30 Friday, 14

"The Use of Films As Aids in Education"

Mr. W. N. Ridley, Director of Audio-Visual Education, Virginia State College.

"A Demonstration in the Use of Films and other Visual Aids in Education"

The Value and Use of Audio Visual Aids in Classroom Teaching

Room 101, Clark College—3:00 to 5:00 P. M.

The talks and discussions in this group wil lbe concerned with the uses that Georgia Negro teachers can make of films, transcriptions, recordings, radio programs and other more familir audio visual aids in their classroom teaching, to provide information on the services in Georgia and elsewhere through which these aids can be secured, the equipment needed, and the technical and other difficulties involved.

W. N. Ridley, Director of Audio Visual Education, Virginia State College, Discussion Leader.

Speakers and Consultants:

Dr. J. C. Wardlaw, Director, Division of General Extension, University of Georgia System.

"The Movement to Promote the Use of Audio Visual Aids in American Schools, and the Work of the Division of General Extension of the University System of Georgia in Georgia and the South East."

Dr. H. V. Eagleston, Atlanta University, Equipment and Technical Problems.

Others not listed will be asked to serve as consultants.

LIBRARY ROUND TABLE ON BOOK SERVICE IN SCHOOLS

Sponsored by

Librarians' Club of Atlanta and Georgia Teachers and Education Association

Friday, April 14, 2:30-4:30 P. M.

Atlanta University School of Library Service

3rd Floor of Atlanta University Library

Chairman

Dr. Eliza A. Gleason, Director, School Library Service, Atlanta University

Speakers:

"Book Service in the Elementary School"

Mrs. Catherine W. Johnson, Teacher Laboratory Elementary School, Atlanta University.

"High School Libraries and Books"

Mrs. Mildred L. Rivers, Teacher-Librarian, Spencer High School.

Discussant:

Mrs. Mexico H. Mickleberry, Librarian, Spelman College Library.

Exhibits, Displays, Social Hour.

Mrs. Mary Jones, State Dept. of Ed. School Libraries

MEETING OF PRINCIPALS

OFFICERS

THE GEORGIA TEACHERS AND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

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NINTH ANNUAL

Middle Atlantic Conference of Social Work

ON PROBLEMS OF NEGROES

"Social Planning for Today and Tomorrow"

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1944

DOUGLAS MEMORIAL CHURCH

Madison and Lafayette Avenues

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

AFFILIATE GROUPS

Washington Council of Social Workers
Miss Lelia O. Scott, *Acting President*

Richmond Social Workers Round Table
Mr. J. Milton Sampson, *President*

Norfolk - Portsmouth Social Workers Round Table
Mrs. Muriel E. Johnson, *President*

Philadelphia Social Workers Round Table
Mrs. Rose N. Steward, *President*

Baltimore Social Workers Round Table
Mrs. Helen H. Williams, *President*

Registration fee for non-members: 50 cents

Program

9:00 A. M. Registration — Lower Floor
Executive Committee Meeting — Auditorium

10:00 A. M. General Session — Upper Parlor
Chairman - Mr. Wiley A. Hall
"The Present Social Scene"
Speaker - Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University

11-12:15 P. M. Presentation of Projects

a. Boothe Village, Elkton, Maryland - Miss Pauline V. Massey, Director

b. Protective Services of the Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore, Maryland - Miss Maizie Rappaport, Chief

c. Junior Police Corps, Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C. - Mr. Oliver A. Cowan, Director

12:30-2:15 P. M. Luncheon Meeting — Sunday School Room
Chairman - Mrs. Helen H. Williams
"The Social Workers Responsibility in Social Planning for Today and Tomorrow"
Speaker - Mr. George W. Goodman, American Red Cross Foreign Service

2:30-3:30 P. M. General Session — Upper Parlor
Chairman - Mrs. Rose N. Steward
"Post-War Social Planning"
Speaker - Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Head, Department of History, Howard University

3:45-5:15 P. M. Business Session and Election of Officers — Auditorium
Presiding - Mr. C. C. Jackson, Jr., President, Middle Atlantic Conference of Social Work

MIDDLE ATLANTIC CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President ..... Mr. C. C. Jackson, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
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Miss Evelyn P. Sutton, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Mary Twisdale, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Helen H. Williams, Baltimore, Md.

CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

Mrs. Alice B. Arrington, *Coordinating Chairman*

Program ..... Mrs. Helen H. Williams
Publicity ..... Mr. Alexander J. Allen
Luncheon ..... Mrs. Vivian G. Alleyne
Registration ..... Mrs. O. Ruth Thompson
Place ..... Mr. Alonzo Hilliard, Jr.
Membership ..... Miss Anita R. Williams
Hospitality ..... Mrs. Mae K. Folkes
Finance ..... Miss Georgianna H. Fields
Exhibits ..... Mrs. Alice B. Arrington

Mr. C. C. Jackson, Jr.
Miss Rowena A. Proctor
Mrs. Hilda F. Rochester
Mr. George H. Rosedom
Mr. Melvin G. Roy
Mrs. Violet H. Whyte

Northwest Indiana Regional Conference on

Social Work

Friday, May 12, 1944

Seaman Hall	569 Washington St.	Morning
Y. M. C. A.	225 West 5th Ave.	Afternoon

Gary, Indiana

9:00 A. M. to 4:00 P. M.

"Expertness is a matter of study and practice. You can't have it when you want it unless you tolerate it all the while . . . Experts are not made by standing on the sidelines and theorizing. They have to come in contact with the real problem to know its nature and make effective use of their academic knowledge."

Sponsored by the

Indiana State Conference on Social Work and the Social Welfare Association of Lake County

Program

CONFERENCE THEME: "DANGER ZONES IN THE SOCIAL FIELD"

9:00-9:45 A. M.—REGISTRATION ..... Lobby of Seaman Hall
(Registration fee 50c. If you hold a 1944 membership card in the Ind. State Conference on Social Work or in Social Welfare Association of Lake County, you will be admitted free.)

9:45-12:00 Noon—GENERAL ASSEMBLY ..... Seaman Hall

Presiding ..... Leonard Swoverland, Regional Conference Chairman

Invocation ..... Rev. J. Claude Allen, Pres. Gary Ministerial Alliance

Welcome ..... Hon. Joseph E. Finerty, Mayor of Gary

Keynote Address ..... Rev. John Paul Jones, Plymouth Congregational Church of Whiting and Chairman of Whiting Chapter of American Red Cross

Formal Paper on "INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENT AND THE WAR"—Miss Beatrice Levey, formerly Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, Los Angeles Psychiatric Service

Musical Interlude: UTILITEERS ..... under the direction of A. P. Greene
(Courtesy of Northern Indiana Public Service Company)

Formal Paper on "SOCIAL WORK IN 1944 AND FORWARD" . . . Joseph E. Baldwin, Director of Lake County Department of Public Welfare and President of Indiana State Conference on Social Work

LUNCHEON MEETING

12:15-2:00 P. M.

(Reservations should be made in advance. Luncheon tickets are $1.00. No registration or membership card required for this meeting. This meeting arranged in cooperation with the Gary Council of Social Agencies.)

Presiding . . . H. B. Snyder, Editor, Gary Post-Tribune and President of United War and Community Chest

Invocation ..... Rev. Lawrence Grothouse, Ass't Pastor, St. Mark's Church

Speaker ..... Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University and Associate Director of Southern Regional Council on Race Relations

Topic ..... "CHALLENGING PROBLEMS OF MINORITY GROUPS"

AFTERNOON GROUP MEETINGS
2:15-4:00 P. M.

DIVISION I—SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Frank Galvin, Attorney and member of Lake County Board of Public Welfare, Hammond

Topic: "The Pros and Cons of the Indiana Legislative Investigation Commission's Report on Public Welfare"

PANEL DISCUSSION:
1. Ralph E. Spear, Asst. Director American Public Welfare Association.
2. Mrs. Uno Hill, Chairman of Govt. and Social Welfare, Gary League of Women Voters.
3. George Hoffman, Sec'y Local 210, Oil Workers Union, C. I. O.
4. Rev. Wm. E. Clark, Pastor of City Methodist Church, Gary.
5. H. H. Kleinschmidt, President of Gary Chamber of Commerce.

Open Discussion.

DIVISION II—SOCIAL TREATMENT

Chairman: Harry E. Powers, Attorney of Whiting

Topic "War-Time Services in the Social Field"

(Emphasis will be given to Services for Youth in War-time and Rehabilitation of Veterans.)

A. THE PROBLEM . . . Edgar Mills, Principal of McKinley School, East Chicago

B. TREATMENT
1. Education—Warren Anderson, Asst. Principal of Roosevelt School, Gary
2. Recreation—R. A. Hoyer, Office of the Community War Services of Federal Security Agency
3. Mental Hygiene—Fred Steininger, Psychiatric Case Worker, Department of Public Welfare, Gary

Open Discussion.

DIVISION III—VOLUNTEER SERVICES

Chairman: Rev. John Paul Jones, Whiting Congregational Church

SECTION 1.

Topic: "The Training and Use of Volunteers In Community Service"
"The Coordination of Community Services"

A. TRAINING AND SERVICES OF VOLUNTEERS—
1. All Out Americans. Arthur R. Todd, Coordinator, Gary
2. American Red Cross—Mrs. Eugene S. Carpenter, Executive Secy of Hammond Chapter
3. Girl Scouts—Miss Helen Wilson. Exec Sec'y of Hammond Girl Scouts Unit.
4. American Women's Voluntary Services—Mrs. H. B. Snyder, Chrm., Gary
5. Big Brothers and Big Sisters—Rev. J. K. Cutler, Chrm. of Gary's Youth Service Board.

B. COORDINATION OF COMMUNITY WELFARE ACTIVITIES—
Leonard Swoverland, Executive Secretary of United War & Community Chest and Gary Council of Soc. Agencies; Secretary of Lake County Central Index.

Open Discussion.

SECTION 2. INSTITUTE FOR FOSTER PARENTS.

Chairman—Mrs. Mary Fisher, Foster Home Division, Lake Co., Dept. of Public Welfare.
Speaker—Miss Lois Wildy, Ass't Professor of Social Admin., University Chicago
Topic:—"THE CHALLENGE OF NATURAL AND FOSTER PARENTHOOD"
Open Discussion.

DIVISION IV—HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Chairman—Frank Neuwelt, M. D., Gary
Topic:—"MENTAL ILLNESS AS A POST-WAR PROBLEM"
Speaker—Dr. H. Nierenberg, Psychiatrist of Ill., State Dept. of Rehabilitation
(Emphasis will be upon the rehabilitation of those with nervous strains precipitated by world conditions.)
Open Discussion:

Committees

Joseph E. Baldwin, President of Indiana State Conference on Social Work (Ex Officio)

Miss Rosemary Maloney, President of Social Welfare Association of Lake County (Ex Officio)

Earl Gordon, Program Coordinator, Acting General Sec'y of Gary Y. M. C. A.

Leonard Swoverland, ... Conference Chairman, United War and Community Chest of Gary

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Miss Alma Gilcher, Gary
Miss Elizabeth Kempton, Gary

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Rev. James Cis, Gary
Miss Patricia Conway, Hammond
Miss Elizabeth Coates, Gary
Miss Isabel Goldman, Gary
Mrs. Rosemary Loktu, Gary
Mrs. R. B. McClelland, Gary
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R. Paul Smith, Gary
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Mrs. Della Clark, Hammond
Rev. J. Kenneth Cutler, Gary
Edgar Mills, East Chicago
Mark C. Roser, Gary
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Mrs. Walter Bagby, Hammond
Mrs. Arthur Blood, Whiting
Mrs. George Boswell, Whiting
Mrs. Mary Fisher, Gary
Rev. Lawrence Grothouse, Gary
Mrs. B. W. Harris, Gary
Mrs. James Hill, Gary
Miss May Hill, Hammond
Mrs. Stephan Levan, East Chicago
Mrs. H. B. Snyder, Gary

HEALTH ACTIVITIES

Dr. Frank Neuwelt, Chairman, Gary
Dr. Dennis Bethea, Hammond
Jack Gilroy, Gary
Wm. J. Harrigan, Hammond
O. H. McKinsey, Gary
Miss Barbara Palmer, Valparaiso
Rollen Waterson, Gary

C
O
P
Y

Reid
Engagements

May 23, 1944

Dr. Ira De Reid,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Reid:-

Our Missionary Conference for our Southeastern Jurisdiction, embracing the leadership from the nine Southeastern states, will be in session at Lake Junaluska, N. C. - July 24 - August 2nd. I will have a seminar on social questions each morning and my group usual ly averages about sixty people.

I am more than anxious to haveyou lead my group in a discussion on what the White Primary really does to the South, what it does to the whole South, spiritually economically, etc. The group meets each day from 10 to 11 (fast time). Then in the afternoon from 4 to 5 tells us about the Southern Regional Conference.

Mrs. Roosevelt w ll be with my group on the 26th discussing race relations and the peace of the world. The next day will follow with some reports the group must make, so I believe the time I'll need you most will be on the 28th. Please think through this and see if it w ll be possible for you to make this contribution to the work of the Methodist women.

You will find a group eager to listen and who will want you to state cold, hard facts and they will be willing to face them and will carry your message to many a missionary society over the South.

I would appreciate it if you would let me at a very early date if you can be with us for if you will not find it possible, I will have to find someone else.

Deeply appreciative of the work you are doing with our Regional Council and anxious to have my women know you and be led by you into the problems that face us all, I am

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

C
O
P
Y

May 26, 1944

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I shall be very glad to appear before the Missionary Conference of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church on Friday, July 28, as suggested in your letter of May 23. That will be a very appropriate time for the discussion of the white primary since the Georgia election will have been held about three weeks prior to then.

If there are any further suggestions as to the things you would like to have me do on that day, I shall be very glad to receive them.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours

Ira De A. Reid

IDR/rha

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Acting Director
Emergency Committee for Food Production
225 Kellogg Building
Washington,4, D. C.

The Eleventh Annual

Carolina Institute of International Relations

WOMAN'S COLLEGE, GREENSBORO, N. C. - - - - - - - - - - - - - JUNE 15-22, 1944

Theme: "World Organization for Enduring Peace"

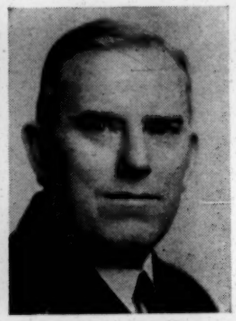
A. J. Muste

E. Raymond Wilson

Hugh C. Stuntz

Gladys Walser

Ira De A. Reid



Robert Lee Humber

• PROGRAM •

THURSDAY, JUNE 15

4:00 p. m.—Registration of Delegates to the Carolina Institute of International Relations (Alumnae House, Woman's College)

8:00 p. m.—"Lasting Peace in Europe—What Will It Cost?" Speaker, Martin Hall

FRIDAY, JUNE 16

8:45 a. m.—Morning Meditation

9:15 a. m.—"Specific Problems in the Organization of Peace" Speaker, Samuel Levering

11:00 a. m.—Informal Discussion Period

4:00 p. m.—"What Will Become of Germany?" ..... Speaker, Martin Hall

8:00 p. m.—"How Far Are We From World Order?" .... Speaker, A. J. Muste

SATURDAY, JUNE 17

8:45 a. m.—Morning Meditation

9:15 a. m.—"Re-education For Peace" Speaker, Martin Hall

11:00 a. m.—Informal Discussion Period

4:00 p. m.—"Peaceful Change in Human Relations" ..... Speaker, Ira Reid

8:00 p. m.—"Current Trends in U. S. Foreign Policy" ..... Speaker, Raymond Wilson

SUNDAY, JUNE 18

9:15 a. m.—"The Foundations of Peace" Speaker, A. J. Muste

4:00 p. m.—"Danger Zones in the Peace Making" ..... Speaker, Raymond Wilson

8:00 p. m.—"What Should We Know About Japan?" ... Speaker, Gladys Walser

MONDAY, JUNE 19

8:45 a. m.—Morning Meditation

9:15 a. m.—"Russia and World Order" Speaker, Martin Hall

11:00 a. m.—Informal Discussion Period

4:00 p. m.—"The Search for International Security" ..... Speaker, Robert Humber

8:00 p. m.—"A New Approach To the Building of the South" .. Speaker, Ira Reid

TUESDAY, JUNE 20

8:45 a. m.—Morning Meditation

9:15 a. m.—"Can We Have Lasting Peace in the Orient?" .. Speaker, Gladys Walser

11:00 a. m.—Informal Discussion Period

• PROGRAM •

4:00 p. m.—"Between the Armistice and the Peace" ..... Speaker, A. J. Muste

8:00 p. m.—"Can We Prevent a Post-War Business Collapse?" Speaker, Albert Keister

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21

8:45 a. m.—Morning Meditation

9:15 a. m.—"Building a Good Neighborhood in the Americas" ... Speaker, Hugh Stuntz

11:00 a. m.—Informal Discussion Period

4:00 p. m.—"The Economics of World Organization" .... Speaker, Albert Keister

8:00 p. m.—"The Case For World Federation" ..... Speaker, Robert Humber

THURSDAY, JUNE 22

8:45 a. m.—Morning Meditation

9:15 a. m.—"What Can We Count On?" Speaker, A. J. Muste

11:00 a. m.—Informal Discussion Period

4:00 p. m.—"The Role of Food in Winning The Peace" .. Speaker, Howard Kershner

8:00 p. m.—"Our Responsibilities for World Order" ..... Speaker, Hugh Stuntz

• OTHER FACTS •

OPEN TO ALL men and women interested in international affairs.

ENROLLMENT

Tuition (for the eight days)	$ 6.00
Special rate to ministers	5.00
Per day $1.00	
Board and room	15.00
Per day $2.00	
Single admissions to lectures and discussions	.35
Ticket for Evening Lecture Series only (eight lectures)	2.00

Although persons are cordially welcome to attend part-time or for individual sessions, the Institute is planned in such a way as to give greatest benefit to those who are able to spend the entire eight days together in study, discussion, and fellowship.

• FACULTY •

MARTIN HALL. Noted lecturer and news commentator. Widely travelled in Europe. Former journalist for the *Manchester Guardian* reporting on the European Underground.

ROBERT LEE HUMBER. Writer and lecturer on World Organization. Author of *A Declaration For the Federation of the World*, passed as a resolution by the North Carolina Legislature and five other states.

ALBERT S. KEISTER. Head of the Department of Economics, Woman's College. Arbitrator for the National War Labor Board. Authority on economic planning.

HOWARD E. KERSHNER. Former director of Quaker relief work in France. Now Chairman of the Temporary Council on Food for Europe's Children.

SAMUEL R. LEVERING. Formerly with the U. S. Farm Credit Administration. Stimulating discussion leader for the past two years at the Carolina Institute.

A. J. MUSTE. Executive Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Consultative member of the Committee on Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches.

IRA DE A. REID. Noted sociologist of Atlanta University. Co-Secretary of the newly organized Southern Regional Council devoted to the development of the South.

HUGH C. STUNTZ. President of Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee. Leader in the field of religious education and Latin-American understanding. Years of residence in South America.

GLADYS WALSER. For twenty-six years engaged in social work and in teaching in the three largest universities for women in Tokyo. Authority on life in Japan.

E. RAYMOND WILSON. Executive Secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D. C. Resource leader in numerous national conferences on the issues of the peace.

Auspices AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE *with cöoperation of* THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE *and* A. AND T. COLLEGE

For further information write EDWIN L. DUCKLES, *Sec.*, Woman's College, Greensboro, N. C.

NOTES FOR HALF-YEAR REPORT

Ira De A. Reid

Programs and Public Appearances

During the period ending July 30, 1944 xhsx appeared and spoken at the following meetings and places :

Georgia Interracial Committee , Atlanta
South Carolina Interracial Committee , Columbia
North Carolina Confeence of Negro Social Workers , Raleigh
New Orleans Urban League , New Orleans
Florida Normal and Industrial College , St. Augustine
Florida , A. and M. College for Negroes, Tallahassee
Middle Atlantic Conference of Social Workers, Baltimore
Indiana Conference of Social Work, Gary
Institute of International Relations, Woman's College, Greensboro
Seminar on International Relations, Guilford College, ~~Greensboro~~ N.C.
Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville
~~Institute of Community Progrss, Wellesley College, Massachusetts.~~
Georgia State Teachers and Education Association, Atlanta.
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Southern Conference, Greensboro
~~Committee and Agency Programs~~ → Wellesley ~~School~~ of Community Affairs, Wellesley Mass.

Advised aith the following groups on programs and techniques in the South:

American Friends Service Committee... interested in fostering its program in the South.

Committee on Mass Education.... interested in devising new and appropriate techniques for visual and auditory education in human relations. The COME is sponsored by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the American Film Center. Te The Associate Executive Director serves as a member of this committee.

FEPC... Region V of this federal organization has consistently souhgt counsel on problems pertinent to its survival and operation in the region.

NOTE: Assistance given to Time and Life , and, other agencies interested in obtaining factual and contemporary ~~facts~~ data on the region.

September 7, 1944

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
President
The National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, Northwest
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Bethune:

It will be a pleasure to serve on the panel on "JOBS", which will be held in in connection with the annual Workshop meeting of the National Council of Negro Women, to be held in Washington, D. C. during October 13, 14, and 15, 1944.

My services in this connection will be in my capacity as an official of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha
cc:
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

C
O
P
Y

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC.

1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.

Washington 5, D. C.

September 1, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Reid:

The National Council of Negro Women is holding its annual Workshop meeting, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, October 13, 14, 15, 1944 at the Departmental Auditorium, Washington, D. C.

Our theme is "WARTIME PLANNING FOR POST-WAR SECURITY." During the Workshop, we will hold a panel on"JOBS", which Dr. Caroline Ware will chair. This panel will be held Friday, October 13, 10:30 A.M., in the Departmental Auditorium.

We cordially invite you to be one of the consultants on the panel.

Kindly let us hear from you as soon as possible if you can arrange to be present with us.

With very best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mary McLeod Bethune
President

FALL PLANNING CONFERENCE

THE LEIGH STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, ETTRICK, VIRGINIA

SEPTEMBER 30—OCTOBER 1, 1944

THEME—*"YMCA IMPERATIVES ON THE THRESHOLD OF A SECOND CENTURY OF SERVICE."*

AGENDA

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1944

3:00-5:00 P. M.—CONFERENCE SESSION

Presiding: John E. Hall, Jr.
President Board of Directors

Worship: The Rev. Thomas Freeman
School of Religion, Virginia Union Univ.

Welcome Address: Dr. L. H. Foster
President Virginia State College

Response and Statement of Purpose:
John E. Hall, Jr.

Keynote Address: Dr. Ira De A. Reid.
Associate Director, Southern Regional
Council, Atlanta, Ga.

5:30-6:30—P. M.—DINNER

7:00-9:00 P. M.—CONFERENCE SESSION

7:00-8:00 P. M.—"Imperatives in Boys Work"
William A.Worthmann, Boy's Work Sec'y
Central YMCA, Richmond, Va.
E. R. Storrs, Presiding

8:00-9:00 P. M.—"Programming For Adult Membership
Constituency."
Dr. Howard A. Long, National Council
Board, YMCA, Washington, D. C.
R. C. Mitchell, Presiding

9:00-10:30 P. M.—CAMP FIRE AND RECREATION

Sunday, October 1, 1944

8:00-8:30 A. M.—Breakfast

8:45-10:45 A. M.—CONFERENCE SESSION

8:45-9:15 A. M.—Worship: The Rev. S. L. Gandy, Director Religious Activities, Virginia State College

9:15-10:15 A. M.—Departmental Reports and Discussions John E. Hall, Jr., Presiding

10:15-10:45 A. M.—ADDRESS:

"The Layman's Responsibility to the YMCA"
Dr. Howard A. Long

Announcements

11:00-12:00 Noon—CHAPEL: The Reverend S. L. Gandy Will Be The Speaker

12:00 Noon—Adjournment

1:00 P. M.—Dinner

"I see no virtue in being a slave to a time schedule or to a clock, but when being on time to a meal or a meeting will help make it possible to glean from a day, values desired by me and others, which the day has been carefully planned to yield to all, then will I move with determination and high purpose from each experience to the next, making every choice possible in favor of carrying through my day as scheduled." *

---

* Due to the shortage of manpower at the College, which affects student help, it is imperative that we adhere to our schedule religiously.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Willianna Best, *Office Secretary*

---

* With the Armed Forces

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

October 27, 1944

Dear Doctor Johnson:

On Tuesday, October 31 at 4 O'clock the Department of Sociology of Atlanta University is inviting a few persons who are interested in the practical and theoretical problems of the social sciences to meet with Dr. E. B. Reuter of Fisk University for an informal discussion.

Dr. Reuter is one of this country's foremost scholars in the field of race and culture. He is a former director of the Tulane School of Social Work, and sometime professor of sociology in leading American Universities, Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

The meeting will be held in the Atlanta University Conference Room, Administration Building. We shall be very pleased to have you take part in the discussion.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman, Department of
Sociology

November 8, 1944

Hon. Ben D. Griffin
President
Florida State Teachers Association
2016 - 21st Avenue
Tampa 5, Florida

Dear Mr. Griffin:

I regret very much that it will not be possible for me to speak at the Florida State Teachers Association on Friday, December 1 at Bethune Cookman College. Previous engagements in this vicinity prevents my accepting your very kind invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

THE FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE

President
2016-21st. Ave.
Tampa,5, Florida
October 27, 1944

Dr. Ira De A. Reed
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reed:

The Florida State Teachers Association has its Annual Meet dated for November 30-December 2, 1944 at Bethune Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.

The program committee has given a panel discussion an important place as a feature that might serve as an informing agent to the many educational workers that this meeting attracts.

The general theme-"Teaching Today for A Better World Tomorrow" gives this topic for a panel discussion-Education for Racial Understanding.

It is on this topic that the committee wishes you to serve with five other noted students of racial understanding, Friday Evening, December 1, 1944.

Please advise at an early date your response to this request.

May I advise you that the finanical stipulations will be cared for by the Association. I remain

Respectfully yours
Ben D. Griffin
Ben D. Griffin, President
Florida State Teachers Association

Officers:

BEN D. GRIFFIN, President
2016 21ST AVE. TAMPA, PHONE Y5677

V. E. COMBS, Vice-President
MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL, PALMETTO
PHONE 27681

G. L. PORTER, Treasurer
LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL, TALLAHASSEE
PHONE 1238K

MISS O. B. McLIN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
335 N. JACKSON ST., ST. PETERSBURG
PHONE 48055

MRS. LUCILE COLEMAN
RECORDING SECRETARY
STANTON HIGH SCHOOL, JACKSONVILLE

MRS. A. HOGAN-BREWER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, P. O. BOX 1301
RES. 522 18TH STREET, WEST PALM BEACH
PHONE 2-2727

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At Large:

O. K. MICKENS
MOORE ACADEMY, BOX 97, DADE CITY

HARRY T. MOORE
MIMS

"INVEST IN WAR BONDS"

Read

Discussion Memorandum

on Topics

~~for discussion at the~~ of the

TENNESSEE STATE STUDENT CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

February 16, 17, 18, 1945

Scarritt College

Nashville, Tennessee

Prepared by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta, Georgia

TOPICS

1. An adequate policy of domestic help, hours, pay, etc.
2. Public Medicine following the war.
3. Rehabilitation of the returning soldier.
4. Extending educational opportunities in the South.
5. Politics, extending the vote, education for intelligent participation in the functions of the citizen.
6. Better and adequate housing for all people.
7. Farm cooperatives.
8. Group recreation as preparation for community living.
9. Population shifts from country to town and their meaning.
10. Labor problems and policies.
11. Religious cults and their meaning to the church in the South.
12. Social security for all classes.
13. What is the meaning for us in the South of our religious heritage, as different from other sections?
14. Delinquency, as it is peculiarly present here.

PREFACE

The South has a chance to better order its heritage and its prospect. It may rebuild its land, its people, its institutions according to democracy's essential sense of rightness or, it may become an "extraordinary exhibit of social degeneracy, of tragic men and women, broken and depraved in the ongoings of a great nation, whose opportunities may be lost by default, as well as by purpose."

The South can make an important contribution to the nation and the world through looking forward instead of backward. With millions of people being born here, with millions moving away taking billions of dollars that might well be used in building anew, the South can ill afford to make many more mistakes.

There are things to KNOW about the South. We shall seek this knowledge.

There are things to BELIEVE about the South. We shall base this conviction upon understanding and faith in democracy.

There are things to DO about the South. We shall base this action upon the knowledge we obtain, the beliefs we profess and the faith we hold.

I. Our returning soldiers are expecting to find a new South in the making. The fears of insecurity, poverty, exhausted lands, depleted forests and naval stores, boll weevil, decayed plantations, the crises of the textile industry, race

conflict, sectionalism demagoguery, mob rule and absentee ownership have made the struggle for survival against the odds of poverty and inefficiency, a difficult one. More folk now work in the South than ever before in its history. That work may end suddently--before these boys return. War production contracts in the South are few. War facility contracts have been many--in the past. Both are decreasing. What then?

II. We must build for constructive political participation in the South. The one-party-politics with which we are oppressed has stunted and dwarfed our stature in the nation. The defeatist political practices of the white primary and non-democratic taxation have given us neither strength nor power in the national order. Shall we end these things and build anew?

III. We have whinnied and whined so long about the Negro that race and so-called race problems have become an obsession with us. We have build two of most things and have provided but half enough for anybody. We have elected to provide "separate but equal" facilities but have only made the inequalities wider and the people weaker. Can we stop pretending that it is all the Negro's fault? Can we act like men among men?

IV. The South's economy must be strengthened. We are said to live in a region of overseers--we manage what others own in the South. Much of our economic foundation is based on Northern capital, Northern philanthropy, government subsidy and cheap labor. Why? Must it remain so?

These steps may be taken by you:

Make a reconnaissance of your community to obtain an over-all of its natural and man made resources, the number and kinds of people.

Appraise how the community makes its living, noting what the community wants changed and what it wants saved.

Observe the character and quality of living in your community, noticing which services and facilities are good and which are inadequate.

See how your observations and the community needs may be translated into plans for action.

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1. Rehabilitating the Returning Service Men and Women
2. Minorities of the Region
3. Housing the Community
4. Labor Problems and Politics
5. Farm Security
6. Education in the South
7. Recreation
8. Delinquency and the Region
9. Religion and the South
10. Community Health Following the War
11. Social Security
12. Household Employment
13. The Political South

1. REHABILITATING THE RETURNING SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN

What problems will Jane and Johnny face when they come marching home? If they are well? If they are injured or handicapped? What responsibilities do we face in helping to bring about their full adjustment?

How many men and women from your community are in the armed services? Overseas? How many are expected to return? Injured?

What programs are being initiated to help them with respect to jobs, morale, social life, community participation? What else can be done for them? By whom?

READ

Facts and Tips for Service Men and Women. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 92, 1944. 10¢

The G.I. Bill of Educational Rights. University of Chicago Round Table Discussion No. 352, 1944. 10¢

Cartwright, Morse A. Marching Home: Educational and Social Adjustment After the War. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. New York 27, New York. 1944. 25¢.

Report of the Commission on Post-War Training and Adjustment. Institute of Adult Education. Teachers College, Columbia University. 1942.

Johnny Comes Marching Home. By Willard Waller. New York, Dryden Press. 1944

2. MINORITIES OF THE REGION

Who are the minority peoples of the South? What are the major social, economic and political problems the South faces with respect to these minorities?

What steps are being taken to handle these problems. How successful are they?

What major or basic steps are necessary to promote democracy in human relations in the South?

America's Tenth Man

Public Affairs Pamphlet No_____ The Negro in America

3. HOUSING THE COMMUNITY

"Everyone needs a decent place in which to live, but housing in its broadest sense means more than parlor, bedroom and bath. It also means elbow room, freedom from hazards, clean fresh air, sunlight, greenery and many community facilities." Good housing includes relief of congestion, clearance of slums and blight, and the creation of new residential units that will lead to a rebirth of democratic living, within each neighborhood of the community.

What are the housing needs of your community? What standards are set forth in the building codes? What is--percentage of house ownership? Rental levels? Methods of financing? Conditions of dwelling units in regard to equipment, amenities, crowding, obsolenscence? Where are slum and blighted areas? What produced them? What are neighborhood conditions? What should be included in desirable goals or standards for community shelter?

Carskadon, T. R. Houses for Tomorrow. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 96. 10¢.

National Resources Planning Board. Housing--The Continuing Problem. Washington. 1940 Superintendent of Documents. 10¢

4. LABOR PROBLEMS AND POLICIES

What proportions of the population is gainfully employed? What differences exist in employment of the sexes? The races? What are the special characteristics of employment in the most important industries and occupations?

What are the major labor organizations in your community? What are their problems and policies with repsect to hours, wages, conditions of employment?

Is your town regarded as "open shop" or "closed shop"? Why?

What are the goads of full employment after the war? What salaries and wages will be needed to promote the highest possible purchasing power of consumers?

5. FARM SECURITY

What is the extent of rural poverty in your community? How does farm ownership compare with other counties?

Is there land erosion?

What are the problems of labor? Education? Recreation? Housing? Youth?

What is a farm cooperative? How does it work? What kind of farm cooperatives can be established in rural Tennessee?

The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, by Edwin R. Embree, Charles S. Johnson, and W. W. Alexander 1935, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. 35 cents

Rural Youth, by David Aeshman Coyle, Social Problems No. 2 NYA, 1939. Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office.

The Story of Farmers' Cooperatives, E23FCA. Farm Credit Administration. Washington, D. C. Free

6. EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

How good is the South's program of public education? What are the regions programs for pre-school, elementary, secondary, collegiate, technical and adult education?

What is the Negro's share in the South's education program?

What are the arguments for and against further federal aid in public education?

Smith, Payson; Wright, Frank W. and Associates. Education in the Forty-Eight States. U. S. Government Printing Office Washington, D. C. 1939. 30¢

Planning for American Youth. National Association of Secondary School Principals. 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington, 6, D. C. 1944. 25¢.

7. RECREATION

What are the recreation needs of children, working adults, old people, family groups, and individuals without family or community ties?

Which of these needs require facilities and programs close to homes, in community centers, in city-wide or regional locations?

What standards of space, facilities or programs are needed in light of changing :

kinds or ages of people?

conditions or hours of employment?

techinques of transportation, housing, recreation and the like?

National Recreation Association, Schedule for Appraisal of Community Recreation. New York. 1941. Free.

8. DELINQUENCY AND THE REGION

What are the forms, prevalence and causes of juvenile delinquency and other juvenile problems in your community?

Who are the community's deliquents?

How high is the homicide rate? Why? Who kills whom?

Is the police force a vital influence for constructive community life? Why?

What facilities are available for preventing and arresting delinquency?

J. E. Weckler and Theo E. Hall. The Police and Minority Groups. The International City Managers' Association, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois. 1944, 50¢

RuthLerrigo and Bradley Buell. Social Work and the Jones. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 97. 1944. 10¢

The Community Welfare Picture as Reflected in Health and Welfare Statistics in 34 Urban Areas, 1940. U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington. 1941

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau, Controlling Juvenile Delinquency. Publication 301. 1943. 10cents.

9. RELIGION AND THE SOUTH

What is the ratio of population to churches in your community? How does it compare with the state? How does the Southern ratio compare with that of the nation?

What is a cult? How does it arise? What are the religious cults of your community? Who belong to them? Why do they join? Who are their leaders? Do they broadcast their services? What is their nature?

If you were a social psychologist how would you interpret the increase in religious cults in Southern cities?

What are the programs of urban and rural churches in the South?

What organizations seem to be giving a new interpretation to religion in the South?

Findings of the Conference on Demobilization Challenges the Church. Atlanta. 1944. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Free

10. COMMUNITY HEALTH FOLLOWING THE WAR

What are the most serious communicable diseases in your community? How are they fought. What are the provisions for sanitation, inspection of food, water, food establisments, dwellings? What provisions are made for maternal and infant welfare?

Is there an adequate supply of physicians? Nurses? Dentists? What are the plant and equipment of hospitals, clinics and the institutions? Are they available to all the people?

What are the community facilities for mental health?

Who Can Afford Health? Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 27, 1939. 10¢
de Kruif, Paul Toward a Healthy America. Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 31, 1939.
Doctors, Dollars and Disease. Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 10. 1937

11. SOCIAL SECURITY

What is social legislation? How does Tennessee compare with other states in the quantity and quality of its social legislation? What new legislation is needed? Why?

How well does the social security program of the federal government operate in your community. Unemployment? Insurance? Old age assistance? Old age pensions? Public assistance programs? What occupations should be covered by social insurance?

12. HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

How many persons are employed in domestic service in your community? In Tennessee?

What is their race? nationality? sex? age?

What are their occupations? Wages? Hours? Conditions of employment?

What social legislation affects household employment? Why?

What standards should be established for household employment?

---

13. THE POLITICAL SOUTH

Tennessee cast 297,208 votes for Roosevelt and 190,223 for Dewey in the presidential election. What percent of the eligible voting population exercised its franchise rights on that day? How does that percent compare with the record of the states?

What restrictions of the franchise right exist in Tennessee? How are they made effective social controls?

What programs exist for eliminating these restrictions?

What are the chief deficiences of political democracy in Tennessee as stated by Jennings Perry in Democracy Begins at Home?

Summary of Election Laws of Thirteen Southern States. Committee of Editors and Writers of the South. Margaret Fisher, Executive Assistant, 939 Piedmont Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.
Democracy Begins at Home, by Jennings Perry. New York. 1944.

Reid

From Rich on the road,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Feb 29

Dear Henry:

This information may be important for any further discussions with Morris Cox: One of the best public relations groups in Atlanta seems to be Rosson's or something similar to that. From some of the conversations I have had on this trip we are going to need the best counseling we can get.

Every organization in the country seems to have been invited to Chicago to a meeting with Marshall Field. Has the SRC? Cha. Johnson is involved. If we haven't been, we should. Will you make the appropriate inquiries.

Sincerely,

H.

FILE COPY

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to DR. IRA DE A. REID

March 2, 1945

Thank you for your note of February 27 inviting me to conduct a seminar on the sociology of crime at Atlanta University, March 15. I shall be very glad to do this.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 27, 1945

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

The Department of Sociology of Atlanta University would be very pleased to have you conduct one of its seminars on the subject of the sociology of crime and some related aspects. Is it possible for you to do this for us on Thursday evening, March 15 at 7:15 o'clock?

Our seminars are held for two hours or more. The first hour is given over to a presentation of the subject and the second hour to discussion period. The meetings are held in Seminar Room A of the University Library.

I do hope that you can accept this invitation to meet with our students.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR/rha

Rec'd

U. S. Department of Labor
Children's Bureau
Washington

JOINT CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COLORED PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Room 7129, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, March 15, 16 and 17, 1945

AGENDA

OUR CHILDREN NOW AND IN THE POST WAR PERIOD

Thursday, March 15th

Morning--9:30 to 12:30 - Presiding, Mrs. Anna M. P. Strong, President, N.C.C.P.T.

Goals and Gains on the National Front ... Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

What the Child in Minority Group Faces .. Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Chairman, Public Welfare Com., N.C.C.P.T., Nashville, Tennessee.

General Discussion

Afternoon - 2:00 to 4:30 - Presiding, Mrs. Anna M. P. Strong

Strengthening the Negro Home and Family

In Relation to Family Support ..... Mr. Frayser Lane, Civic Education Department, Chicago Urban League, Chicago, Illinois.

In Relation to Family Shelter ..... Mrs. Dorothy Roseman, Chairman, National Committee on Housing, New York City.

In Relation to Family Health ..... Dr. Katherine Bain, Director, Research and Child Development Division, U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Discussion Leader ..... Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Friday, March 16th

Morning--9:30 to 12:30 - Presiding, Mrs. Chas. S. Johnson

Community Organization for Health and Welfare Services

Techniques of Planning to Obtain Adequate Services	Mr. J. Harvey Kerns, Assistant Director Research Dept. National Urban League, New York City.
One Approach in One City	Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia.
Organizing Support for Action Requested	Mrs. Dorothy Fassitt, Superintendent, Kruse School, Marshallton, Delaware.
Publicity on Available Services	Miss Mary Taylor, Director, Division of Reports, U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.
Discussion Leader	Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Associate Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Afternoon--2:00 to 4:30 - Presiding, Mrs. Chas. S. Johnson

Programs that Help to Make the Community Safe for Children in Minority Groups

The School	Miss Margaret Heaton, San Francisco Public Schools, San Francisco, California.
The Church	Mrs. Josephine Kyles, Washington Federation of Churches, Washington, D. C.
Community Services for Children	Mrs. Hattie Mae Clagett, Orangeburg County Department of Public Welfare, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
Discussion Leader	Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Saturday, March 17th

Morning, 9:30 to 12:30--Presiding, Mrs. William Henry

Parent Education on School Attendance and Child Labor

Legislation

Enforcement Procedure and Staff

Parent Responsibility

On School Attendance ..... Miss Bess Goodykoontz, Assistant Commissioner, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

On Child Labor ..... Miss Beatrice McConnell, Director, Industrial Division, U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Summary ..... Mr. Kermit Eby, Director of Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

Luncheon Meeting--12:45 to 2:00 - Presiding, Miss Katharine F. Lenroot

Joint Responsibility of the Two National Organizations of Parents and Teachers . Mrs. William A. Hastings, President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 600 South Michigan Blvd., Chicago 5, Illinois.

Afternoon--2:30 to 4:30 - Presiding Mrs. William Henry

Discussion Leader . Vinita V. Lewis

Future Cooperation Between the Children's Bureau and the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.

Areas of Cooperation

Public Welfare Committee of National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

Health Committee of National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers

Methods of Cooperation

Memo to: Dr. Reid

May 15, 1945

Do you suppose that Atlanta University or the Urban League or one of the churches would be interested in a recital by these artists?

(Montgomery
Webster - Jackie Lubre)

WILMINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Wilmington, Delaware

May 21, 1945

Dear Dr.Reid:

Will you please fill out the enclosed blanks and return to our office at your earliest convenience. I am sorry to bother you with so many, but it is necessary we have these for those whose names appear on our payroll. You need not have the Reimbursement of Expenses blanks notarized as Miss Burnett can approve these blanks.

Expected checks (invoices sent 5/29/45 --
Expenses - $69.66
Honorarium - $50.00

Margaret Champlin
Secretary
Department of Adult Ed.

Midwest Institute of International Relations

DRAKE UNIVERSITY

JUNE 2 TO 10, 1945

PROGRAM

Saturday, June 2

1:00-6:00 P. M.—Registration: Women's Dormitory, Twenty-eighth St., north of University Avenue.

8:00 P. M.—Opening Session: Eugene Mannheimer, Dean of the Institute, presiding.
Henry G. Harmon: Keynote Address.
Reception: For the Faculty and Attenders, by the Institute Committee.

Sunday, June 3—Presiding: Eugene Mannheimer, Rabbi Emeritus of Congregation B'Nai Jeshurun, Des Moines; and Dean of the Institute.

9:00 A. M.—John Rydjord: "Nationalistic Obstacles at the San Francisco Conference."

10.30 A. M.—Viva Boothe. Future Patterns of World Trade.

3:00 P. M.—Franklin D. Scott: "The Role of Small Nations in a World Organization."

4:00 P. M.—Tea: Hostesses from the Des Moines Friends Meeting and the Friends Hostel; Rufus Jones will speak informally.

8:00 P. M.—Rufus M. Jones: "Rebuilding the World, Beginning First With Our Own Lives."

Monday, June 4—Presiding: Cecil E. Hinshaw, President, William Penn College.

8:30 A. M.—Worship Service: Edwin E. Voigt and Rufus M. Jones.

9:00 A. M.—Gideon Seymour: Drake University Commencement Exercises.

3:00 P. M.—Round Table: On the Meaning of the San Francisco Conference—all Faculty participating.

4:00 P. M.—Tea: Hostesses from the Sisterhood of Congregation Tifereth Israel, Des Moines.

8:00 P. M.—Viva Boothe: "How the Post War Economic Program of the United States May Influence World Government."

Tuesday, June 5—Presiding: M. Willard Lampe, Director of the School of Religion, the State University of Iowa.

8:30 A. M.—Worship Service: Edwin E. Voigt.

9:00 A. M.—John de Jong: "How the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreements Will Touch the World's Pocketbook."

10:30 A. M.—Allan B. Kline: "How the Hot Springs Food Conference May Affect World Order."

3:00 P. M.—Round Table: "How the San Francisco Proposals for World Organization Can Influence Rural America" — all Faculty participating.

4:00 P. M.—Tea: Institute Attenders and Faculty will be guests of President and Mrs. Harmon.

8:00 P. M.—Ira DeA. Reid: "The Place and Treatment of Dependent Areas in Proposed Plans for World Government."

Wednesday, June 6—Presiding: Ethel M. Jones, member of the Drake University Faculty and the Midwest Institute Committee.

8:30 A. M.—Worship Service: Edwin E. Voigt.

9:00 A. M.—Jerome Davis: "India—the Acid Test."

10:30 A. M.—John Rydjord: "Latin America's Approach to San Francisco."

1:30 P. M.—Ray Newton: "Peacetime Conscription — a Challenge to American Democracy."

3:00 P. M.—Round Table: On Dependent Areas—all Faculty participating.

4:00 P. M.—Tea: Hostesses from the Abigail Adams Chapter, D.A.R., of Des Moines.

8:00 P. M.—Jerome Davis: "What Kind of World Government Does Russia Want?"

Thursday, June 7 — Presiding: Forrest W. Seymour, Des Moines *Register* and *Tribune*.

8:30 A. M.—Worship Service: Edwin E. Voigt.

9:00 A. M.—Ira DeA. Reid: Peace, Race and World Order.

10:30 A. M.—Kenneth W. Colegrove: "What Is Japan's Place in a World Government?"

3:00 P. M.—Symposium: On the Far East—all Faculty participating.

4:00 P.M.—Tea: Hostesses from the Tourist Club of Des Moines.

8:00 P. M.—Kenneth W. Colegrove: "The American Senate and World Peace."

Friday, June 8—Presiding: Louise M. Henely, of Grinnell, Iowa; member of the Midwest Institute Committee.

8:30 A. M.—Worship Service: Edwin E. Voigt.

9:00 A. M.—Jerome Davis: "The Soviet Foreign Policy."

10:30 A. M.—Kenneth W. Colegrove: "The International Control of Aviation."

3:00 P. M.—Edith Wynner: "Varieties of World Government."

4:00 P. M.—Tea: Hostesses from the Business and Professional Women's Club of Des Moines.

8:00 P. M.—Harrop A. Freeman: "International Law of the Future and How It Will Affect Us."

Saturday, June 9—Presiding: Virgil M. Hancher, President of the State University of Iowa.

8:30 A. M.—Worship Service: Edwin E. Voigt.

9:00 A. M.—Harrop A. Freeman: "The Coercion of States in Plans for World Order."

10:30 A. M.—Hans Simons: "Germany's Future in International World Order."

3:00 P. M.—Round Table: On Problems of World Organizations — all Faculty participating.

4:00 P. M.—Tea: Hostesses from the Negro Community Center of Des Moines.

8:00 P. M.—Hans Simons: "The Place of Democracy in World Affairs."

Sunday, June 10—Presiding: Eugene Mannheimer, Rabbi Emeritus of Congregation B'Nai Jeshurun; Dean of the Institute.

9:00 A. M.—Hans Simons: "Power Politics and World Order."

10:30 A. M.—Edwin E. Voigt: "Emerging Patterns for World Government."

(over)

FACULTY

VIVA BOOTHE

Director of the Bureau of Business Research of Ohio State University, at Columbus, Ohio. Was a statistician in the Food Administration and the War Industries Board during World War I; statistician, Joint Congressional Agricultural Inquiry Committee, 1941; head, department of Economics and Sociology, Elmira College, New York, 1923-28. Since 1928 teaching at Ohio State; now professor of business research there. Editor, the monthly Bulletin of Business Research. Author, "The Political Party as a Social Process." Voted most helpful faculty member at Antioch Institute in 1944. Field at the Midwest Institute—the economics of world government.

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JOHN de JONG

Born in Amsterdam, Holland; engaged in the export-import business in Holland, Italy and Roumania before coming to the United States in 1916. Graduate of the North Dakota Agricultural College at Fargo, N. D. Formerly Asst. Dairy Commissioner for the State of North Dakota. Banker since 1922, in Minneapolis, Minn., and Des Moines, Iowa. Now Vice-President of the Iowa-Des Moines National Bank and Trust Company, specializing in the field of commodity loans. Field at the Midwest Institute—the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreements.

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Professor of jurisprudence and constitutional law at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, and director of the Pacifist Research Bureau, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Is a graduate of Cornell University and has a law degree from the same institution. Has been largely responsible for the excellent and discriminating research work on the causes of war and the methods for accomplishing a lasting peace. Is an authority on the problem of permanent military conscription and the author of several important articles and pamphlets on the subject. At the Institute he will analyze and discuss the legal aspects of world government proposals.

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JOHN RYDJORD

Head of the Department of History, University of Wichita. Degrees from University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University and the University of California at Berkeley. Visiting lecturer at the University of California, 1942-43. Lecturer at the Intersession, Berkeley, 1926, and at George Washington University, summer 1929. Nine months in the army of occupation in Germany after World War I. Studied in the archives of Europe, mostly in Spain, winter of 1925-26. Two trips to Mexico. Special fields of interest: Latin America and Diplomacy. Author of: "Foreign Interest in the Independence of Mexico." On the summer school faculty at Northwestern University, 1945.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

Professor of History at Northwestern University. Specialist in the history of 19th and 20th century Europe and Scandinavia. Author of articles in historical quarterlies and the Encyclopedia Britannica. Author of "Bernadette and the Fall of Napoleon." Travelled widely in Europe, residing for some time in Scandinavian countries. Frequently heard on the Northwestern University Reviewing Stand, over WGN and Mutual. Lectures extensively. Graduate of Northwestern and Harvard; doctorate from Harvard in 1932.

HANS SIMONS

Dean of the school of politics of the New School for Social Research in New York. He was co-founder of German League of Nations Union and on the staff of the German Peace Delegation at Versailles. Helped organize the Berlin Academy of Political Science. Left Germany 1935. In 1924 became Director of the Institute of Political Science in Berlin. In 1929 was elected District Governor of Pomerania and in 1930 of Lower Silesia. With the rise of the Nazi party he was dismissed from public office and went into exile. Since 1935 he has been a member of the faculty at the New School. He was one of the most popular members of the Midwest Institute faculty in 1944. His contribution this year will be additionally valuable in the interpretation of European affairs and the voice of Europe in peace proposals and plans for world government.

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THE MIDWEST INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Midwest Institute (formerly the Grinnell Institute) is sponsored jointly by the American Friends Service Committee and Drake University. The Institute is planned and conducted by a Committee of which Roy L. Miller, Professor of Political Science at Drake University, is Chairman. Other members of the Committee are Eugene Mannheimer, Dean; Everett Davis, Henry G. Harmon, Louise M. Henely, Cecil E. Hinshaw, Ethel M. Jones, Robert W. Root, Forrest B. Spaulding, Luther W. Stalnaker and Par Danforth, Secretary.

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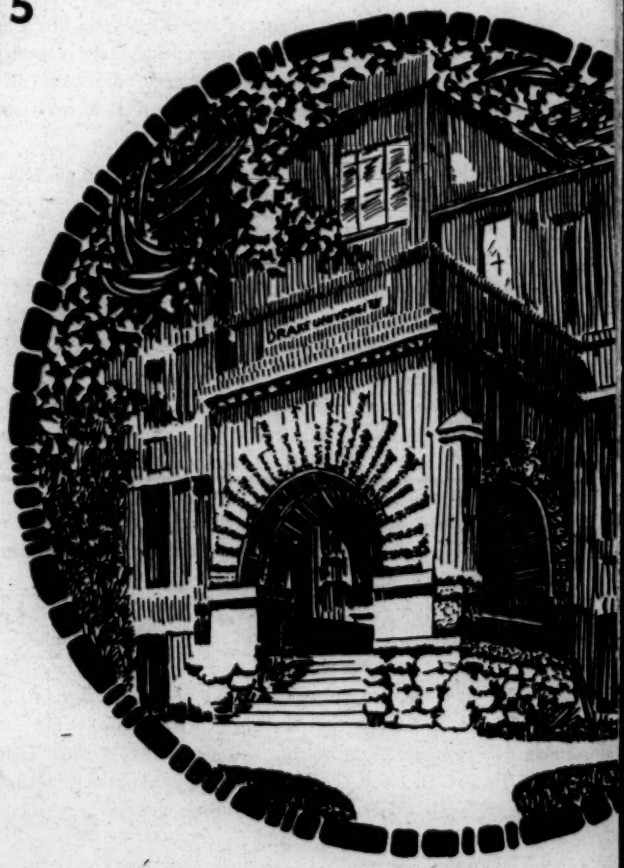
1945



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Des Moines 11, Iowa

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WORLD GOVERNMENT"—at the

PURPOSE

When the 11th annual session of the Midwest Institute of International Relations convenes at Drake University on Saturday, June 2nd, the United Nations Conference on International Organization, at San Francisco, will have adjourned or will have nearly run its course. From that Conference will come proposals for world government which Americans will be asked to discuss, judge, and approve or disapprove—proposals which may have a vast influence on their future and the future of the entire world. The program of the Midwest Institute is being planned to take advantage of the need for examining these proposals, for studying them and for intelligent discussion about them. The faculty members listed elsewhere in this folder have been selected because their field of training, their experience and their understanding qualify them especially for this task.

In addition to those men and women whose names are listed, attempts are being made to secure one of the official U. S. delegates as a speaker at the Institute and, in addition, at least one non-official person who has been in attendance throughout the Conference as an independent observer.

The Institute accepts the commonly-held American tradition that it is a citizen's function to air his opinions and stresses the importance of having accurate, complete and fair information on which those opinions should be based. With the "New Yorker" magazine it regards "this world as an imperfect one and consequently in need of the best possible government of law, order and human rights based on human responsibilities." The Institute also unites with the poet who spoke recently of "one high common demand that humans be for humans, and not against them."

The theme for discussion this year — "Emerging Patterns for World Government" — implies that a world which has been sadly divided must inevitably become a united world if civilization is to survive. Proposals and plans for accomplishing this are legion and Institute attenders may find that they cannot endorse any of them without some reservations. But they are encouraged to seek for insight and faith which will help them to work with other men and women everywhere who are seeking to build a united world.

The Institute will be particularly valuable for teachers, ministers, church workers, librarians, club men and women, public speakers, students and all those who are concerned about world affairs. Attendance is open to all, without any restriction whatsoever. Residents of Des Moines and nearby places are urged to come for single sessions if they cannot attend throughout.

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Midwest Institute of International Relations

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HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

Professor of political science at the University of Minnesota and an outstanding authority on the Far East. Has taught at Princeton and Hamline Universities, in addition to Minnesota. Former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and teacher at Tsing Hua College in Peking, China; also a Guggenheim research fellow in Japan. Author, "From Versailles to Locarno," "Japanese Government and Politics," "The Far East" (with G. H. Blakeslee), "Far Eastern War." Field at the Midwest Institute—the Far East and problems of world government.

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LOUISE LEONARD WRIGHT

Director of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, President of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, Trustee of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and from 1934-42 was Chairman of the Department of Government and Foreign Policy of the National League of Women Voters. She is the author of handbooks, "Toward a Collective Peace System," "American Neutrality," and "What Every Citizen Should Know About Foreign Policy." She is also the editor of *"Foreign Notes,"* a semi-monthly summary of international events. Mrs. Wright is now in Europe, on a mission for the United States government. She will come to the Midwest Institute immediately after her return and will report first-hand on European reactions to current plans for peace and world order.

EDITH WYNNER

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PROGRAM

DAILY SCHEDULE: The normal daily schedule is given below. It has been planned to avoid waste time and yet to provide for sociability and the valuable inter-change of ideas and experiences which have always been an outstanding feature of the Institute. There will be many opportunities for relaxation, recreation and the refreshment that comes from a change of scene, a new environment and new experiences.
Special programs for Sundays will be announced later. The first meal served to Institute attenders will be on Saturday, June 2, at 6 p.m.

Breakfast	7:30 - 8:30
Morning worship	8:30 - 8:55
Morning session, part one	9:00 - 10:20
Morning session, part two	10:30 - 11:50
Lunch	12:00 - 1:00
Free period and electives	1:00 - 3:00
Afternoon session	3:00 - 4:00
Tea	4:00 - 5:00
Dinner	6:00 - 7:00
Evening session	8:00 - 9:30

As this announcement is being prepared for the press it seems entirely too soon to attempt to crystallize a program which must depend so largely upon the course of events at San Francisco and therefore no daily calendar of discussion topics and lecture subjects has been drawn up yet. It is expected that the Faculty members listed below will be present on the days mentioned, but this is subject to possible change. It should also be borne in mind that the names of other Faculty members are yet to be announced. A detailed program and a complete Faculty list will be ready shortly after the first of May. Write for one.

Saturday,	June 2 . . .	Viva Boothe, Kenneth Colegrove, Henry Harmon, Rufus Jones, Allan Kline, Edwin Voigt, Louise Wright.
Sunday,	June 3 . . .	Viva Boothe, Kenneth Colegrove, Rufus Jones, Edwin Voigt, Louise Wright.
Monday,	June 4 . . .	Viva Boothe, Kenneth Colegrove, Rufus Jones, Allan Kline, Edwin Voigt, Louise Wright.
Tuesday,	June 5 . . .	Viva Boothe, Kenneth Colegrove, Jerome Davis, Rufus Jones, Allan Kline, Ira Reid, Edwin Voigt, Louise Wright, Edith Wynner.
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Friday,	June 8 . . .	Jerome Davis, Harrop Freeman, Harold Quigley, Hans Simons, Edwin Voigt, Edith Wynner.
Saturday,	June 9 . . .	Jerome Davis, Harrop Freeman, Harold Quigley, Hans Simons, Edwin Voigt, Edith Wynner.
Sunday,	June 10 . . .	Harrop Freeman, Hans Simons, Edwin Voigt and others to be announced.

WORSHIP: There will be a brief worship period each morning, in the interval between breakfast and the regular morning session. Attendance will be optional, but it is hoped that most people will want to come regularly. The services, though simple in nature, will be conducted by a trained and capable leader. Attenders will be encouraged to participate.

REGISTRATION BLANK

To the
American Friends Service Committee
Area Office at Drake University
Des Moines 11, Iowa.

Please enroll me for the 1945 sessions of the Midwest Institute of International Relations. With this coupon I am sending my registration fee of five dollars. I will pay the balance due for tuition, board and room when I arrive. Please reserve a room for me.

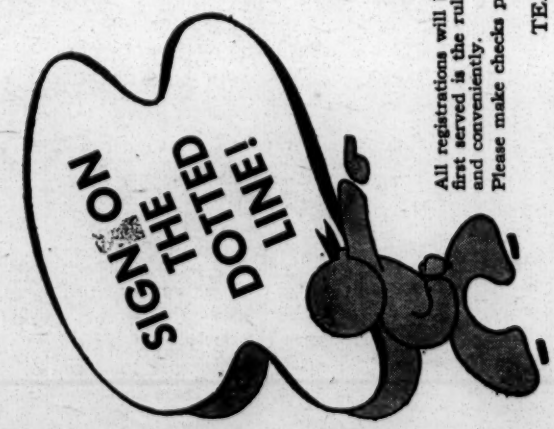
I expect to arrive on.....and will stay for.....days.
(Give day, date and time) (Insert number)

Name.....
(Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

Street Address.....

Town or city.....State.....
(Give zone number, if any)

Please PRINT or write legibly, so our records will be correct from the start. If you do not expect to be at the address above between now and the time the Institute commences, please give us a mailing address where we can reach you at all times.



All registrations will be acknowledged as received, with word indicating whether we can or cannot house you in the Drake University facilities. First come, first served is the rule. We cannot guarantee rooms for those who register after May 15th, although we will do our best to house everybody comfortably and conveniently.

Please make checks payable to the American Friends Service Committee.

TEAR OFF ALONG THIS LINE AND MAIL AT ONCE WITH YOUR REGISTRATION FEE

ARRANGEMENTS

DATES: The eleventh annual session of the Institute will take place from Saturday evening, June 2nd, until noon on Sunday, June 10, 1945.

COST: The fee for tuition, room and board will be $30.00. Five dollars per person, as a registration fee, is payable at the time reservations are made and the balance is due when the Institute commences, or the person arrives. Tuition alone will be $14.00, for those not desiring room and board. Rates by the day will be $4.00, including board and room; for tuition alone, $2.00. Residents of Des Moines and environs are invited to attend single sessions when they find it convenient. Rates per session are 75 cents, with a special fee of $5.00 for the evening lectures or any 8 sessions. Checks should be made payable to the American Friends Service Committee:

HOUSING: Since the Institute sessions fall at a time when Drake University classes will not be in session, the full housing facilities of the University will be available for Institute attenders, thus providing many more centrally located rooms than were available in 1944. However, we must stress the fact that we cannot guarantee rooms in University owned and operated dormitories and houses unless reservations for them are received before May 15th. Please cooperate by sending your registrations early. Those registering for the full period will be given preference of rooms. Please give the name of the person with whom you wish to room, if you have any preference.

SCHOLARSHIPS: Clubs, churches and individuals often raise or appropriate money to provide scholarships for "delegates," who attend the Institute and bring back reports so that those who cannot attend may benefit. These arrangements are usually completed locally, but the Institute secretary is sometimes able to suggest sources for scholarship assistance to individuals who may require it. It is important that no one who should attend be prevented for lack of funds, and to this end those who would like to contribute to the scholarship fund are invited to do so.

OTHER INSTITUTES: The American Friends Service Committee will conduct 14 other Institutes across the country in 1945, most of them in cooperation with colleges and universities. If for any reason you cannot attend the Midwest Institute, you are urged to write for a full list of others which will be available, with dates. The two nearest are the Kansas Institute, at Friends University, Wichita, Kansas, from June 7th to 16th, and the Institute at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, from July 2nd to 12th. Further information about them sent on request.

NOTICE

This folder is printed on news paper, without photographs, as an economy measure which we hope you will approve. By doing so we have been able to save nearly $75.00 and devote that amount to the educational program of the Institute.

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If you can distribute some of these announcements to interested people, please write for a supply and indicate how many you can use. For further information, for reservations, for additional information, write now to the:

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"Unto the . . . fourth generation?"

It happened in Iwo Jima. A soldier, having never seen his father, who died in Flanders Field, gave his life for the future of an infant son he, in turn, had never seen. Three generations of strangers!

WAY!

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will be held at

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FRIENDS UNIVERSITY • *Tenth Annual* • WICHITA, KANSAS

REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

WE THE PEOPLE—TRYING T

A. J. MUSTE

DEVERE ALLEN

JEROME DAVIS

IRA DE A REID

THE PROGRAM

The Institute will open at 3:00 p.m. Thursday, June 7, and close at 12:00 noon Saturday, June 16. Detailed schedule available May 1.

IN THE MORNING –

A quiet worship session.
Two lectures followed by forum discussion.

IN THE AFTERNOON –

Round table – all faculty participating – informal – with small groups if desired.
Fellowship tea.

IN THE EVENING –

Lecture and Forum.

All Day Sessions at Recreation Hall, Friends University – Evening Lecture at Twentieth Century Club, 536 North Broadway.

THE BOOK NOOK –

There will be a goodly supply of up-to-date books and pamphlets – and you may browse and buy – as you will – briefs of the lectures and discussions will be available at cost.

RECREATION AND FELLOWSHIP –

Special attention will be given to recreation in the afternoon – folk games – tennis – croquet – table tennis – swimming parties – picnics – community singing. A free Day Nursery will be provided from 9:00 to 12:00 each morning.

THE FA

A STAFF OF OUTSTANDING, INFO

DEVERE ALLEN – *Latin America* – Editor of World Over Press; previously co-editor of The World Tomorrow and associate editor of The Nation. Recently spent a year and a half in Mexico, several months in Cuba and the Caribbeans and has traveled extensively in Europe. Conducts a world-wide news service.

HANS SIMONS – *World Organization* – Professor of International Relations, New School of Social Research, New York. Was member of the staff of the German delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference and advisor of the Reich Home Office. Lectures widely in America for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Foreign Policy Association.

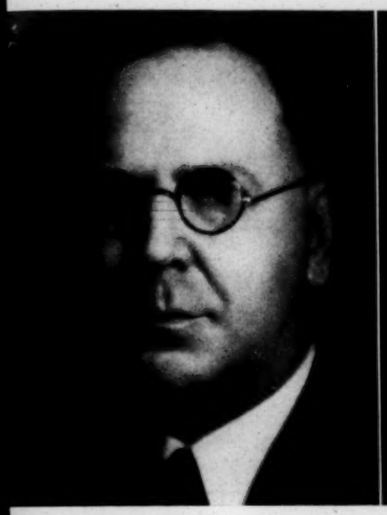
HAROLD QUIGLEY – *Asia* – Professor of Political Science at University of Minnesota and specialized for twenty-five years on the Far East. Visiting professor Tsing Hu a University in Peking, 1921-23. Lived in Japan, 1923 and 1939, doing research on Japanese spy system. Former Rhodes Scholar. Most recent publication "China Today," 1944.

VIVA BOOTHE – *Economics and Business Organization* – Professor and Director of Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University. Statistician in Food Administration and War Industries Board. Was head of Department of Economics and Sociology, Elmira, N. Y., 1928-32. Editor "Bulletin of Business Research" and "Women in the Modern World."

IRA DE A REID – *Human Relations* – Chairman Department of Sociology, Atlanta University. Associate Director of Southern Regional Council; Editor of "Phylon," Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture; author of "Adult Educa-

"Having Your Feet Shod with the Preparati

O FIND THAT OTHER WAY



HAROLD SCOTT QUIGLEY

FRANK McCULLOCH

VIVA BOOTHE

HANS SIMONS

CULTY

RMED, AND CONCERNED LEADERS

tion Among Negroes," "The Urban Negro Workers in the U. S.," "Sharecroppers All," etc.

JEROME DAVIS — *Russia* — Professor at Yale Divinity School, 1929-37; President American Federation of Teachers, 1936-39; in charge of Russian war work, 1916-18; visited Russia in 1927 and 1932. Directed YMCA prisoner of war work in Canada, 1940; just returned from a year in Russia; author "Contemporary Social Movements," "The New Russia," "Capitalism and Its Culture," "Labor Problems in America," etc.

A. J. MUSTE — *Reconciliation* — Graduate of Hope College, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary; ordained minister Dutch Reformed Church; Director New York City Labor Temple for two years; Chairman, Fellowship of Reconciliation; author, *Non-Violence in an Aggressive World* and numerous pamphlets and articles; co-editor, *Fellowship*. Studied and observed the Russian experiment and has visited extensively in Russia.

FRANK MCCULLOCH — *Labor Relations* — Graduate Harvard Law School; Director of James Mullenbeck Industrial Institute, Chicago; Industrial Secretary of Council for Social Action Congregational-Christian Churches; Panel War Labor Board 1943-44 lecturer on church and industry, Chicago Theological Seminary; Consultant, Workers Education and Collective Bargaining Problems.

SAN FRANCISCO — An interpreter direct from the United Nations Conference at San Francisco is expected to be present and will be announced later. Also one or two others are possible.

THE COSTS

TUITIONS AND FEES

1. Tuition full time $12.50
   A discount of $2.50 to those paying the registration fee of $5.00 (to be included in the above) by June 1.
2. Evening sessions (eight) only 2.50
3. Single admissions — 50 cents ..... .50
4. Coupon Ticket, good for:
   (a) Twenty-five sessions any time .. 10.00
   (b) Twelve sessions any time 5.00
   (Prices include Tax)

ROOM AND BOARD

1. Room near Friends University campus, per day 1.00
2. Board — at Friends University
   (a) Breakfast and Lunch at Cafeteria
   (b) Evening dinner — family style

WHO MAY ENROLL

The institute is planned for teachers, ministers, civic and study club leaders who are interested in building a just and enduring peace. Various points of view will be presented and there will be full time for discussion. Enroll early, and save $2.50.

COLLEGE CREDIT: Teachers and advanced students interested in securing credit should get in touch with President W. A. Young at Friends or Dr. Hugo Wall at Wichita University.

on of the Gospel of Peace" — ST. PAUL

THE INSTITUTE IS SPONSORED BY

KANSAS YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS . . . CONGREGATIONAL-CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION . . . BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN . . . PEACE COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE MENNONITES . . . KANSAS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES . . . and by the following citizens of Kansas

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C. H. ARMSTRONG
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MRS. W. H. BARCLAY
O. E. BONECUTTER
MRS. MAUDE L. BREESE
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CHARLES J. CHANDLER
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PAUL HARNLY
G. L. HARRISON
MRS. AGNES D. HAYS
JOHN WESLEY HAYS
A. E. HENRY
NELSON P. HORN
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A. E. KIRK
MRS. ALBERT KUSHNER
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MAX LEVAND
EMERY K. LINDQUIST
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DEANE W. MALOTT
ANDREW B. MARTIN
L. W. MAYBERRY
MERLIN MILLER
ORMAL L. MILLER
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L. M. RYMPH
IRA O. SCOTT
CHARLES M. SHELDON
BRYAN F. STOFFER
ANDREW SCHOEPPEL
HUGO WALL
SAMUEL E. WEST
W. L. WHITE
RICHARD L. WILES
L. D. WOOSTER
DALE ZELLER

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

DR. H. CLAUDE HOLMES, *Chairman*
FRANK RICHARD, *Dean of the Institute*
GUY T. GEBHARDT, *Executive Secretary*
GERALD WOOD, *Treasurer*

IDA SCHWIND
HARRY GRABER
MRS. HARRY GRABER
MRS. E. A. HEATH
PRESIDENT W. A. YOUNG
MRS. PAULINE CASADO
MRS. JOHN MICHENER
MARTHA POCOCK
DR. A. E. HIEBERT
FLORENCE STONE
ANTON RICHERT
ADOLPH BRICK
DAVID WEDEL
HYLTON HARMON
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J. D. SCHMIDT
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DR. BRYAN MICHENER
MELVIN GINGRICH
CLINTON KAUFMAN
NELSON A. CRAWFORD
JAMES ELROD
AUGUST EPP
MRS. E. L. HARSHBARGER
DUNBAR REED
ROBERT COPE
FLOYD DAVIDSON
MARTHA PENN
ARNOLD VERDUIN

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The American Friends Service Committee represents the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in efforts to relieve human suffering and to promote good will through a ministry of reconciliation. Founded in 1917 to relieve war sufferers abroad, the Committee is again active in foreign fields in the distribution of food, clothing and medical service in war ravaged European areas, as well as North Africa, India and China. In this country, work camps and rehabilitation experiments continue in areas of social and industrial maladjustment. Institutes and Seminars are held on college campuses and in communities on social, economic, and religious problems related to the development of a peaceful world. The Kansas Institute represents the Peace Section of the Service Committee. National office, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman; Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary.

OTHER INSTITUTES

MID-WEST INSTITUTES

Drake University — Des Moines, Iowa — June 3-June 10

WEST COAST INSTITUTES

The Helen Bush School — Seattle, Wash. — June 17-June 26
Reed College — Portland, Oregon — June 7-June 15
Mills College — Oakland, California — June 17-June 27
Whittier College — Whittier, California — July 3-July 13

EAST COAST INSTITUTES

Antioch College — Yellow Springs, Ohio — July 2-July 12
Wellesley College — Wellesley, Mass. — June 25-July 4
Pennsylvania State College — State College, Pa. — July 11-20
Cazenovia College — Cazenovia, N. Y. — August 1-10
Woman's College — Greensboro, N. C. — June 11-June 15
New England High School Institute — August 3-10
Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pennsylvania — August 16-August 23
Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pennsylvania — August 23-August 30
Kanesatake, Pa. — June 25-July 2

IRA DE A. REID

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

June 18
Gainesville

Dear Guy—

My timing has been 'way off. However, I'll be back in Atlanta on Wednesday and will bring the materials on which I have been working for the Frontier and Conference.

This conference isn't as weak as I expected it to be. I am discovering that almost any ground is fallow for the sort of thing we want to do.

Sincerely,

Ira

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
710 STANDARD BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 22

Dear Guy –

Either put up with me a while longer or put me out.

Confidentially, my pneumothorax condition has been giving me more trouble than usual. I should stay in bed all of the time. Dr. Holmes has compromised on 12 hours a day. I have not been able to do even that. I send some material or Mrs. Alexander brings it to me. More as it is done. I am allowing myself another week for normal functioning.

I am very sorry, but ~~there~~ is little more I am able to do. Staying up all night from Greensboro did not help.

Sincerely,
Ira

Ira De A. Reid

ITINERARY - JUNE 4-25

1945

June 4	-	En route	
" 5	-	Des Moines, Iowa.	
" 6	-	Des Moines, Iowa	
" 7	-	Wichita, Kansas	
" 8	-	" "	
" 9	-	" "	
" 10	-	" "	
" 11	-	Topeka, Kansas	
" 12	-	Kansas City, Missouri	Tentative Only
" 13	-	St. Louis, "	
" 14	-	St. Louis, "	
" 15,17	-	Chicago, Illinois or en route	
" 18	-	Seattle, Washington	
" 19	-	" "	
" 20	-	" "	
" 21	-	" "	
" 22	-	" "	
" 23	-	" "	
" 24	-	En route Chicago, Illinois	
" 25	-	En route Atlanta, Georgia	

A

Resident Addresses for mail to arrive between -

June 4-7

Des Moines, Iowa

c/o Par Danforth

Midwest Institute of International Relations

Drake University

Des Moines, Iowa

June 7-10

Wichita & Topeka, Kansas

c/o Guy Gebhardt

Kansas Institute of International Relations

Friends University

Wichita 12, Kansas

June 16-23

Seattle, Washington

c/o Seattle Institute of International Relations

Gracemont Hall

Helen Bush School

408 Blaine Boulevard

Seattle 5, Washington

B.

Interim Contact Points

Kansas City, Missouri

Thomas A. Webster

c/o Urban League of Kansas City

1805 Vine Street

Kansas City, Missouri

St. Louis, Missouri

John T. Clark

c/o Urban League of St. Louis

3017 Delmar Boulevard

St. Louis, Missouri

Chicago, Illinois

A. L. Foster

c/o Chicago Urban League

3032 South Wabash Avenue

Chicago, Illinois

C.

Travel Reservations

Chicago - Des Moines

Lower 6, Car 194

Chicago & Northwestern Railroad

Leaving Chicago 8:45 p.m.

6/4/45

Chicago - Seattle

via Northwest Airlines
leaving Chicago - Flight 23

6:00 p.m. - June 17

Seattle - Chicago

leaving Seattle - Flight 8

8 p.m. - June 24

Chicago - Atlanta

leaving Chicago - Flight 55

12:30 p.m.

arrive Atlanta - 5:42 a.m. Atlanta time
June 25

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 17, 1945

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
~~Institute of~~ Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Ira:

I received your telegram from Nashville just before leaving for Texas last Thursday. I didn't realize we were hiring Hadley and Slade on Segregation Study, but if there is plenty to keep them busy, along with Price and Carter, it is all to the good.

When checks were issued on July 15, Mr. Carter said that his understanding with you was that he was to receive $200 a month. My recollection was that you and I agreed that his salary was

to be at the rate of $3000 a year.
Is this right?

Also Mr. Slade said that he thought he was to receive $250 a month. I cited your telegram, in which he was listed at $2500-per-year basis. I take it that this is the correct figure. Anyway, we'll get these two items straight as soon as we hear from you.

All good wishes,

Sincerely,

Guy

Reid

Guy B. Johnson

August 6, 1945

I talked with Dr. Hughes on Saturday, August 4. He is under the impression that you have extended his employment for two full months at $250 a month after September 15. The time that he is to be employed between now and September 15 is supposed to cover the one month of employment which he promised us during the summer school session. I believe that there should be a written statement covering the organization's understanding of the terms of employment.

I suggested to Dr. Hughes that upon your return to the city, the three of us could get together and discuss the projects on which he might work. I believe that he may do most effective work in the field of education. You might consider having him revise the old Commission pamphlet on "The South — Child Rich, Dollar Poor."

Rec'd

Guy B. Johnson

August 6, 1945

Re: South's Post War Economy booklet

Mr. Googe and I are of the opinion that it will be better to begin the inside text on page 1 and to leave both covers blank.

I took the liberty to reverse the position of the table of contents and the introductory note. The latter precedes the contents.

Mr. Googe is to have a sample of the cover here this afternoon.

Reid

September 11, 1945

CROSS REFERENCE NOTE:

Dr. Reid: Regional Source Book, Current Statistics

September 6 series of letters asking for current reports of social agencies.

jtm

Memo from IRA DeA. REID

to Dr. Guy B. Johnson

RECEIVED
OCT 26 1945
Southern Regional Council

I shall be away until November 5, except for a few hours when I am in town on the 3rd. My itinerary and "causes" are as follows:

October 26-29 - New York
c/o Hotel Theresa
7th Avenue at 125th Street
Monument 2-1700

Seeing:

Pamphlet Press regarding "Manners and Minorities"

Miss Louise Young regarding Council of Church Women and the segregation study

Committee on Mass Education in Human Relations--reading a film script as subcommittee

October 30 - Washington, D. C.
c/o Carver Hall
2nd and Elm Streets, N.W.

E. C. Wine at Bureau of Budget regarding Education Study

Interstate Commerce Commission rulings and proceedings on segregation

October 31-November 1 - Hampton Institute
c/o President Ralph Bridgman

Addressing Student Assembly on "The Southern Regional Council - Past and Present."

Memo from IRA DeA. REID

Two *to* Dr. Guy B. Johnson

November 2-3 - Washington, D. C.
c/o Carver Hall

Meeting Cooperative Study of Negro Land Grant Colleges (serving as consultant)

November 5 - New Orleans, Louisiana
c/o President A. W. Dent
Dillard University

Meeting of New Orleans Institute of Race Relations

I shall send to the office on Monday, October 29, a statement to be sent to the "Atlanta Committee" which can be used as the basis for our meeting on November 6. On November 6, the"brief" report (initial draft) may be completed. I say "may" for the first draft of our basic report will first have been completed by then.

Mr. Slade's time will be up on November 1. I have told him that if the study is continued, or, if there are other research jobs on which he can work we shall get in touch with him. Meanwhile, please advise Miss Clay that he has a petty cash balance to me, which could and should be cleared through her before he is given his final check.

Memo from IRA DeA. REID

Three to Dr. Guy B. Johnson

I gave Warwick my notes on Kennedy's manuscript. I think it is too much in the vernacular--and there is one patent statistical lie in it, I am fairly certain. My notes indicate the slant I took on the data. Above all, it needs to go somewhere.

The Committee for Georgia pamphlets which you may see around were purchased by me personally. The office may use them as it wishes. I distributed them and 50 veterans folders at the Hungry Club on Wednesday.

I shall telephone and try to see V. Dabney in Richmond regarding the segregation study as a sort of prelude to the SRC Board and Member meetings.

Attached check is refund on Savannah expenses 10/5/45

R. N. Alexander
for Dr. Reid

October 25, 1945

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1945
Southern Regional Council

EDITORIAL OFFICE

November 27, 1945

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Will you join the Editorial Board of Phylon at a luncheon honoring Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University at the University Dormitories on Monday, December 3rd at 12:45 o'clock? Kindly let me know by telephoning my office, Walnut 7956, before Friday, November 30th.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Editor

IDR:rha

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DR. IRA DE A. REID'S ENGAGEMENTS

February

23 ---------- Georgia Interracial Committee

24 ---------- North Carolina Conference of Colored Social Workers (Raleigh)

March

2 ---------- Guilford College, Friends' Service Committee

15 ---------- South Carolina Interracial Committee (Columbia)

April

14 ---------- Georgia Interracial Committee

17 ---------- Georgia State Teachers Association

21 ---------- Congregational Conference (Atlanta)

23 ---------- New Orleans Urban League (New Orleans)

May

17 ---------- Florida A. and M. College, (Tallahassee)

6 ---------- Middle Atlantic Conference of Social Work (Baltimore)

9 ---------- Norfolk Virginia Council of Social Work (Norfolk)

14 ---------- Broadcast, Hampton, Virginia

25 ---------- Grady Hospital Nurses, (Atlanta)

26 ----------Commencement Address, (La Grange, Ga.)

June

17-19 -------- Greensboro College, Institute of International Relations

July

14-15 -------- Institute of International Relations, Guilford College
28 ---------- Missionary Conference, Methodist Church (Junaluska)
30-31 -------- Wellesley College, Community Institute

August

11-12 -------- Southern Negro Youth Congress (Atlanta)

September

30 ---------- YMCA Planning Conference (Petersburg, Virginia)

October

5 ---------- National Council of Student Associations, (Atlanta)
13,14,15------- National Council of Negro Women (Washington)

November

1-2 --------- Demobilization Conference (Atlanta)

10 --------- Negro Organization Society (Bedford, Va.)

18 --------- International Conference on Applied Christianity (Greensboro)

3 ----------Southern Division of the National Urban League (Atlanta)
5 ----------Fort Valley State College (Fort Valley)
7 ---------- Oemga Psi Phi Annual Acheivement Week (Atlanta)
9 ---------- South Carolina State College (Orangeburg, S.C.)
10 ---------- Negro Organization Society (Bedford, Va.)
14 ---------- Southern Regional Studies Conference (Atlanta, Ga.)
18,19--------- Conference on Applied Christianity (Greensboro, N. C.)

December

6, 7 ---------Southern Regional Council Meeting (Atlanta Ga.)

9 ---------- Committee on Mass Education and Race Relations Meeting (New York)

DR. IRA DE A. REID ——— TENTATIVE ENGAGEMENTS

September 30 October 1	Virginia YMCA Planning Conference Virginia State College
October 5 October 6	National Conference of Student Associations Atlanta University
October 14	National Council of Colored Women Workshop on Postwar Adjustment Department of Interior Building Washington, D. C.
November 1 November 2	Methodist Southern Church Women Demobilization Conference
November 10	Negro Organization Society, 32nd Annual Meeting Bedford, Virginia
November 15	Tentative date of Southern Regional Council meeting
November 18 November 19	Interracial Conference on Applied Christianity Greensboro, North Carolina
December 9	Committee on Mass Education and Race Relations New York

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1945 Engagements

February 16 February 17 February 18	Student Christian Conference Scarritt College

TENTATIVE ENGAGEMENTS
November, December, 1944
Ira De A. Reid

November 1 and 2

Demobilization Conference.....Atlanta, Georgia
Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.....Morehouse Chapel, 9:00a.m.

November 3

Southern Division of the National Urban League....
Atlanta, 4:00 O'clock

November 5

Fort Valley State College.....Fort Valley, Georgia

November 7

Omega Psi Phi Annual Achievement Week.....8:00 p.m.

November 9

South Carolina State College.....Orangeburg, S. C., 12 noon

November 10

Negro Organization Society.....Bedford, Virginia, 7:30 p.m.

November 11

Close "Races of Mankind" exhibit

November 12

Birmingham, Alabama.....4:00 p.m.

November 14

Southern Regional Studies Conference.....Atlanta, Georgia

November 17

Dr. Margaret Monkhouse...Evening Forum.....Atlanta

November 18 and 19

Greensboro, North Carolina....Conference on Applied Christianity

November 22

Forum.....Broadus Mitchell

December 1

Florida State Teachers College.....Daytona Beach, Florida

December 6 and 7

Southern Regional Council Meeting.....Atlanta, Georgia

December 9

Committee on Mass Education and Race Relations Meeting.....
New York

June 28, 1946

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

We shall be glad to cooperate with you in the effort to increase the circulation of PHYLON. Would you want to have us include an announcement of some kind with one of the regular issues (not a quarterly, I mean), or is it your idea to have us run off the envelopes for a special mailing, as we did once before?

It's about time you are coming to see us again!

Cordially yours,

Emily H. Clay

PHYLON
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF RACE AND CULTURE
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JUN 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

EDITORIAL OFFICE

June 25, 1946

Dear Miss Clay:

PHYLON is very interested in increasing its circulation among people who are interested in our type of approach to problems of human relation and culture generally. Would it be possible to circularize the Southern Regional Council's mailing list with some literature we plan to get out in the fall?

If further administrative approval is necessary to grant this request, assuming that it can be granted, will you attend to this for us. At sometime in the near future then we could arrange to get together to work out the details.

With good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Ira De A. Reid

Ira De A. Reid
Editor

IDR:rha

Miss Emily H. Clay
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WINX PANEL REPORTS ON LIBERIA—These key members of the conference on Liberia at Howard University last Friday discussed Liberia for WINX radio audience, Washington, D. C., on a twenty minutes broadcast Wednesday evening at 8:10. Principals in the broadcast seated, left to right, were Hilyard R. Robinson, technical director, Liberian Centennial Commission Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Chairman, Department of History, Howard University, and Dr. Ira De Reid, chairman, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, who served as moderator. Standing, left to right, are Moss Hyles Kendrix, public relations officer for the Commission, and Sol Panitz, WINX producer.

Three members of the panel have been in Liberia. Dr. Johnson was there as a member of the League of Nations Inquire which was sent to Liberia in 1930, while Dr. Reid visited the small republic ten years later in 1940. Mr. Robinson has been in Liberia twice in the last year.

Newspapers Tell Culture of People—Dr. Ira Reid

PHILADELPHIA

Dr. Ira De A. Reid, sociologist and author, during an interview Friday said that weekly newspapers should be in all white colleges because "they are an index to the culture of colored people."

Dr. Reid, who has lectured in large universities in many parts of the country, said that he found magazines published by colored people, but no newspapers.

Lack of Material Told

During the interview at 1201 Chestnut St., arranged by the Race Relations Committee of the American Society of Friends, he said further that he had been impressed by the lack of material the schools had, to give an "impartial course in race relations."

There was no text work, he asserted, and the discussions on race did not reach any intellectual height.

To Teach at NYU

Dr. Reid will begin work as a full-time sociology professor at New York University in September, teaching three courses, advanced education and sociology, social culture and a seminar on training for social security.

He refused the university's first offer to teach what was termed "Negro culture and education" because he "simply wanted to be a teacher in the field of sociology," Dr. Reid explained.

As a visiting lecturer for the Race Relations Committee, under G. James Fleming, former area director of FEPC, Dr. Reid has visited many schools and colleges in this area.

Two Books Considered

Included among these are the University of Pennsylvania, William Penn Charter School, George School, Westtown School, Haverford Friends School, Friends Select and Pendle Hill.

Dr. Reid said that he has made committments to write two books. One will be on urban sociology and the other on the South.

Asked whether they will be the "usual" scholarly treatment of these subjects, he answered, "These books will be what I think. If they want to call them scholarly, all right."

CURRENT BIOGRAPHY

WHO'S NEWS AND WHY

Vol. 7 No. 7 July 1946

The H. W. Wilson Co., New York 52

IN THIS ISSUE

Art
Gag, Wanda obit
Partch, Virgil F(ranklin)

Business
Birdwell, Russell (Juarez)
Bowes, Edward obit
Case, Frank obit
Jackson, William K(enneth)
Liggett, Louis Kroh obit
Pasquel, Jorge

Diplomacy
Cartier (de Marchienne, Emile de) Baron obit
Johnson, Herschel V.
Matsui, Keishiro, Baron obit
Matsuoka, Yosuke obit

Education
Bagley, William Chandler obit
Reid, Ira De A(gustine)
Starr, Mark
Stoddard, George D(insmore)
Witte, Edwin E(mil)
Yen, Y(ang-) C(h'u) James

Government—International
Ananda Mahidol obit
Antonescu, Ion obit
Cartier (de Marchienne, Emile de) Baron obit
Donald, W(illiam) H(enry)
Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich obit
Kravchenko, Victor A(ndreyevich)
Matsui, Keishiro, Baron obit
Matsuoka, Yosuke obit
Rios, Juan Antonio obit
Ubico (Castaneda), Jorge obit
Yen, Y(ang-) C(h'u) James

Government—United States
Baldwin, Raymond E(arl)
Bankhead, John H(ollis) obit
Ellender, Allen J(oseph)
Erskine, G(raves) B(lanchard)
Goldstein, Israel, Rabbi
Gullion, Allen W(yant) obit
Hillman, Sidney obit
Johnson, Herschel V.
Parker, Homer Cling obit
Reid, Ira De A(ugustine)
Rieve, Emil
Roberts, Albert H. obit
Sabath, Adolph J(oachim)
Starr, Mark
Stoddard, George D(insmore)
Witte, Edwin E(mil)

Industry
Hormel, Jay C(atherwood)
Jackson, William K(enneth)
Metzman, G(ustav)

Journalism
Birdwell, Russell (Juarez)
Boutell, Clarence B(urley)
Carter, (William) Hodding, Jr.
Donald, W(illiam) H(enry)
Hibbs, Ben
Reves, Emery

Labor
Hillman, Sidney obit
Rieve, Emil
Starr, Mark

Law
Baldwin, Raymond E(arl)
Ellender, Allen J(oseph)
Gullion, Allen W(yant) obit
Jackson, William K(enneth)

Literature
Boutell, Clarence B(urley)
Carter, (William) Hodding, Jr.
Case, Frank obit
Gag, Wanda obit
Hauptmann, Gerhart obit
Kravchenko, Victor A(ndreyevich)
Reves, Emery

Military
Gullion, Allen W(yant) obit
Ubico (Castaneda), Jorge obit

Motion Pictures
Butterworth, Charles (Edward) obit
Hart, William S. obit
Leigh, Vivien
McCarey, (Thomas) Leo

Music
Sevitzky, Fabien

Naval
Erskine, G(raves) B(lanchard)
Long, Andrew Theodore obit
Momsen, C(harles) B(owers)

Politics
Baldwin, Raymond E(arl)
Ellender, Allen J(oseph)
Hillman, Sidney obit
Liggett, Louis Kroh obit
Parker, Homer Cling obit
Roberts, Albert H. obit
Sabath, Adolph J(oachim)
Starr, Mark

Publishing
Carter, (William) Hodding, Jr.
Reves, Emery

Radio
Bowes, Edward obit
Butterworth, Charles (Edward) obit
Sevitzky, Fabien

Religion
Goldstein, Israel, Rabbi

Social Science
Bagley, William Chandler obit
Donald, W(illiam) H(enry)
Reid, Ira De A(ugustine)

Social Service
Erskine, G(raves) B(lanchard)
Goldstein, Israel, Rabbi
Perry, Antoinette obit
Reid, Ira De (Augustine)
Witte, Edwin E(mil)
Yen, Y(ang-) C(h'u) James

Sports
Johnson, Jack obit
Pasquel, Jorge

Technology
Momsen, C(harles) B(owers)

Theater
Butterworth, Charles (Edward) obit
Hart, William S. obit
Hauptmann, Gerhart obit
Leigh, Vivien
Perry, Antoinette obit

CURRENT BIOGRAPHY, published monthly except August by the H. W. Wilson Company, 950-972 University Avenue, New York 52, N.Y. Subscription price $3.00 per year. Entered as second-class matter February 25, 1942, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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PASQUEL, JORGE—*Continued*

Dodgers, an outfielder who had batted .313 the preceding year, was considered a distinct loss to the team. Organized Baseball's move was to establish relations with the small rival Mexican National League, which Pasquel's league had seriously menaced, and to order the suspension for five years of all players who took part in a Mexican game. The Pasquels countered with an invitation to Baseball Commissioner A. B. "Happy" Chandler '43 to come down and join their setup.

They also proceeded to sign up two first-string men, Vern Stephens of the St. Louis Browns and Dodger catcher Mickey Owen. After several well-publicized changes of heart on the part of each, Owen finally settled down in Mexico under a five-year playing-managing contract, while Stephens returned to St. Louis—where he was reinstated—complaining about the Mexican altitude, the language, the primitive ball parks, the casual wearing of firearms, and the low standard of play. (Sports writers agree that Mexican baseball is of minor-league quality by North American standards, although they differ as to whether it ranks as AA, A, or anything down to D grade.) Pasquel's offers to stars were said to include unprecedented salaries, huge bonuses, long-term contracts, housing, expenses, transportation for players and their families, and the assumption of all taxes. To help finance this program, by May 1946 Pasquel had raised the price of admission twice.

In May 1946 the New York Yankees (Larry MacPhail), the Brooklyn Dodgers (Branch Rickey '45), and the New York Giants all sought injunctions restraining the Pasquels and their alleged agents from inducing players to repudiate signed contracts. The Pasquels charged in reply that Organized Baseball contracts were monopolistic, holding the players who signed them "in peonage for life." While the cases were pending the Pasquels continued to sign well-known players, including Max Lanier, Fred Martin, and Lou Klein, all of the St. Louis Cardinals. Meanwhile, in July 1946 Don Jorge again returned to the manager's bench of the Veracruz club, substituting for Mickey Owen, and was snapped in uniform by Associated Press photographers while he held Owen's little son on his lap.

At the time of Babe Ruth's '44 visit to Mexico in May 1946, the New York *Times* correspondent Milton Bracker reported that interest in Mexican League doings "far transcends the realm of the diamond. People here who don't know third base from the bullpen are talking of the Pasquels. . . .In fact it has even been said that not since the historic oil expropriation of March 1938 has any circumstance so delighted the Mexican national ego as that of 'St. George' tilting with the 'dragon' of American baseball. . . .As one Mexican put it aptly, 'Nobody really likes Jorge—but he's a national hero.'" The Pasquels' plans for the future included construction of a forty- or fifty-acre "baseball city" near Mexico City, at a cost of two million dollars, which would include living accommodations for the players. "We will build boulevards especially to come here," Bernardo Pasquel told a reporter. "We will put in buses to come here. If necessary we will build a streetcar line." The league owners' power was said to be such that Government cooperation was a foregone conclusion.

One attraction for Jorge Pasquel in buying a large transport plane was that he could use it for lion-hunting in Africa in the winter months. He is an ardent sportsman who has his daily gymnasium workout, plays golf in the low 80's, and is a crack shot. He does not drink or smoke, nor does he permit his brothers to smoke. None of the brothers is married; Jorge is divorced from a daughter of the late General Plutarco Elías Calles, President of the Republic in 1924-28, who was in exile from 1936 to 1941.

Pasquel is said to speak deliberate, concise English. Rud Rennie, New York *Herald Tribune* sportswriter who went to Mexico in April 1946 to do a series of articles on the Mexican League, described Don Jorge as "a restless fellow with a different idea every five minutes. . . .Of medium height, compactly built, he resembles [New York] Governor Thomas Dewey, but he is darker. . . .He wears an eight-carat blue-white diamond ring. His wrist watch is on a platinum bracelet. His tie clip is an arrow studded with diamonds." Rennie also mentioned Pasquel's fifteen automobiles, the stained-glass windows in his blue-tiled office, the solid silver hunting knife on his desk, the fifty gold-monogrammed rifles at his "magnificent" home, the .38 Colt automatic tucked into his waistband. "Jorge had to kill a man in self-defense not long ago," the writer explained. In his relationship with "name" ballplayers, however, Rennie says this "strong man of Mexico" is "eager and trusting."

References

N Y Herald Tribune p16 Ap 6 '46; p22 Ap 8 '46; p27 Ap 9 '46
N Y Times p29 Ap 5 '46

PERRY, ANTOINETTE June 27, 1888—June 28, 1946 Actress, director, producer; made debut as Dorothy in *Mrs. Temple's Telegram* (1905); among other roles played the daughter in *The Music Master* with David Warfield (1906); married Frank W. Frueauff in 1909, and two years after his death in 1924 resumed her career; in a succession of plays, mostly under Brock Pemberton's management; directed *Strictly Dishonorable* (1929), *Personal Appearance* (1934), *Janie* (1942), *Harvey* (1944), and many other hit plays; leader in American Theatre Wing and other welfare organizations.

Obituary

N Y Times p19 Je 29 '46 por

REID, IRA DE A(UGUSTINE) July 2, 1901- Sociologist; educator; author

Address: b. c/o Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; h. 588 Beckwith St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga.

Sociologist and author, Southern-born Ira De A. Reid is the first Negro to be named to a full-time professorship at New York Uni-

versity. Reid, who is chairman of the sociology department of Atlanta University, and editor of *Phylon*, the University's quarterly review of race and culture, was appointed visiting professor of sociology at N.Y.U. for the academic year of 1946-47. His books and monographs on interracial problems, many prepared for Government offices, are highly regarded by sociologists, and at least two, *Sharecroppers All*, which he wrote with A. F. Raper, and *In a Minor Key*, have been considered by reviewers to be worth the attention of "everyone concerned with the future of our civilization."

Although he was born in Clifton Forge, Virginia—the date of his birth was July 2, 1901—Ira De Augustine Reid spent his early boyhood in Pennsylvania, in Harrisburg and Philadelphia. He attended public schools in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia, until his father, D. Augustine Reid, a Baptist minister, heard a "Macedonian cry" which led him to Savannah, Georgia, to preach. "The move was quite a lark for my brother and me, but for my mother [Willie Robertha (James) Reid] it was an arduous one," Reid recalls. There being no public high school for Negroes in Georgia at that time, Ira attended Morehouse Academy, and at sixteen entered Morehouse College, Atlanta University's undergraduate school for men. That same year young Reid's father died, and the family moved to Mrs. Reid's home in West Virginia. With the entrance of the United States into World War I, Reid tried unsuccessfully to get into an officers' training camp. In West Virginia he was exempted from the draft, but he was conscripted for service in Georgia. "When the war was done I tried returning to college but was not in the mood for the work it took." Reid stayed out of school for a year and a half, later made up a half year, and was graduated with a B.A. in 1922. "By the time I finished college I was sick of the Deep South and its peculiar social structure and resolved to leave it forever." But "forever" turned out to be only a short time.

In September 1922 Reid went to Tyler, Texas, to instruct in the social sciences at Texas College. He spent the summer of 1923 studying at the University of Chicago, and then became an instructor (1923-24) at the Douglas High School in Huntington, West Virginia, where he discovered he had "neither the temperament nor the experience for high school teaching." Next, at the University of Pittsburgh, Reid earned his Master of Arts degree in 1925. He then went to New York to work as the industrial and research secretary of the New York Urban League for Social Work among Negroes. While on this first New York job (1925-28) Reid became interested in Harlem churches, made a study of them, and wrote an article entitled "Let Us Prey." He and his publisher were subsequently sued for fifteen thousand dollars, but "there was so much evidence against the plaintiff," according to Reid, "that the suit was withdrawn."

In 1928 Reid became Director of Research for the National Urban League. In that capacity, from 1928 to 1934, he made surveys of community racial problems in Albany and Troy

Leonid Skvirsky

IRA DE A. REID

(1928), in Denver (1929), in New Jersey (1930-31), in Pittsburgh (1932), and in Baltimore (1934), and undertook special studies for such groups as the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, and the White House Conference on Child Care. Meanwhile, he pursued graduate studies in sociology at Columbia University. In 1934 he was appointed professor of sociology at Atlanta University. But in the New Deal years to come he was on leave from the university on Government assignments a good part of the time: in 1937 he directed a Federal survey of white collar and skilled workers, from 1937 to 1941 he was a consulting social economist for the Social Security Board, and in 1941-42 the board's consultant on minorities. He was also, in 1942-43, consultant on minorities for the War Manpower Commission. Meanwhile, in 1942, Reid became director of People's College at Atlanta, an adult education school of the university, and in 1944 he was named chairman of the university's sociology department. Both of these last-named posts he still holds, while lecturing on Negro culture and education in 1946-47 as visiting professor in the department of sociology of New York University.

Awarded a Fellowship of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, Reid studied race and population problems at the London School of Economics in the 1939 Lent term. He also traveled in the West Indies and West Africa in 1938 and 1939. Then, late in 1939 his Ph.D. dissertation (the degree was conferred by Columbia University) was published as *The Negro Immigrant*, a book in which Reid dealt "objectively with the characteristics and social adjustment of the one hundred thousand foreign-born Negroes in the United States . . . who constitute our largest group of colored aliens." Reid's *In A Minor Key*; *Negro Youth in Story and Fact*, prepared for the American Youth Com-

REID, IRA DE A.—*Continued*

mission, was published in 1940. A survey of the status and problems of Negro youth, the book was recommended by the *American Sociological Review* as a vivid portrayal of "disgraceful and dangerous conditions." "He does not shout—but his facts do; he does not allow any virtue-and-vice words to mar the simple, straightforward—and terrible—stories he has to tell."

The sociologist's next book was the result of what he considers his most interesting study. Reid, who was concerned with the urban South, collaborated with Arthur Raper, a white teacher of sociology interested in the rural south, to write *Sharecroppers All*, (1941) using the term "sharecroppers" to include nonfarm Southern workers who "share in the risk without sharing in the control" in trade and industry. "We collaborated rather successfully on that job," Reid has written, "the folkways, mores, and conservatism of the region to the contrary, notwithstanding." Reviewers found it a "thoroughly stimulating work" which made "an electric, if sometimes startling, combination of views about life in the Southern regions." Though it had a "freshness of presentation" which made it good for popular consumption the book was also regarded as important and of real value by specialized sociological journals.

Others of Reid's books and monographs include: *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado* (1929), *Social Conditions of the Negro in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania* (1930), *Negro Membership in American Labor Unions* (1930), *The Negro's Relation to Work and Law Observance* (1931), *The Negro in New Jersey* (five volumes, 1932), *The Problem of Child Dependency Among Negroes* (1933), *The Negro Community of Baltimore* (1935), *Adult Education Among Negroes* (1936), *The Urban Negro Worker in the United States: 1925-1936* (1938), and the chapter "The Church and Education for Negroes" in Trevor Bowen's *Divine White Right* (1934). In addition to editing *Phylon*, the sociologist is a contributor to such journals as *Social Forces, The Virginia Quarterly, Opportunity, Nation,* and *Survey Graphic*. He is currently at work on two books, one "The Hidden South," and another, a textbook in urban sociology. His manuscript "Manners and Minorities" is scheduled for publication in 1946.

Associate director of the division of race relations of the American Missionary Association in 1943, and associate executive director of the Southern Regional Council in 1944-45, Reid holds membership in the American Sociological Society, and the Academy of Political and Social Science, as well as positions on the executive or directing boards of the Southern Sociological Society, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Committee on Mass Education in Race Relations, and the National Sharecroppers Fund. "My life in Atlanta has been directed toward making the social sciences effective in community life," Reid has said. "This has been a full-time job but I have enjoyed every minute of it. It has meant that my writing has been neglected." The sociologist was married in October 1925 to Gladys Russell Scott. When the 214-pound professor arrived in New York he remarked to a *Time* magazine reporter, "There will be six feet four of the Negro problem standing up before the students. I do not need to discuss it separately."

References

N Y Times p23 Ap 25 '46
Time 47:90 My 6 '46
Who's Who in Colored America, 1941-44

REVES, EMERY (rēvs) Feb. 16, 1904-
Author; publisher

Address: b. c/o Cooperation Publishing Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York; h. Plaza Hotel, New York

Emery Reves, student of world affairs, is the author of *The Anatomy of Peace,* which Albert Einstein called "intelligent, brief, clear, and . . . dynamic on the topic of war and the need for world government." Reves intended his latest book, a best seller, to offer a solution to the problem of creating a successful world organization to maintain peace and control the use of atomic energy.

Emery Reves was born in the small village of Bacsfoldvar in southern Hungary on February 16, 1904. His father, Simon Reves, was connected with the lumber industry in that region. His mother, Gisele (Gross) Reves, died a victim of Hungarian Fascists in 1942. Fifteen years after his birth, Reves's native village became part of the Hungarian territory ceded to Yugoslavia after World War I. His early education he received in Novisad (Yugoslavia), his secondary school education in Budapest. During the year 1922-23 Reves was a student at the University of Berlin. He left Germany for the University of Paris, and, after a year of study there (1923-24), went to Switzerland. Reves was graduated from the University of Zurich in 1926, at the age of twenty-two, with the degree of Doctor of Political Economy. His doctoral dissertation *Walther Rathenau und sein wirtschaftliches Werk* was published in Dresden in 1927 as a trade book.

After a period of attempting unsuccessfully to establish himself in the field of political journalism, in 1930 Reves founded the Cooperation Press Service and Cooperation Publishing Company. He established main offices in Paris and London and branches in other important cities of Europe. Since its inception, Reves has been president and director of the firm. The program of his organization was to publish, all over the world, views of leading statesmen on international affairs. In time Reves acquired what amounted almost to a monopoly in handling exclusive world rights on the articles of men of divergent views such as Clement Attlee, Winston Churchill, Léon Blum, Anthony Eden, Edouard Herriot, Alfred Duff Cooper, Paul Reynaud, Count Carlo Sforza, and other

August 13, 1946

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ira:

Thanks for your letter concerning the Seminars in Social Science which you would like for the Southern Regional Council to sponsor at Atlanta University.

The Council will be glad to sponsor these seminars. As for the topics and speakers, I think that the ones you have suggested are very good, and I would not attempt to improve upon them.

Please let me know how much responsibility you wish us to assume in working out some of the details. I am leaving shortly for a vacation of about two weeks but I hope to get back before you leave for the North.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

August 9, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

This year our Seminars in Social Science would like to include a series on "Social Action in the South." We would like to have it sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. We also would like to have the discussions take place either in the thrid week of November, or, during the latter part of March.

The general idea I conceived was this

1st Seminar	- Monday	- Politics	- Dr. W. B. Stubbs Emory University
2nd Seminar	- Tuesday	- Propaganda	- Alex Miller Anti-Defamation League
3rd Seminar	- Wednesday	- Economics	- Dr. George Mitchell Southern Regional Council
Forum	- Wednesday	- Social Welfare	- Dr. Guion Johnson Georgia Conference of Social Welfare

As you think this over a better selection of them and/or speakers may occur to you. If so, please take that fact into consideration when you reply. I am able to commit the University on honoraria up to $25 for each speaker. The one thing I do want is a series of good seminars on this so vital theme of the South.

If you will let me have your reactions to this request in the very near future, I shall be most grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Ira

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR:rha

file

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

September 10, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Guy:

Thank you ever so much for accepting the invitation to sponsor one of the seminars at Atlanta University. If we do not get a chance to work out the details before I leave, they can be handled through Professor Rushton Coulborn or Dr. Mozell C. Hill, who is coming to the University as the Visiting Professor of Sociology this year.

Sincerely yours,

Ira

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR:rha

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Reid, Ira De A.

RECEIVED
NOV 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 13, 1947

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

On Monday and Tuesday, November 17th and 18th, Dr. Robert C. Weaver of the American Council on Race Relations will lead two seminars on current problems in American housing. These forums will be held in the University Library's Exhibition Room at 4:00 o'clock on the days mentioned.

You may be interested also in the forum on restrictive covenants to be held on Tuesday evening at 8:00 o'clock in the same room.

We shall be very pleased to have you, your staff, and other interested persons join us in these discussions.

Sincerely,

Ira De A. Reid

IDR:JPC
Signed in Mr. Reid's absence.

crm.
ml
ms.
A.McK.
Met
E.K.H.
J.E.E.
HRB

Reid, Ira DeA.

January 31, 1948

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Reid:

I enjoyed your speech at the Hungry Club last Wednesday very much indeed. I told Dr. Mitchell afterwards that my only regret was that I did not have a soundscriber along to take it all down.

The latest developments in the field of education -- the Oklahoma decision, the regional college plan, and the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education - have, as you pointed out, left a good many people confused about which way to proceed. The press certainly hasn't helped much, having reduced it all to the over-simplified question of whether or not a regional college should be set up.

It would be most helpful if we could inform our members of some of the complex issues involved. Would it be possible for you to write an article for New South? If not, would you be willing to dictate the important points in your speech to one of our stenographers and allow us to work them up in article form for your final revision?

If you could help us out in either of these ways -- or in some other way more convenient for you -- we should be very grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

30 - Reid, Ira De A

August 16, 1948

Dr. Ira A. Reid
The Hotel New Yorker
Eighth Avenue at 34th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ira:

We are planning to make the September issue of New South a (year later) roundup on Negro police officers. You remember the one of October.

It will have an up-to-date table of southern cities using Negro police (there are twelve or fourteen new ones now.) We hope to have also an article by Elkins or someone like him telling about the work a Negro policeman does.

I cast a covetous eye on some of the closing part of Myrdal's speech. Enclosed is the part we would like to run in New South. The four dots at the end of the fourth line indicate omission of the admittedly delightful language of Myrdal about promoted poor whites armed with the majesty of the law, etc. I thought it wise to leave that out of this printing on the ground that we hope to establish in the future a co-operative relationship with southern policemen and that it would not be well to insult them at this time.

I quite understand that you intend to run the whole speech in Phylom. I also quite understand that that gives full preemptive rights to Phylom. I will also quite understand if you think New South should not thus skim Phylom's cream. There is the further question of New South having no permission from Myrdal to run any part of his speech.

What do you say? We will abide by your wishes.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:jdh
Enclosure

RECEIVED
Aug 23 1949
Southern Regional Council

30 - Rev. Fred D. A.

#67

Outwood Bond
August 20th

Dear George:

You have permission to use the material submitted from the Myrdal speech. You may credit permission by saying "The full text of Mr. Myrdal's speech appears in Phylon, the Atlanta University Review of Race & Culture, Vol IX, No 3, September, 1948. This extract is published with permission of the Editor."

Please see that a copy of this New South is sent to me, won't you?

Please Hold

Cordially

Harry S. Ashmore

R. Reid

December 15, 1948

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, Chairman
Department of Social Science
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ira:

When we got into the mechanics of making up the members of the Board of Directors, we discovered that the by-laws made us drop you because of your residence outside the technical boundaries of the Council area. We were all sorry, but we officially complied with the rules. I, and everybody else, regard you as one whose advice will count for much more than that of most Board members--for good and all.

Anyhow, this is sad official notice of the official action taken.

My warmest wishes. We ~~regret and~~ miss your steady help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mrs. McKey

AMcK

November 18, 1949

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

Dear Ira:

'Way last year at the time of election of Board members of the Council the nominating committee, perceiving that you were a resident in the good town of Haverford, brought in a substitute name to fill the supposed vacancy created by your moving to Pennsylvania. After the meeting I checked the by-laws, and the by-laws said nothing about a non-resident of the "Council area" being ineligible for the Board. There were a couple of other people in the same boat, so I withheld any action.

This year, at the annual meeting the other day, the membership changed the by-laws to make it plain that persons resident outside the South lose membership on the Board.

Solely on this account, I therefore notify you of the expiration of your term of service on the Board of the Council. We still think of you as part of the very staff and we shall always cherish your advice (and sympathy!), whichever side of the line you happen to be on.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1952
Southern Regional Council

HAVERFORD COLLEGE
HAVERFORD, PA.
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Reid, misc

March 6, 1952

Dear George:

Two or three members of our faculty have asked me to check with you about a Mr. Spivey and a Christian Foundation now operating a project somewhere in Florida. Douglass Steere says he will take your word on the matter.

Mr. Spivey wants us to send down a few graduate students in our technical assistance program to work on such a project. We want to know: What will we be getting into? Who is Spivey? What is his basic concern? (He talked so much and so fast that we could ask no questions.) Is his work of the sort that you would use if you were doing a placement program in the field of technical assistance? Do let us know.

Cordially,
Ina De A Reid

Reid and Harris

New Posts for Two Educators

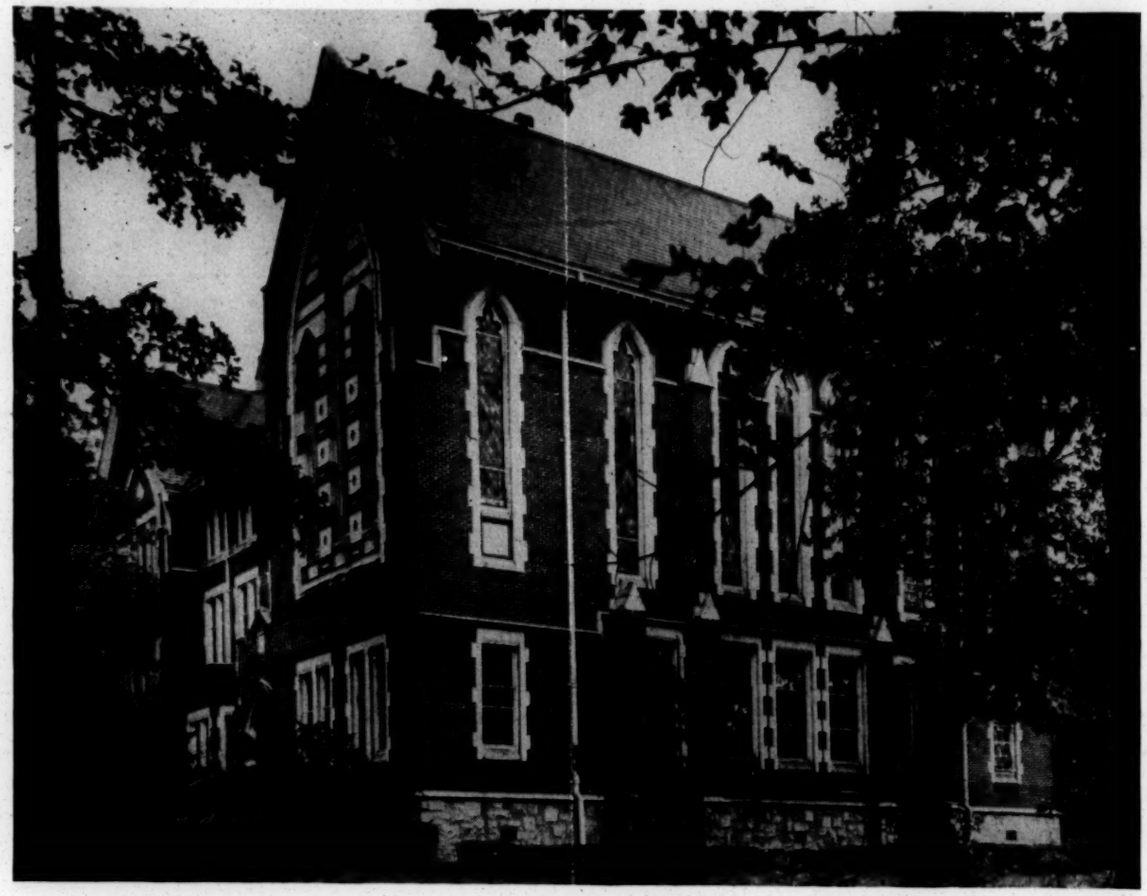
NEW YORK — Dr. Ira DeA. Reid of Atlanta University and Prof. Abram Harris, formerly of Howard University, last week were appointed to the faculties of two of the Nation's leading educational institutions.

Dr. Reid, who is on leave from AU, already is serving as a professor in the College of Education of New York University. His new appointment makes it possible for him also to serve as a visiting professor of sociology at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

Professor Harris, formerly a professor of economics at Howard, was appointed to the University of Chicago undergraduate faculty as associate professor in economics. He is considered one of the leading economists in this country. He is a former Urban League executive.

Dr. Reid is the first colored person named to the faculty of Haverford College.

The FOUNDATION



THIRKIELD HALL

Gammon in July

RECEIVED
FEB 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

THIRD QUARTER, 1948

File - Board Member

SRC - Board of Directors Membership

REV. HARRY V. RICHARDSON

Gammon's New President

A new president has been chosen to head the destinies of Gammon Theological Seminary. Rev. Harry V. Richardson, of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama was chosen by the Trustees of Gammon to succeed Dr. John W. Haywood who had resigned in order to accept a position as Field Representative of the Methodist Peace Commission. Dr. Richardson brings to Gammon a rich store of experiences in his chosen field of rural church work.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson is a native of Jacksonville, Florida, where he received his early education. He later attended Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, for his college work, and the Divinity School of Harvard University for his ministerial training from which he graduated with the two highest honors in the School. In 1945, he received the Ph.D. degree from Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, where he maintained an unusually high scholarship record.

For the past fifteen years he has been Chaplain and Director of Religious Activities at Tuskegee Institute. Under his ministry, the Tuskegee Chapel has become one of the outstanding pulpits of the nation. He is widely known as a leader of young people, and is in constant demand as a speaker to thoughtful groups.

He has been active in interracial work in many parts of the country, especially in the South. He is the founder and Executive Secretary of a Statewide interracial minister's alliance in Alabama, and serves on a number of committees seeking to improve interracial relationships. At present, he is field director of a Southwide program for the training of the Negro rural ministry—a program sponsored jointly by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, New York, and the Home Missions Council of North America.

He is a frequent contributor to magazines and learned publications. One of his articles recently appeared in the magazine section of the *New York Times*. His latest book, *Dark Glory*, has been widely acclaimed by literary critics and scholars, and is already in its second printing. He is the author of a section in the recently issued book: *The Christian Way In Race Relations*. He is listed in *Who's Who Among Religious Leaders of America*.

Dr. Richardson will be on the campus to assume full responsibilities on September 1. Meanwhile Professor James S. Thomas, one of the professors at Gammon will be acting for the president. Friends of Gammon will be ready to support the new president in any way they possibly can. We are sure that the alumni will rally behind him and assist in every good work he undertakes. Welcome to Gammon, Dr. Richardson.

THE FOUNDATION

R. S. GUPTILL, M.A., Editor and Manager
Contributing Editors

Frank W. Clelland, Ph.D., C. A. Talbert, M.A., D.D., Prince A Taylor, Jr., M.A., James S. Thomas.

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ALL COMMUNICATIONS relative to the publication may be addressed to R. S. Guptill, Gammon Seminary, South, Atlanta, Ga.

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GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 8, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of November 2, and for the enclosed statement from Mr. Ocie Lee Smith. The statement is somewhat longer than I had thought and it will not be practical for us to mimeograph it here. I am writing Mr. Smith at the Little Rock office, asking if they have any additional copies. It is an excellent statement and will be very useful for our workers.

I regret very much to say that I may not be able to attend the annual meeting on November 10 and 11. Sometime ago, I made an appointment in Florida for November 9, that probably will run over into the 10th. If it is at all possible, I will try to get back to Atlanta in time for the meeting on the 11th. I should very much like to attend the meeting, and I deeply regret this conflict in dates. Please be assured of my interest in the work of the Southern Regional Council, and my earnest desire to work with you in any way I can.

It was good to have you at Gammon. We hope you will come often.

With very best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR/m

SRC - Bd of Directors - Membership

November 15, 1948

Mr. Harry V. Richardson, President
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Richardson:

I am happy to tell you that the members with great pleasure elected you to our Board.

We missed you at the meeting of the membership and of the Board, but I perfectly understand why, and I look forward to many years of earnest and rich service with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:s

R-Miscel
Richardson

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

February 28, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Bishop Robert E. Jones will deliver the Thirkield-Jones Lectures at Gammon this year on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, March 6, 7 and 8. His general subject will be "The Church's Struggle With Race." Bishop Jones has long been a student as well as a worker in it. His lectures should be a real contribution to our thinking.

I hope you can come at least to some of them. The hours are on the inclosed invitation. I also ask that you invite any other persons who may be interested.

Yours sincerely,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR:j
Inclosure

R-Miscel

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 1, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1951
Southern Regional Counc

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Let me thank you sincerely for the telephone conversation this morning giving me the helpful information in advertising the Thirkield-Jones Lecture Series. I am getting busy to follow through with your suggestions.

Inclosed is the biographical sketch of Bishop Robert E. Jones, the lecturer. Under separate cover, I have mailed you thirty copies of the invitation.

I know Dr. Richardson appreciates deeply your personal interest. Thank you again for your kindness.

Yours truly,

Herthal Osborne Jackson

(Mrs.) Herthal Osborne Jackson
Secretary to Dr. Richardson

j
Inclosure

Statement on Bishop Robert E. Jones

In the fifty-three years of his active ministry, Robert E. Jones has served successively as pastor, as assistant manager of a church paper, as field secretary of the Sunday School Board of his Church, as editor of a church paper, and for twenty-four years as a Bishop in the Methodist Church.

Distinguished for scholarship as well as for social action, Bishop Jones has received many academic degrees in his lifetime, among them the A.B. from Bennett College, the B.D. from Gammon, and then the A.M., B.D., LL.D., and Litt.D., from various American universitites.

Early in his ministry, Bishop Jones became a participant in the struggle to improve race relations in the United States. He was a younger contemporary of Booker T. Washington, and participated prominently in many of the national activities sponsored by that leader. For his services in the field of human relations, he was awarded the Harmon Bronze Medal in 1927 and the Gold Medal in 1929. There have been few significant movements in America for the improvement of Negro life that have not enjoyed the wisdom and the force of Bishop Jones' personality.

In addition to being a leader in the struggle for better human relations, Bishop Jones is also an ardent student of the struggle. His lectures this year summarize much of his experience and study through the years.

It is with pride that Gammon Theological Seminary receives the contribution of this valiant and distinguished son.

R- Miscel

March 21, 1951

Mr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Richardson:

The sheet called The Statesman may be addressed at 1422 William-Oliver Building.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 19, 1951

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Mitchell:

As a member of the Nominating Committee, I offer the name of Father V. J. O'Connell to succeed Msgr. T. J. McMamara. I think this will be an effective change.

Yours sincerely,

Harry V. Richardson

Harry V. Richardson
President

HVR:O

June 3, 1953

Mr. Harry V. Richardson
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Richardson:

The membership meeting on May 14 did itself the honor of electing you to the new Board of the Council. That is fifty people elected that day, plus the head of each State organization, plus one more from each State organization, plus the six or seven officers of the Council. The same meeting adopted new by-laws, which, at a time to be fixed by the Executive Committee, will come into effect. And under the new by-laws, the new Board would really be the Council. So that the policy function of the Board is considerably greater than before.

Also, the Board meeting elected you to the Executive Committee. Much the same Executive Committee as before.

I do hope you can write me that you are agreeable to both these choices.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 20, 1945

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 N. Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

At the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were reelected to membership on the Board of Directors for a term of four years.

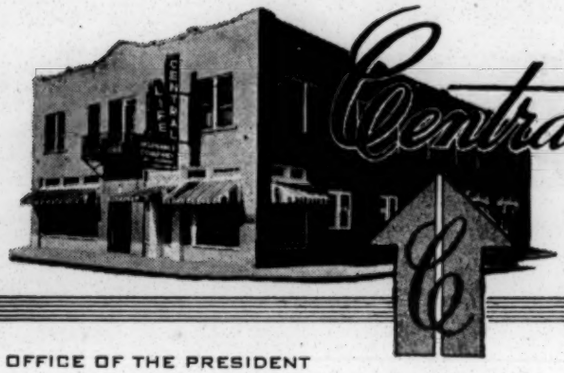
We trust that you are willing to accept reelection and that you will continue to give the Council the benefit of your wisdom and experience.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MS



Central Life INSURANCE OF FLORIDA Company

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TAMPA (1) FLORIDA

March 29, 1950

Mr. Geo. S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

P lease find enclosed check in the amount of $50.00, by personal contribution to the much depleted runds of the Council. I am sorry it was impossible to get my Board to make a contribution at this time due to so many local requests. However, I think I will be able to get them to make a contribution later. With three in college, income tax and other taxes at this time of the year and with various church and school demands on my wage, makes me spread out my giving very thinly.

I think I had notice of a meeting there to bw held very soon. If I am not present it will be due to the fact that I think Dr. Paul Williams, the President, yourself and the other fine men and members of the Board will carry on the work with the small funds you have to thw satisfaction of us all. Should I come it will be at my own expense and I will make my own arrangements for accommodations.

By the way, tonight I am to go to Clearwater to assist in forming a local SRC. Our Miss Emily Clay, Mrs. Ralph Richards, Mrs. Marjorie Glenn and others hage called a meeting for that purpose and have invited some of the leading colored people of the community to attend. You should hear from them soon.

The White people of Bradenton had a meeting to which I was invited and did attend. I think they will finally organize. Mrs. Rogers joins in best wishes. I am

Sincerely yours,

G. D. Rogers

G. D. Rogers,
President

GDR-t

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

SRC - Fund Raising

April 3, 1950

Mr. G. D. Rogers
Central Life Insurance Company of Florida
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Once again, we thank you sincerely for you gift to the Council. It was most generous of you to help us in this time of great need.

The work of the Council has benefited greatly by your interest and support.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Norma Huff
Secretary-Treasurer

NH:jwh

Rogers

April 7, 1950

Mr. G. D. Rogers
Central Life Insurance Company of Florida
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

I add my own warmest thanks for your kind gift the other day. It is generous of you to help us in this way, and we are deeply grateful.

I am so glad also that you bestirred yourself to work with the local groups. I know it is no easy matter to be out at night, and often at considerable distances, to do these things. The results of any one trip may seem small. Each such trip is an act of true statesmanship. I honor what you do; I only hope that you and Mrs. Rogers are given to know that many people do so honor such work.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dict. April 6; signed in his absence

31 - Rogers

July 25, 1950

Mr. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

We are all much pleased with this fine account from the Herald Tribune of the influence of Race in the News.

I am sure that your extra distribution of the pamphlet helped substantially.

I send you some extra ones thinking there might be people to whom you would wish to send it.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

1951 FEB 22 PM

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AC660

AATPC 136 141 PD=TAMPA FLO 22 523P= (AM DLY OK)=.

GEO S MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=.

PRESIDENT G. D. ROGERS PASSED TODAY. FUNERAL WILL BE HELD MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1951 ONE O'CLOCK P.M. AT MT. PLEASANT METHODIST CHURCH, BRADENTON, FLORIDA=

CENTRAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF FLORIDA= ..

2-26-51

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

R, misc

February 27, 1951

Mrs. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

I am sure I have only a little understanding of the toil and watchfulness and faith in people that went into the building of Mr. Rogers' career and of his and your home and family. But I understand it enough to admire it deeply.

One of his secrets must have been the sincerity of his courtesy to everyone. I heard many people yesterday speak of his constant openness and kindness to poor people; and I know from experience that he used with everyone whomsoever just the same degree of courtesy. It is a rare thing for a successful man not to turn into a hard man.

As your children and their children grow, I do hope it will be remembered that I will gladly at any time work hard to help them gain anything in education or opportunity they may feel they need help on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

G. D. Rogers

February 28, 1951

Mr. E. E. Broughton
Vice-President
Central Life Ins. Co. of Florida
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Broughton:

I am very grateful for the Company's kindness in wiring me the other day about Mr. Rogers' death. Our Council feels a deep obligation to him because of the steady way in which he worked in Florida and elsewhere to build a common and equal citizenship.

He deeply believed that people in the South of both races could find a way to share responsibilities fully. And I don't know where one might turn for a better example than his of the way for citizenship to be put to work.

All success to the Company as others of you follow in Mr. Rogers' position of leadership.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Rogers

March 9, 1951

Mrs. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council met March 3 in Atlanta.

I told the Committee members of Mr. Rogers' death. They requested that there be sent to you on their behalf an expression of the Council's gratitude for Mr. Rogers' years of devoted service to its cause and of the deepest sympathy for your own, the State's, and the South's loss.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

March 21, 1951

Mr. G. D. Rogers, Jr.
2503-21st Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear G.D.:

I was extremely sorry to miss seeing you last Friday. For one thing, I wanted to express to you personally my deepest sympathy in the loss of your father. All of us here will miss him greatly.

Norma Huff told me of your project toward a Florida commission on human relations, and I saw the correspondence between you and Mr. Sturgis. Your initial letter to him was very ably done -- a fact which seems to have been borne out by his reaction.

As to what happens from now on, we want to help in any way we can. George Mitchell and I both feel that a logical person to arrange the white representation on the committee is Mr. R. P. Daniel of Jacksonville. He is known and respected by a good many influential people in the state, and, it seems to me, he could at least put you in touch with some of the people who would be most effective in consultation with members of the legislature.

I thought it was quite probable that you know Mr. Daniel, in which case a direct approach from you would most likely do the trick. If you would like for us to write him about the matter, we will do it gladly. But my hunch is that a personal approach from you would be most productive. We have other members in Florida wh would no doubt be glad to help, but most of them would carry no particular weight with a legislative group.

If this suggestion doesn't strike you as a good one, let me know and we'll try to turn up something better. And, in any case, keep us informed, for we think you are workin at something fruitful -- even if practical results are not immediately forthcoming.

Call me again the next time you're in Atlanta. I promise not to be having any babies.

All the best,

Harold C. Fleming

March 5, 1951

G. D. Rogers, Jr.
2503 -21st Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear Sir:

I am very obliged to have your letter of the 22nd and appreciate both the spirit and soundness of your approach to a problem which should be the mojor concern of all people of good will, particularly in our area of the nation.

It is to be regretted that some such suggestion has not been interpreted into action before this time. We are almost upon a session of the legislature and it is my experience of long years of service in the legislature that matters requiring such a broad study as that suggested by you cannot be effectively handled during the short span of the three months that is left between now and the adjournment of the legislature. As an example, I served on the Citizens Committee on Education and it took several years to bing out a program designed to cure many of our educational inadequacies and which had a reasonable chance for enactment into law.

During a session of the legislature and during the month prior to the session, the members are intensely concerned with and their time is almost totally absorbed by specific proposals as distinguished from the study upon which such proposals are based.

I would have no hesitancy to appoint at this time an interim committee jointly with such a committee to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, if such a committee could fairly function and produce results in time for the legislature to intelligently act on their recommendations, and I assume you have written to the Speaker on the same subject. If you will phone or call on me as soon as you have heard from him and after you have considered this letter, I would be glad to cooperate in any way possible. Not, however, until I am officially designated President and not until the Rules Committee officially adopts a rule authorizing such committee, could any appointment made by me be official in character.

It would be very simple and perhaps easier to encourage the immediate functioning of an interim committee but I do not think it would be productive of much good. It is my suggestion that you and perhaps a couple of your friends who think along the lines that you do, arrange to come to Tallahassee early in the session and consult with me and with the Speaker of the House and some small group of the membership of the legislature which we might call into conference; and that the objective of that conference be the designation of an official committee along the lines you have in mind. I believe that in that manner a sensible and worthwhile approach can be made to our mutual problems and that the answer will be to our mutual advantage.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Wallace E. Sturgis

14 F

2503-21st Avenue
Tampa, Florida
February 22, 1951

President of the Florida State Senate
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Sir:

This letter is respectfully addressed to you in your capacity as Presiding Officer of a Branch of the Legislature of this great state. I should like to preface my remarks with the assurance that in keeping with the peculiar American tradition, I speak as an individual citizen who in typical American style is brash enough to believe that he has something worthwhile to say and takes advantage of his right to petition and be heard. But, if I speak as an individual, I nevertheless hold that my sentiments are representative of those held by many Floridians, White and Colored.

A considerable amount of progress has been made in the Field of Human Relations in Florida. We are all proud of the neighborly ethics demonstrated by most of the White people of Florida in regard to their fellow citizens of the Negro Race. However, there is presently a tremendous agitation of our race problem in the South. On the whole, I consider this eventuality unfortunate and a real hindrance to the amicable and just solution of the problems by those most intimately concerned - the Southern People themselves, White and Negro alike.

The most frequently heard actors in this controversy think in terms of bloc votes, and regrettably their purpose has been conspicuously successful. I want it distinctly understood that I do not think in such terms, but rather as a citizen, thankful for and proud of my southern heritage which is as meaningful to me, a Negro, as to any man.

The Negro citizens of Florida are fully aware of the crisis which now faces our nation and of the heavy responsibility which falls upon members of the 1951 Florida Lefislature in consequence of this crisis.

This crisis is, first of all, a moral crisis, in which each separate man and woman is called upon to stand and be counted for freedom, and which each governmental unit is called upon to preserve and extend, by its concrete acts and immediate decisions, the freedom of all of its citizens.

February 22, 1951

President of the Florida State Senate - 2

Only by so doing may men pledge true loyalty to free governments and governments win true allegiance of free men.

Out of the needs of an American soul that has felt in pain, the limitations of its own freedom, a grander vision of man's destiny inspires us.

In this spirit and with loyal purpose I would like to suggest that the Senate and House of Representatives of this State appoint a joint committee to hold public hearings for the purpose of making findings upon which legislations may be based, curative of some of the presently existing but weakened disparity between the treatment of Negroes and Whites in public functions and opportunities. No definitive program of legislation should be anticipated by the committee. It should be guided by no more than a flexible and open-minded approach. It should be as much concerned with returning the findings that may be used to educate us on Race Relations as in making concrete recommendations for statutory acts. Above all, the appointment of such a committee would do much to counteract the campaign of Civil Rights, which legislation would be as inept if enacted as it is inflamatory in advocation.

Our long range goal is clear and will be attained. It has never been more eloquently stated than by a Southern White Gentlemen, Thomas Wolf; "So, then, to every man his chance - To every man regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunities - To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him - this seeker, is the promise of America."

Yours very truly,

G D Rogers Jr.

G. D. Rogers, Jr

G. D. Rogers

March 29, 1951

Mrs. G. D. Rogers
1416 North Boulevard
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

We wanted you to have several copies of this latest New South. It carries on page 8 some notice of Mr. Rogers' inspiring career and of the affection and esteem in which he was held by so many.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

July 13, 1956

RHA:

The below-listed persons are to receive New South for six months, as a part of GSM's membership cultivation program.

General Maurice Hirsch
Niels Esperson Building
Houston, Texas

Miss Nina Cullinan
3694 Willowick Drive
Houston, Texas

Mr. Maurice Lazarus
57 Briar Hollow Lane
Houston, Texas

Mr. Max Levine, President
Foley's Department Store
1110 Main Street
Houston, Texas

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

-2- July 13, 1956

Mr. Lamar Fleming, Jr.
2945 Laxy Lane
Houston, Texas

Might have given you these:

Mrs. S. M. McAshan
3376 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas

Mr. Robert Childers
P. O. Box 7447
Houston 8, Texas

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby
President and Editor
Houston Post
2410 Polk Street
Houston, Texas

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

-3- July 13, 1956

[redacted]

Mr. R. E. Smith
Gulf Building
Houston, Texas

Mr. Palmer Hutcheson
1720 Niels Esperson Building
Houston, Texas

Shaw

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Protestant Episcopal Church

CHURCH MISSIONS HOUSE, 281 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

January 4, 1957

Dear George:

Thanks for your several notes about Mr. Shaw and about the grant from the National Council which you have again requested through Dr. Wright.

We shall support it as we have done in the past. I look forward to seeing you on your way through New York.

Sincerely yours,

MMW

M. Moran Weston

MMW:sm

George S. Mitchell, Ph.D., Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
HOME OFFICE: 2206 DOWLING STREET - P. O. BOX 2097
HOUSTON, TEXAS

RECEIVED FEB 23 1957

February 20, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemings:

After reading the recent release on the work of the Southern Regional Council under the "Caption" THE SOUTH OF PROMISE, I am wondering if this release together with all of the others are being sent to each of the persons whose names were submitted to Dr. Mitchell last year as worth-while prospects to be cultivated. It is my opinion that each of these persons maybe developed into valuable "Centers of Influence" if they are exposed to the educational program of the council.

On Friday of last week, I was interviewed by Mr. and Mrs. Stokeley of Newport, Tennessee, who informed me that you had suggested that I be contacted during their visit in Houston. Two hours of my time were given to them in an effort to inform them of the progress being made in this area.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
President

CAS:gc

March 8, 1957

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
2206 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

I greatly appreciated your thoughtful letter of February 20th and am this long in answering only because I have been away from the office for an extended period. We have sent copies of the "South of Promise" to each of the persons whose names you suggested to Dr. Mitchell last year, and we will continue to send them significant material from time to time that will help interpret the work of the Council to them.

It was good of you to give Mr. and Mrs. Stokeley so much of you time and attention. I got a letter from them today in which they spoke of the valuable help which you and other persons associated with the Council gave them.

We appreciate your steady support.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
HOME OFFICE: 2206 DOWLING STREET - P. O. BOX 2097
HOUSTON, TEXAS

November 26, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

RHA

Enclosed is a check payable to Southern Regional Council in the sum of $10.00, which represents a donation from Mr. T. P. Turner, 1403 Live Oak Street, Houston, Texas.

I shall appreciate having you acknowledge receipt of this donation, and see to it that his name is placed on the mailing list for the "New South" and any other material that may be released by the council. It is my hope that other responses in the form of donations will be received from letters written before the close of the year.

Please express my kindest regards to your associates.

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
President

CAS:gc

Enclosure: Check

cc: Mrs. Ruth Alexander

December 3, 1957

Mr. T. P. Turner
1403 Live Oak Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Turner:

We are most appreciative of your contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council, forwarded to us by Mr. Charles A. Shaw.

We have taken the liberty of adding your name to the mailing list of our monthly publication New South, and our official receipt is enclosed.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Official receipt)

Pooore

December 3, 1957

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
2206 Dowling Street
P. O. Box 2097
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Our warm thanks for the contribution from Mr. T. P. Turner, which I am acknowledging in a letter to him today.

You are doing the Council a real service by enlisting the interest and support of your acquaintances.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
HOME OFFICE: 2206 DOWLING STREET - P. O. BOX 2097
HOUSTON, TEXAS

December 26, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

See corresp. from "Me"

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a check for $50.00 payable to the Southern Regional Council which I have just received from my friends, Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil, 3363 San Felipe Road, Houston, Texas. I am requesting that you acknowledge receipt of this contribution, and see to it that they are placed on the mailing list for the "New South" and any other material released during the New Year.

Inasmuch as I promised Mrs. Crate that one half of any contributions received by me would be given in support of the work of the Texas Commission, I am requesting that you please send to her a check of the Southern Regional Council in the sum of $25.00, representing one half of the contribution received from Mr. and Mrs. de Menil.

I trust that the Christmas Season will be an enjoyable experience for you and your associates, and that God's choicest blessings will be yours in abundance throughout the New Year.

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw
President

CAS:gc

Enclosure: Check No. 2402

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
June 17, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At a recent interracial dinner at the home of one of my white friends, I had the privilege of meeting Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Allegret. During the course of our conversation I mentioned to them the outstanding contribution the Southern Regional Council has made in the field of Human Relations, and also of the valuable contribution being made by the "New South" and other pamphlets and brochures published by the Southern Regional Council. At their request, I am asking that they please be placed on your mailing list in order that they may receive future issues of the "New South" and any other material released from your office.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
Vice President

CAS:gc

June 24, 1959

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Mr. Fleming is away from the office for the week. Therefore, I am answering your letter of the 17th.

Your letter did not include the address for Mr. & Mrs. A. M. Allegret. Will you please have your secretary send us this information. Thereupon, we will add them to our mailing list and enter a complimentary subscription to New South.

We are most grateful for your interest and assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Form 252

MEMORANDUM

TO Mr. Paul Anthony

RE ADDRESS

The address of Mr. & Mrs. A. M. Allegret is 5308 Pine Forest Road - Houston, Texas.

Thanks for calling my attention to this matter.

Put on N.S. Mailing List & "L" Report List
6-29-59

From Chas. A. Shaw Date June 27, 1959

Clips & Shaw correp to Lund

March 10, 1960

Mr. Charles Shaw
Vice-President
Afro-American Life Insurance
Company
P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

This is to acknowledge with our thanks the information on Houston developments which you were kind enough to send us. We are doing our best to keep up with this fast-moving situation, and your cooperation as always is most helpful.

I will be sending out today or tomorrow a memorandum to our board members reporting some of the activities of SRC and state councils with regard to the student demonstrations.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
March 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I shall appreciate it if you will place the name of Mrs. A. S. Vandervoot on the mailing list of "The New South" and other publications released by the Southern Regional Council. The address of Mrs. Vandervoot is 23 S. Wynden Drive, Houston 27, Texas.

Mrs. Vandervoot is a former member of the Board of Directors of the Houston Independent School District and wields a large influence in Houston and the State of Texas in the area of human relations. She is working closely with us in the effort being made to make democracy a reality for all citizens of our city, state and nation regardless of race, creed or color. Your favorable reaction to this request will be greatly appreciated.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw
Vice President

CAS:bjc
cc: Mrs. A. S. Vandervoot

Sent to Mrs. Vandervoot:
Feb. New South
The Changing South
Student Protest Movement Report
Set of "L" Reports - 1 through 17

March 24, 1960

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Since Mr. Fleming is away from the office, I am acknowledging your letter of March 21.

We are pleased to place Mrs. Vandervoot on our mailing lists - including New South. I am today sending her a packet of our current materials which I hope she will find useful as well as interesting.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MMF/

cc: Mrs. A. S. Vandervoot

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
March 28, 1960

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Flowers:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of March 24, 1960 informing me that the name of Mrs. A. S. Vandervoot has been placed on the mailing list of the New South and for all materials released by the Southern Regional Council. Please accept my thanks for your prompt response to my request.

I trust that everything goes well with you and that it will not be long before it will be my privilege to greet you in person again. Please give my kindest regards to Mrs. Alexander.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
Vice President

CAS:bjc

P.S. Trust it will be possible for you to visit our "neck of the woods" in the near future. We may have some males in this section capable of arousing your interest. Call Bill and tell him of our exchange of correspondence.

Sincerely
VC

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
April 19, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I shall appreciate having the name of Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw placed on the mailing list of "The New South" and other publications released by the Southern Regional Council. The address of Mrs. Shaw is 8402 North Bayou Boulevard, Houston, Texas.

Mrs. Shaw is the widow of E. Pliny Shaw, one of Houstons' outstanding citizens who died in October of last year. He was one of the charter members of The Houston Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. Shaw is quite active in the work of this organization. Your favorable reaction to this request will be appreciated.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw

CAS:bjc
cc: Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw
8402 North Bayou Boulevard
Houston, Texas

4/27/60

To: JC

From: MF

Please put the following person on your All-Purpose mailing list:

Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw
8402 North Bayou Blvd.
Houston, Texas

THANX

April 27, 1960

Mr. Charles Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

We are happy to add Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw to the Council's general mailing list, as requested in your letter of April 19.

May I take this opportunity to ask a further favor of you? As I wrote Mrs. Rayzor recently, we have never had from Bishop Hines a response to our official invitation to membership on the Council. Recalling his advance assurance to you and Mrs. Rayzor, I am sure that this is merely an oversight; but we cannot enroll him as a member without a word of acceptance after the election was held. Anything you and Mrs. Rayzor might do to resolve this problem for us will, as always, be greatly appreciated.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
May 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

After several attempts, I was finally able to contact Bishop Hines on Saturday of last week. He apologized for not having responded to the official invitation to membership on the Council, and attributed it to an oversight on his part. He promised that he would dictate a letter to you immediately accepting membership on the Council. It is my hope that by this time his letter has been received.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
Vice President

CAS:bjc
cc: Mrs. J. Newton Rayzor
3207 Groveland Avenue
Houston, Texas

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
July 8, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

done
W. F.

On yesterday, Keith M. Barden, Rector of St. James Episcopal Church of Houston was in my office for a visit. He informed me of having the privilege of meeting you during the Interracial Conference recently held at Fisk University at Nashville, Tenn. It is his desire to be placed on the mailing list for all materials being distributed by the Southern Regional Council, and I shall appreciate having you comply with this request. The address of Rev. Barden is 3129 Southmore Blvd., Houston, Texas.

I trust that everything goes well with you and shall appreciate having you extend my kindest regards to all of your associates.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,
Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
Vice President

CAS:c

July 19, 1960

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Thank you for your letter of July 8 and your suggestion that we put the Reverend Mr. Barden on our mailing list. We have done so.

I look forward with pleasure to seeing you again -- at the Annual Meeting, I trust, if not sooner.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MF

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston, Texas
August 16, 1960

done 9/18/60

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the course of a conversation with Mrs. Darnell Mitchell during my recent visit in Detroit she expressed a desire to be placed on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council for "The New South" and other publications being released to interested persons.

I shall appreciate having the request of Mrs. Mitchell given favorable consideration.

With every good wish, I am

MF Please do HF

Sincerely yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Chas. A. Shaw
Vice President

CAS:eb
cc: Mrs. Darnell Mitchell
2415 Longfellow Street
Detroit 6, Michigan

added to All-purpose & N.S. lists 10/21/60

Afro-American Life Insurance Company

Incorporated under the laws of Florida
DR. A. L. LEWIS, Founder
HOME OFFICE
101-105 E. UNION STREET
P. O. Box 660
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas

October 17, 1960

MF - Pls do + notify Shaw in my absence. H.

RECEIVED OCT 19 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
#5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At the request of Mrs. Georgia Trevan, 9401 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, I am asking that her name be placed on the mailing list for the "New South" and other publications released by the Southern Regional Council. Your compliance with her request will be greatly appreciated.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Charles A. Shaw
Vice-President

CAS
ajm

cc. Mrs. Georgia Trevan (TREVAN.)

Sent: ✓ Sept. N.S. + ANS.
✓ HOF's NY article
✓ Situation Reports
✓ Cong. Record Reprint
✓ Negro Voter

October 20, 1960

Mr. Charles A. Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Company
2208 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Thank you for your letter of October 17th to Harold. We are pleased to add Mrs. Trevan's name to our mailing lists and am sending off some material to her today.

We are looking forward to seeing you on November 9th and 10th.

Sincerely,

Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

Enclosures: September, October/New South
Price/Morland Sit-in reports
[redacted]
Congressional Record Reprint
HCF/s New York Times article
Negro Voter - Price

Added to All-purpose & N.S. lists

October 21, 1960

Mrs. Georgia Trevan
9401 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Trevan:

At the request of Mr. Charles Shaw of Houston, Texas, I am pleased to send you several pieces of material released by the Southern Regional Council. We are also adding your name to our mailing list to receive our monthly publication New South and other materials that will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosures

File Board

File

P. O. Box 2097
Houston 1, Texas
July 26, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter to members of the Southern Regional Council.

First, I desire to congratulate you upon your election to the office of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and to assure you that I shall endeavor to serve as a member of the Council in such manner as will contribute to the success of your administration.

Your letter is informative and challenging. The challenge, as expressed in the fourth paragraph of your letter, gives me hope that under your leadership the Council will hasten its pace and lengthen its stride. I concur in the thought, that it has now reached that position of acceptance and respect that we need not remain on the defensive any longer or hide our light under a bushel.

It is my hope that it will not be long before I may greet you in person. In the meantime, if there is any service you may desire of me "in this neck of the woods", I am yours to command.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. A. Shaw

Charles A. Shaw

Member of Board

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 25, 1963

Mr. Charles Shaw
3235 East Alabama Avenue
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Mr. Shaw:

Paul Anthony told me, on his return, of your operation and convalescence. I hope the latter is as short and as pleasant, under the circumstances, as it can be. You have our very best wishes for a speedy recovery, and I look forward to seeing you in November, if not sooner.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

June 13, 1963

THE STAFF MMJ

Mr. Charles Shaw, SRC Board member of Houston, Texas, passed away Tuesday, June 11 following a recent illness.

PLEASE REMOVE HIS NAME FROM ALL MAILING LISTS.

For those who may wish to attend funeral (SRC will send flowers): The body will arrive in Atlanta late Friday night or early Saturday morning to lie in state (possibly) at the home of his brother W. J. Shaw, 372 Angier Avenue, N. E. Funeral will be held at the St. Paul Episcopal Church on Ashby Street, 11:00 am Monday morning, June 17.

AFro World 6/12/63

Charles A. Shaw Atlantan's Brother, Dies In Houston

Charles A. Shaw, retired Houston Texas, insurance man, and brother of William J. "Bill" Shaw Atlanta businessman and political leader, died at his home there late Tuesday afternoon.

About 71 years of age, Mr. Shaw died following a recent illness.

The deceased, a native Georgian, was formerly vice president of the Houston Branch of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. He was president of Watchtower Life Insurance Company, of Houston, before its merger with Afro.

Born in Brunswick, Ga., "Charlie" Shaw, as he was known to a wide number of friends and business associates, was the son of late Charles Augustus and Anna White Shaw. His grandfather, William J.

34 - Smith, Charles M.

25 January 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Here is a rough tracing of Alabama -- with its sub-regions -- taken from the preliminary map of the South which you sent Dr. Mitchell back in October.

We are projecting a series of state maps for New South, with each state distorted to show proportional legislative representation by sub-regions.

We have worked out the number of people per legislator for each county (using 1940 population figures) and are all set to work out the ratios for each sub-region, but we would like to have you check our counties for us so that we can be sure that we have put them in the right sub-regions. Dr. Mitchell thought that you had made quite a few changes since the early map. He is also a bit worried about the large size of the plantation area and doesn't think it should extend so far either north or south.

If you have later figures on population by county, we would like very much to have those also.

We liked the idea of using the sub-regional breakdown, because it got away from opposing industry with agriculture and/or rural with urban. But if you think it is too early to use the sub-regional idea safely we can try something else. In that case, would the counties (not only in Alabama but also in the other states) which are losing population form any kind of contiguous area which could be easily distorted on a map?

Many thanks for all your help. We shall really appreciate it.

While I am at it, Harold Fleming wants me to ask you if you have been

able to discover anything else on the New South copyright?

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

Smith, Charles M.

January 26, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charles:

How very nice of you to tie back in with this good Council and to send it the whole of ten bucks! We are not used to such large amounts. We live on two dollarses and ten centses. We get half a dozen letters a day from back places: "Dear Southern Regional Council: I enclose eight cents. Please send me two copies of your book, 'America's Tenth Man.' We are bad off down here. Sincerely, . . ."

We recently did a new leaflet on the Council, a couple of copies of which I send up to you.

We are working just now on a meeting to be held February 27 in Atlanta, drawing selected people from all over the South to instruct them on the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. We hope then to have local training meetings, or discussion meetings rather, using as teachers those whom we taught up here.

We have made you a full member of the Council and are sending you a four months' back subscription to New South.

I have been puzzling about what you ought to do. Why not pick the best newspaper you can see in the South and attach yourself to it? In under five years you would be its editor. If that's no good, then in any case, if you come to or through Atlanta, stop and see us. We should all like to talk with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures
GSM:eb

P. S. If you feel lighthearted, I will tell you about a job that needs doing. I guess it is an unpaid job. Highlander Folk School needs five new houses for staff members. They have got next to no money and don't know how to get the houses. I told them to sprout a Housing Department of the school, acquire the techniques of sure enough cheap, rural, farmer-built houses and bring to Highlander a relay of guys to learn the techniques while they build the houses experimentally that Highlander needs.

Highlander is going great guns with farmers. They have a good thousand members of the Farmers' Union in that end of Tennessee. Seventeen locals. Now, of course, their industrial union support continues. At a recent meeting up there where this idea was put forward, somebody said, "What would you do about union labor?" A farmer spoke up and said, "Hell, Farmers' Union labor!" Why don't you and your family take up residence in Highlander for two or three months and put that over? Good food. Wonderful air. Lots of work. No dough.

GSM

January 23, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Having resigned as Information Director of the Public Housing Administration, and planning to leave my job here on February 6th, I am giving a good deal of thought to my future activities as a free American citizen.

First of all, I want to get back in touch with some of the good voluntary programs in fields in which I am particularly interested, and of course the Southern Regional Council ranks high on that list. I don't recall what your terms of membership are, but am enclosing my check for $10 on the assumption that that will qualify me in some respect.

CMS handled a week Jan 26. '48

If there is a deficiency left, I'll make it up later.

Could you in any case send me what information you have in ready form concerning your current program? And put me on the list to receive whatever informational services the $10 entitles me to? I would appreciate it greatly.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles M. Smith

34 - Smith, Charles M.

The National Board
Young Womens Christian Associations
of the United States of America

600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Telephone: PLaza 3-4700
Cable: Emissarius, New York

April 5, 1948

RECEIVED
APR 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The special April issue of The Woman's Press, which was sent you recently, is devoted almost entirely to the subject of housing. This was sent to you with the thought that it should be helpful in giving you an understanding of the special interest of the YWCA in housing. For that purpose, I suggest you look particularly at the article beginning on page 14.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles M. Smith

CMS:W

Mrs. Arthur Forrest Anderson
President

Mrs. Harrison S. Elliott
General Secretary

228

MEMORANDUM

Date 3/31/48

To Housing Consultants and Speakers Dept.

From Mrs. Calvert H. Crary, Dept.
Chairman, Housing Panel Committee

We think you may be interested to see The Woman's Press Magazine for April, especially highlighting National YWCA Week and the subject of housing.

CSC:W

RECEIVED
2 1948
Southern Regional Council

T1 12-46

34 - Smith, Charles M.

CHARLES M. SMITH
1833 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
JUN 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

June 23, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

First let me thank you for your very fine hospitality to me. I was so glad to get to know your family, which I admire very much.

Today I put in the mail to fifty papers across the South the enclosed piece on housing. This is an exploratory move, to see whether or not anything is possible by that simple method. I'll give it a six weeks trial, and then review results and decide whether to continue so or to try another line.

If your clipping service brings in any evidence of use of this piece, I'd appreciate your letting me know of it.

On my wall now is a big map of the South, broken into the regions we discussed. I am gathering material on the related programs daily. Incidentally, if you have not done so recently, I suggest taking a look at the report on Regional Planning for the Southeast issued in 1942 by the National Resources Planning Board for the Southeastern Regional Planning Commission. Its program suggestions are important, it seems to me, and can well be fitted into a draft of comprehensive proposals for the larger region.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles M. Smith

NOTE TO EDITOR:

The enclosed dispatch is offered you for publication at your usual space rates. The writer operates independently in Washington, specializing in matters of interest to the Southern region. This dispatch is for your exclusive use in your territory.

CHARLES M. SMITH
1833 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

RECEIVED
JUN 25
Southern Regional Council

FOR PUBLICATION NOT BEFORE JUNE 26

Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

HOUSING BILL DEFEAT IS BLOW TO SOUTH

By Charles M. Smith

WASHINGTON, D. C. - The plans of Southern cities for housing their low income families were dealt a body blow when the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives blocked enactment of a housing program in the closing days of the 80th Congress.

Anticipating passage of legislation extending the federal program of aid to communities for slum clearance and public housing, 127 cities in the 13 Southern states had developed three-year programs to provide decent housing for almost 97,000 families now living in the slums. Their applications for aid out of any funds that might be provided are on file with the Public Housing Administration. Authorization to the Government to extend that aid was contained in the general housing bill which the House leadership kept from a vote after it had passed the Senate and had been favorably reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency.

This legislation would have authorized federal aid for construction of 500,000 public low-rent dwellings throughout the country during the next four years. It provided also for greatly extended aid to the private home building industry, and was expected to produce in the aggregate approximately 1,500,000 homes a year. Sponsored by Senators Taft, Ellender, and Wagner, the legislation had been before the Congress in one form or another for three years, while the evidence grew of its overwhelming public support. A special session before the 80th Congress expires is now its only hope of passage.

Under the United States Housing Act program, which was initiated in 1937, 91 Southern cities undertook programs of slum clearance and public housing. With federal assistance, they built 46,788 public low-rent dwellings for families in the lowest income group who had previously been living in slums. In addition, they received federal aid in building 9,118 dwellings for war workers on condition that they be converted to low-rent housing at the end of the emergency. These have virtually all been converted to low-rent use. Funds have been allocated under the existing law for 4,336 additional low-rent dwellings in 32 Southern cities, but these were not begun because inflation had carried construction costs over the statutory limits. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, by raising cost limits, would have allowed those projects to proceed.

The existing program is far from adequate to meet the needs in the Southern region. As a report of the Southern Regional Council recently brought out, not one of the thirteen Southern states measures up to the rest of the nation in adequacy of housing. Out of ten and a half million Southern families, seven million were shown by the last Census to be living in houses that did not meet minimum standards of comfort, safety, and health.

Of the 91 Southern cities that had constructed housing under the existing legislation, 70 planned to extend their programs, and 57 cities in the region were planning to undertake programs for the first time as soon as the federal aid was available.

Deferred and new projects which would have been built in the South under the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, had it passed, totalled 96,844 dwellings. These would have been occupied exclusively by families who could not afford decent housing on the private market, and veterans would have been given preference over all other applicants.

By far the largest program planned was that of New Orleans, which had requested assistance in construction of 18,000 additional public low-rent dwellings. Next were Miami with 3,500, Houston with 3,300, Birmingham with 3,000, Dallas with 2,800, Memphis and Atlanta with 2,500 each, and Knoxville, Tampa and San Antonio with 2,000 each. At the other extreme, 12 smaller communities were planning programs of less than a hundred dwellings.

Short of the improbable event that this Congress will return to pass the legislation the House of Representatives has so consistently rejected up to now, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill will die on the calendar, and new legislation will have to be written for the 81st Congress. There is every indication in Washington that this will be done. At the urging of cities throughout the country, the proponents here of a general housing program are even now reforming their ranks and planning a legislative campaign to force action in the next Congress, whichever political party controls it.

34-Sm-Smith, Charles M.

June 23, 1948

Dear Charlie:

I am remembering only today that I was to send you a list of our members in and around Washington. Here they are.

The more I think about the idea of a meeting of people who can develop a program for the South, the more I like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure : List of SRC members
resident in DC and nearby
Maryland and Virginia

GSM:eb
Dictated June 18 and
signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

June 24, 1948

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS RESIDING IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

AND NEARBY MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA

Miss Mannie H. Burroughs
Lincoln Heights
Washington, D. C.

Mr. T. H. Butterworth
U. S. Public Health Service
19th and Constitution Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Specialist for Higher Education
of Negroes and Adviser on
Related Problems
U. S. Office of Education

Mrs. Annie Lee Davis
U. S. Department of Labor
Children's Bureau
Washington, D. C.

Dr. J. C. Dixon
726 Jackson Place, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

The Reverend R. Edward Dowdy
First Baptist Church
16th and O Streets, NW
Washington, D. C.

Mr. E. Horace Fitchett
1122 Columbia Road, NW
Washington 9, D. C.

Dr. Clark Foreman
127 B Street, SE
Washington, D. C.

Mr. John Hope Franklin
Department of History
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Miss Margaret Garrity
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington 5, D. C.

The Rev. Mr. George G. Higgins
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Gene Holcomb
Room 323
2101 Sixteenth Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Miss Flemmie Kittrell
Home Economics Department
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Voteless District of Columbia
League of Women Voters
Suite 304
1129 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington 5, D. C.

The Rev. Alexander O. Sigur
Catholic University
Box 96
Washington 17, D. C.

Miss Olive M. Stone
Apt. 121, 2032 Belmont Road, NW
Washington 9, D. C.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell
1615 S Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Brother Lawrence Brediger, M.S.SS.T.
Box 30
Silver Spring, Maryland

Very Reverend Thomas O'Keeffe, M.S.SS.T.
Holy Trinity Missionary Cenacle
Box 30
Silver Spring, Maryland

Mrs. George Wolfe
1011 Carroll Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland

Mrs. Edith Allen
616 Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Leon C. Baltimore, Sr.
600 South Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Rev. and Mrs. W. E. Bason
3422 Old Dominion Boulevard
A lexandria, Virginia

Mr. Donald Becker
24 Rosemont Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia

Miss Ellen Burke
201 West Walnut Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mrs. Sarah Carr
638 North Alfred Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Hopkins House
Miss Connie B. Chissell, Secretary
1011 Oronoco Street
Alexandria, Virginia
and
Rev./Mrs.A. Myron Cochran
208 North Payne Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mrs. Virginia Durr
R. F. D. #2
Alexandria, Virginia

Mrs. W. E. Evans
115 South West Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Rev. Mr. R. F. Gibson
Seminary Hill
Alexandria, Virginia
and Mrs.
Mr./Bertram M. Gross
613 South Quincy Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dr. W. L. Harris
1010 Cameron Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. James Howard
620 North Alfred Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. D. Mitchel
636 North Alfred Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Rev. John O'Shea
711 North Columbus Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Robert Owen
900 North Columbus Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. W. H. Pitts
1026 Rolfe Street
Arlington, Virginia
and Mrs.
Dr./Arthur Raper
Box 72, Route 2
Vienna, Virginia

Mr. Shelby Robert, Jr.
4319 South 32nd Street
Arlington, Divrinia

Rev. Thomas P. Scannell
3304 Washington Boulevard, North
Arlington, Virginia

Rabbi Hugo Schiff
512 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Mrs. Rathbone Smith
408 Duke Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. and Mrs. Russell Smith
310 South Lee Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. H. S. Southgate
513 East Broad Street
Falls Church, Virginia

Mr. John Staunton
624 North Alfred Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Rt. Rev. Edward L. Stephens
310 Duke Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Sidney Weil
312 King Street Road
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Earl Contee
316 South Alfred Street
~~xxxx~~
Alexandria, Virginia

34-Sm - Smith, Charles W.

July 2, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

I talked some more yesterday with Frank McCallister.

We sharpened up some the idea of a Southern foundation. Its job would be to assist the several agencies in the South which could run a coordinated follow-up on implementation of a plan for the South by public and private agencies. Presumably, the plan would be a blend of what you and I have thought of and specifically what the Committee of the South recommends.

I know so little about the Committee of the South that I can only guess that its staff would be interested in a means of keeping intact and growing the knowledge dug out in its research project.

I want to go to Washington soon and talk with you and with Bill Davlin of the Committee of the South. What about Tuesday, July 20? Will you be there?

I liked your dispatch, and I hope it gets picked up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P. S. Will you be good enough to call Bill Davlin and ask him if he is going to be there July 20? I have not got his address. I don't think you should go into the plans discussed above, but simply tell him that I want to check my plans for the South with his plans.

GSM

GSM:eb

34- Smith, Charles M.

July 12, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Mrs. Tilly has altered the date for my appearing with a group of hers to next Thursday. That breaks up that week, and I don't see much sense in going to Washington for so short a time that week.

Shall you still be there Tuesday and Wednesday, July 27 and 28? And would Davlin be around, too?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

SPECIAL DELIVERY AIR MAIL

CHARLES M. SMITH
1833 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 14, 1948

Dear George:

Bill Davlin must leave for Wyoming on Monday, July 26, and will not return until August 2nd. I wonder if the week beginning that date would be possible for you. He says he would be delighted to see you and hopes you can arrange it so.

I am working three days a week doing a piece of work for the Baltimore Housing Authority, and must be up there Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, though I could alter my schedule if necessary, and would be glad to do so if you could be here only during the first part of the week.

I'm looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles M. Smith

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1948
Southern Regional Council

July 15, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Dr. Mitchell will return to the office on Monday, July 19, after a week's absence in Kentucky and Tennessee.

I am sure you will hear from him promptly as to whether he can be in Washington the first week in August to meet with you and Mr. Davlin.

Sincerely,

Secretary to
George S. Mitchell

34-Smith, Charles M.

July 19, 1948

Dear Charles:

Thanks for your letter.

Let's agree on Thursday and Friday, August 5 and 6, for me to be in Washington to see you and Davlin.

I have to go to a wedding in Raleigh Saturday afternoon, August 7, so Friday would be a short day in Washington. I shall plan to reach Washington on Wednesday, August 4, and may see Davlin some then. I shall count on some of your time on Thursday, August 5, anyway.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

34 - Smith, Charles M.

August 10, 1948

Dear Charles:

Here is Bill Davlin's list.

I have written him and asked him to send a set of his mimeographed pamphlets-to-be to you.

I had a nice time and a hice supper and a nice ride. Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure : List of forthcoming publications of Committee of The South

34- Smith, Charles M.
Ans
Aug 30 48
GMH

CHARLES M. SMITH
1833 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

August 25, 1948

Dear George:

Cynthia and I read of your father's death and we both want you to know that we were thinking of you with affection and deepest sympathy. I am sure that, with your sense of loss, you must have felt pride in the fine productive life your father led. I never met him, but I know enough of his work and of his sons to know how great his contribution was. He may be gone now, but his influence for good will never end.

In two weeks more, George, I shall have finished my work for the Baltimore Housing Authority, and will then begin to concentrate on the plans that we laid out on your recent visit. I will keep in touch with you about that, and other developments of interest to us both. Please remember that I stand ready to run any chores you may need done in Washington.

My two older girls arrived home from camp yesterday, in fine fiddle -- little Cynthia sporting a blue ribbon she won in the horse show. So our family is all together again, and life seems much more normal.

Please remember me to your wife, and to your children.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charles.

34-~~[illegible]~~

Smith, Charles M

Sep. 22, '48

Dear Charlie,

Here's a nice editorial the New York Times did on the statement.

The statement itself had the very widest play over the South. We know of more than 25 leading dailies that carried good stories on it, and Chattanooga and Birmingham printed two whole thing.

Thank you for coming and for staying the whole day.

Sincerely,

GSM

34-Smith, Charles M.

October 4, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

I had a letter from Alex Heard, University of Alabama, today. He says his study is to see print December 31.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 - Smith, Charles M.

October 6, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

I have a note somewhere as to an article said to be good. I haven't read it. It is by B. U. Ratchford of Duke University, "Recent Economic Development in the South." It is printed in the Journal of Politics, Volume 10, Number 2, May, 1948.

Can you get hold of it and suck its juices, if any?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 - Smith, Charles M.

October 14, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charles:

You cheered us all no end with your map and letter of October 13.

We were eagerly hoping that you were putting in days at your office, digging out just what you have dug out. I could find appropriate phrases in the Prayer Book which would express our jubilation.

All your work and plans seem fine. I have some detailed suggestions.

I will be in Washington October 20, 21, and 22. On the 20th and 21st I am supposed to be tied more or less to a meeting of heads of Negro land grant colleges, but on the 22nd I am entirely at your service. I hope we can get off in your office again and scratch over maps. If that day doesn't suit you and October 20 would better, I could be with you part of October 20.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 - Smith, Charles M

October 18, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Have I neglected to assure you that we want to pay your expenses when you come down to Atlanta November 10 and 11?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 - Smith, Charles M.

October 27, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

I suppose these National Security Resources Board boys are quite hush-hush, but they have obviously put out something in print, and that you could get. See the enclosed clipping.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

CHARLES M. SMITH
1833 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
NOV 17 1948
Southern Regional Council

11/16/48

Dear George:

Here is a first Washington Letter, written to serve as a base-line if you wish it continued. I'd be glad to have your reactions.

In these two days since my return, I have been busy. Apart from office work, I yesterday had a long conference with Bernard Locker of Social Legislation Information Service who will be most helpful to me, I am sure, and today I attended, as your representative, a meeting of the Housing Legislation Information Service. Msgr. O'Grady was presiding, and there was most interesting and informative discussion of strategy on that front. The HLIS includes all the important civic, church and veteran groups operating here. This afternoon and tomorrow I am going to look in on the meeting of the Council of FAO, with credentials from International Landworkers Federation and Nat'l Farm Labor Union.

If you see Frank McCallister, tell him I was unable yesterday to reach either Carl Taylor or Arthur Raper (who I believe is still abroad) and heard nothing from Josepy.

Frank Horne, racial relations advisor in Housing and Home Finance Agency, will hope to see you in Chicago and discuss with you the notion of getting Governors to establish offices responsible for work in the field of fair employment practices. He knows something of the history of earlier attempts to do this kind of thing. He is most enthusiastic about making another attempt.

So much for now. Will keep in touch. Be sure to have the office send me a stock of literature I can sell from my office. And I'd appreciate some stationery.

Sincerely,

CMS.

Charles M. Smith

P.S. The Florida retreat was pretty much a wash-out. I'll tell you more about it in my next.

Memo

11/18/48

Dear Charles Smith:

GSM:

just talent — what you outlined — MEJ

Through the interoffice grapevine I have discovered that Harold Fleming has sent you a "sheaf" of material, so we will not send more until you ask for it.

Dr. Mitchell asked particularly that you be sent five copies of the May, 1948 New South. They are going to you with this letter.

Secretary

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA, GA.

DAILY FILE COPY

34- Smith, Charles M.

November 18, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Thanks for your letter, and for the Washington roundup.

The roundup is most promising.

I have hit on an intermediate device for it which I hope you will agree with. I would like to send it out, not to our general membership, but to the officers of each state division and affiliated committee and to the members of our executive committee. This first one would be accompanied by a letter from me, copy of which is attached. After we have sent out four or five to that list of about 70 select people, and after there has been time to consult with some of them, I would like to discuss a broader distribution--perhaps first the full Board, and then still later, the full membership.

Our membership is highly varied. A good many would get very little from the letter, and a few would feel that we were pushing for a directness of action which would be novel and, oddly, unwelcome to them.

If this procedure has your agreement, it is one I would like to follow.

We ought to have another such letter every month at least and, if you think it worth the effort, every two weeks.

This plan would let us explore the field of such direct information gradually and find out how to do it in the most useful way.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. We are sending you some regular letterheads right away, and are having some printed for you properly.
GSM

GSM:t
enclosure

P.P.S. Sheaf of literature coming up. Let us know what sells and we will supply more.

(50 Honest Answers, 10 each of other current literature, five Hill-Burton New Souths)

Rough Draft

PROPOSED LETTER TO OFFICERS OF STATE COMMITTEES, STATE DIVISIONS, AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Charles Smith, who is contributing his services as an assistant director in Washington, is willing to try out a series of regular letters, probably monthly, bringing us up-to-date on matters affecting the South as seen from the focal city of Washington.

This first such letter is being sent to the officers of all state divisions and closely related state committees, and to members of the Executive Committee. After further experience with the device, we want to get your views as to the wisdom of sending material of this general kind regularly to all our members.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

34- Smith, Charles

November 18, 1948

Mr. Charles Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles Smith:

Herewith your check for travel expenses.

I sent you on yesterday a small supply of letter-heads and envelopes and am meanwhile, having over-printed for you letter-heads and envelopes which will have your own name and address on them. These should be ready around the first of next week, the 22nd or 23rd.

We were all greatly interested in your news letter. The plan, I believe, is to mimeographyit and send it to State Division officers and members of the Executive Committee. I think that Kipplinger is going to have to look to his laurels now that you have entered the field.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

34- Smith, Charles M.

November 18, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Thanks for your letter, and for the Washington roundup.

The roundup is most promising. [illegible] up. Let us know what sells and we [illegible] more.

I have (but [illegible] intermediate carrier for it which I hope you will agree with [illegible] like New Smith) out, not to our general membership, but to the officers of each state division and affiliated committee and to the members of our executive committee. This first one would be accompanied by a letter from me, copy of which is attached. After we have sent out four or five to that list of about 70 select people, and after there has been time to consult with some of them, I would like to discuss a broader distribution—perhaps first the full Board, and then still later, the full membership.

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

RECEIVED
2 1948
Southern Regional Council

34- Smith, Charles
12/1/15

Dear George:

For the several communications, including literature and stationery, many thanks, and for my failure to acknowledge earlier, please forgive me. Each day have been packed to the limit, and I hoped you would assume that I had not gone off fishing.

To go back a little bit, the Methodist retreat was, as I said, pretty much a flop. Apparently the original invitations had been issued to a biracial group, and there was enough unfavorable reaction to make a last minute change in plans necessary, with the result that there were only about 25 persons present, all white. The program, too, had been substantially curtailed, so that a gentleman from Alcoholics Anon. and I were the only discussion leaders. Moreover, in no communication had any place been given me except Wesley Foundation, in Gainesville, where I arrived Saturday noon, only to discover that the retreat was being held at a camp some sixty miles away. I was scheduled to go on in just one hour, and believe it or not I did so, by virtue of the inhuman speed that one of the college youngsters achieved in driving me out into the wilderness in his hopped-up Ford. As I always say, he sure can cadillac that ford! It was a somewhat crestfallen, though very earnest, group, and I enjoyed my brief stay with them, but did not pick up any members. Perhaps if I had had more time with them, I could have done so.

I have been working along steadily on my maps, and now have completed distribution of farm tenancy, percent of labor force employed in nonagricultural industry, principal nonagricultural industries by counties, in addition to those completed at the time of my Atlanta trip. I am now working from the County Data Book of the Census Bureau, which enables me to make much faster progress. I continue to be enthusiastic about the possibilities of this study.

also, dist. of Negro pop.

Day after day I have been seeing people about town who should know about our work and who may be of help to us on occasions. I am being welcomed into the ranks of the Washington representatives most cordially and all seem greatly interested in learning more about our organization. SRC stands very high in the regard of those who know anything about it, and I find that those who do not are quickly impressed by our membership and aims. Since I have explained that I am providing the office with information on Washington developments, I am getting a good flow of information via mail and telephone from the different sources, which I evaluate in terms of what I know about the several groups. There is a terrific fight going on right now between the citizen supporters of housing legislation and Mr. Foley and his crowd in the official agency. Foley looks with horror on public housing, and moreover he is well committed to the real estate crowd, so that he is willing to take a stand in favor of a broad program only in a most reluctant and qualified way. The NPHC crowd is almost ready to demand his replacement with someone who will support the President's program more enthusiastically. I did not mention this openly in the letter I am enclosing, but give it to you for your own knowledge and use as you see fit.

The plan you suggested for distribution of the letter seems good to me. The second, as I say, is enclosed herewith. In it I deal with housing in extenso, and with health more briefly. Next time I will give as much background on health plans as possible, and treat education more briefly. And so on to cover the subjects we are particularly interested in.

Sincerely,

Charles

34- Smith, Charles M.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

OFFICE OF DOMESTIC COMMERCE

Washington, D. C.

December 9, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Charles M. Smith
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
1833 Jefferson Place
Washington, D. C.

Dear ~~Sir:~~ Charles

We take this opportunity to thank you for the materials you sent us for inclusion in the 1948 edition of the Department of Commerce publication, "Suggested Research Topics in Business and Economics."

The manuscript for this publication is nearing completion and will go to the printer in about a week. Copies of the sections in which you appear as a contributor are attached. In collaboration with specialist reviewers for individual subject fields, we have elaborated many of the suggestions received, especially to assist university thesis writers and research bureaus in developing workable approaches to the problems involved. While it is hoped that extensive revision will be unnecessary, it will be appreciated if you will advise us wherein any of the enclosed materials fail to meet with your approval.

For contributors located in Washington, a telephone call to me at Sterling 9200, Extension 2308, is suggested as the quickest way to convey such reactions as you may have.

Sincerely yours,

Lyle C. Bryant

Lyle C. Bryant
Research Officer, Extension Service
Small Business Division

Enclosure

20

EXPERIENCE OF FAMILIES EVICTED FROM PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS

Contributor: Charles M. Smith, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, 1833 Jefferson Place, Washington, D. C.

This calls for an investigation, by means of case studies, to ascertain what has happened to the families evicted from specified public housing projects because the family income exceeded the established maximum for continued occupancy. Such an investigation would yield valuable insights into the housing conditions, and would provide useful leads for the formulation of housing policy respecting these borderline income groups about which there is currently much controversy. The findings would be useful to public housing officials and to the home building industry.

21

RESULTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF WAGE POLICY IN SOUTHERN MANUFACTURING

Contributor: Charles M. Smith, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, 1833 Jefferson Place, Washington, D. C.

Some southern manufacturers have deliberately adopted wage schedules corresponding with those of northern mills, in the belief that corresponding productivity can be achieved. This suggestion calls for studying the experiences of such companies and comparing them with other southern concerns in the same line of business who have adhered to the policy of paying comparatively low prevailing wages. The investigation should undertake to answer such questions as the following: How has the productivity of workers in the high wage plants compared with that for lower wage southern plants and for northern plants? What kinds of training programs are linked with the high wage programs to facilitate achievement of the specified productivity objectives? What has been the impact of the high wage policy on the labor market of the locality? How have other employers reacted? To what extent might the advantages of the high wage plant be expected to continue if its example were followed by a substantial number of other employers?

Shapiro

21 k

ANALYSIS OF PERSONNEL PROGRAMS ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENT HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS

Contributor: Charles M. Smith, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, 1333 Jefferson Place, Washington, D. C.

One useful way of classifying the labor procurement and personnel programs of southern manufacturing enterprises is according to their provisions for housing employees. This suggestion calls for comparative studies of personnel programs associated respectively with: (1) poorly maintained mill villages; (2) well maintained villages; and (3) housing provided through non-company sources, whereby employees live as a part of the general community. Each study would undertake first to specify the objectives conceived by the management in pursuing its particular type of program and then to appraise the results achieved in light of those objectives. Consideration would be given to such matters as: types of workers obtained, labor costs and productivity, and extent of work stoppages and strikes. Particular attention would be paid to the role of housing in the different programs.

Shapiro

Washington Star 12/9/48

MRS. RUBY G. SIMPSON.
—Harris & Ewing.

CHARLES MAGILL SMITH.
—Chase-Statler.

RECEIVE ARLINGTON HONORS—Mr. Smith is the new president-elect of the Arlington Civic Federation, named to succeed Mrs. Simpson. The retiring president was honored at the same time Tuesday night when the federation unanimously selected her to receive The Evening Star Cup for outstanding civic endeavor. The presentation will be made January 4.

C. M. Smith Heads Civic Federation

Charles M. Smith, 40, of 2710 N. 25th st., last night was unanimously elected president of the Arlington Civic Federation.

The federation also elected T. Oscar Smith, Justice Department attorney of 817 S. Orme st., as vice president; William Tickle, Capital Transit Co., accident analyist of 4614 N. 3d st., as treasurer, and picked five executive committee members.

President-elect Smith, who takes office next month, is assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, a foundation for cultural and educational development of the South. He is chairman of the northern Virginia regional planning committee; a member of the Arlington Citizen's Committee for School Improvements and of the Arlington Better Government League.

Elected to the federation's executive committee were: Robert Cox, Oscar R. Lebeau, Malcom Miller, outgoing president, Mrs. Ruby G. Simpson and William G. Watt.

Mrs. Simpson was doubly honored last night for her 20 years service with the group.

She received the federation's highest award—membership in the "Order of Distinguished and Meritorious Endeavor," the fifth person to be so honored, and was elected to receive The Evening Star trophy for civic contribution.

Adopted by the Federation was a resolution urging Arlington County to "revamp its entire tax billing" system.

Robert Cox, chairman of the group's revenues and expenditures committee, said county residents were given only five days in which to pay their taxes between the time bills were mailed to them and the December 5 deadline.

In Alexandria

New School Under Way, Board Told

Alexandria School Superintendent T. C. Williams told the city's school board last night that one new school is already under construction, and plans for two more are nearing completion. Bids on one school addition and one remodeling project will be opened Friday, he said.

Farthest along in Alexandria's $2,837,500 school building program is the James Fickle Elementary School in the northeast section, already under construction, he said.

Bids on contracts for an addition to Maury School and the rehabilitation of MacArthur School will be opened at 2 p. m. Friday at the school board office, he reported.

Plans for a new Negro high school are almost ready to be submitted to bids, Williams said.

The city building inspector will receive plans for a new elementary school at Parfairfax on January 15.

Williams said the plans for an addition to Mount Vernon School have been delayed pending a decision by the city council on closing one block of Mount Ida.

Commission to Meet

Richmond, Va., Dec. 7 (AP).—A special legislative commission to investigate the coordination of police functions in Virginia will hold its organizational meeting at the State Capitol December 15, the Division of Statutory Research and Drafting said today.

A resolution of the General As-

December 13, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Here's a brief report on a development of some interest.

As I told you, I have been working pretty closely with the new National Citizens Council on Migrant Labor. The president of the group is Tom Keene, who also is legislative representative here of the Congregational and Christian Churches. Informally, we and others have been talking about the possibility of bringing about a reactivation of the migrant labor program through inclusion of the appropriate authorization in the new housing legislation. Today we met at lunch. There were Tom Keene, Lee Johnson of National Public Housing Conference, H. L. Mitchell of National Farm Labor Union, Russ Smith of Farmers Union, and myself - also Nancy Wagner, who is working part time for Keene. The group probably will see Charlie Brannan tomorrow, and on the following day see Ray Foley. When all ideas are properly jelled, Lee Johnson will take over and have language prepared by his legislative counsel for submission to the sponsors of the new bill.

The problem is this. Brannan has insisted that the Department of Agriculture should be responsibile only for strictly farm housing. Ray Smith, of BAE, who is handling all housing matters in Agriculture for the Secretary, takes that position very strongly also. Moreover, Russ Smith feels any USDA program for migrant labor would be dominated by extension service and therefore distorted to meet the desires of the planters and packers. Keene and Johnson both feel strongly it should be under the Public Housing Administration. My own feeling was that it should be placed in Farmers Home Administration, as in the old FSA program, if Lassiter could be trusted to administer it in good faith or if Lassiter were to be replaced by someone who would. I was voted down and just about argued into agreement with the others. (Incidentally, Russ favored giving the program to Labor to administer, which seemed quite impracticable, since Labor has had absolutely no operating responsibilities and probably would not want any). Foley and his aides are trying to keep the public housing program down to a minimum and could not be expected to seek any additional responsibilities, as for migrant labor, so the challenge is to see that he understands the needs and is supported in any favorable position he may be induced to take. It is also one of finding the people on the Hill who would follow through in support of the legislation needed. NPHC is going to ask for 800,000 units of urban and 200,000 units of rural-nonfarm, which in certain areas would be earmarked for agricultural labor, the program in each locality to be administered by local housing authorities. The others agreed that would give us what we want, except for the specific language that would cover standards and procedures applicable to agricultural worker housing. That will be worked out with Chick Miller, NPHC's counsel.

(a 4-year program)

In this, George, I am acting in an advisory capacity, as one who has had some experience in both the old FSA program and the housing program. I am not, as SRC's representative, committing us in any way. But I am reporting this to you with the thought that SRC should be interested, and also in the hope that some way can be found, when the proposals become more specific, for SRC, with propriety, to use some influence in support of them. Just what those ways would be, I can't see at the moment, except to spread the word around about the plans and progress of the legislation.

Friday

I attended the meeting of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital. It was an excellent meeting, called to kick off the report that has been compiled during the past year. The report made quite a splash locally, and I am gathering the clippings to send on to you. At that time I will add anything that seems pertinent about the meeting itself, though, as I say, that was largely a publicity affair.

Last week I was elected president of the Arlington Federation of Citizens Associations, or the Arlington Civic Federation, as its proper name is. I'm enclosing a clipping about that. You can see I'll be busy. It is a real opportunity, though, to put into practice some of the principles to which we hold, though it will be a tough job indeed to get that crowd to go the whole way. By and large, it is a very progressive organization and I'm hopeful we will have a constructive year.

So much for now. In a day or so I'll be sending you another Washington letter. What, if anything, has been done with the first two? If they have been mimeographed, please send me copies.

My best to the others there. Come up some time.

Sincerely,

Charles

Charles M. Smith

CSM:t

34- Smith, Charles M.

December 14, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1835 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

Thanks for your long and interesting letter.

I am afraid that the old fight about where farm labor housing should lodge was decisive, and that Farmers Home Administration will never get it back. I think your group finally took the wise decision.

We have been so snowed under with all kinds of work that the two letters have been slow in getting mimeographed, but they should go out in a day or two's time. We are sending them to the Fellows also, and think it will be quite a help in linking them in. We will handle number three with speed when it comes.

I get some heaviness of heart when you tell me of all your hard work for such admitedly fine causes as farm labor housing and Arlington planning. Please keep me assured that the backbone of each week goes into those maps.

Response to the $10 letter is encouraging. We shan't get rich from it, but it will bring in a good many hundreds, anyway.

I will be in Ashland, Virginia January 6. Any chance of your coming down? We could do some talking that day. I expect to be around that campus pretty much all day, making a speech to the students and so on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

34-Smith, Charles, M,

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 20, 1948

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Memorandum: CHARLES SMITH'S WASHINGTON LETTER

From: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

A number of you met Charles Smith at the November, 1948 annual meeting. He is serving as assistant director of the Council, keeping his home in Arlington, Virginia and working from a small office in Washington. Washington Address: 1833 Jefferson Place, NW. His telephone there is STIRLING 4691.

His main job for 1948-49 is preparation of the Council's plan for southern development on a sub-regional basis. Meanwhile, in his many contacts with governmental and private agency groups in Washington, he is close to events there. He has agreed to find time to write, for the benefit of people in the Southern Regional Council, a periodical letter reviewing the Washington scene. Washington is without doubt the one point to which news from all over the South focuses, as the many interests represented there reach back to each of the States.

I send you herewith the first two of Charles Smith's letters. They will be followed by others, probably one a month.

It is to be emphasized that the letters are informational in character. They are not requests to the Council's Divisions and affiliated committees for legislative pressure for or against this or that bill.

For the time being, the letter is being sent to the officers of the Divisions and affiliated committees, to officers of the Council, and to the Fellows. After some experience with the letter, we would like advice from those who have been getting it as to useful changes in its style and content, and as to whether, with suitable changes, it would be a useful tool for our entire membership.

I feel sure that Charles Smith will be glad to answer correspondence directly from any who get the letter.

George S. Mitchell

WASHINGTON LETTER

Southern Regional Council
1833 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

November 15, 1948

Washington is buzzing with talk of the "100 days".

In the three months after the 81st Congress convenes, it is said, the character of the Truman New Deal will be determined. Some refer to that as the period of the "honeymoon". More realistically, it will be a period of alignment of forces, of organization of strength, of establishing goals in relation to strength.

On the Democratic side, leaders of the Administration and its loyal friends on the Hill are active on three fronts. They are constructing a legislative program that will redeem the commitments made by the Democratic convention and by the President in his campaign. They are attempting to organize the Congress so as to afford greatest possible assurance of passage of this program into law. And they are looking over the Executive Department to make sure that agencies are staffed with officers both willing and able to administer the new laws in keeping with the spirit and intent of the Truman New Deal.

A danger to Administration plans is revival of the alliance between Southern Democratic and Northern Republican conservatives. Deals between these factions, filibusters, and other tactics of obstruction can give the opposition valuable time and may make passage of some measures difficult or even impossible. On the other hand, the program will gain strength from the cleavage now rapidly developing between the extremely conservative among the Republicans and those who feel that the Republican Party must be liberalized to survive. Many able Republicans, especially in the Senate, gave full support to liberal measures in the 80th Congress. They are attempting now to gain the key positions from which they can steer the course of their party along more constructive and more popular lines.

The major elements of the program for the South approved by SRC at its annual meeting have counterparts in the legislative program now taking shape.

SCHOOLS: The Federal Aid to Education Bill (S.472) was passed by the Senate in the 80th Congress and failed in the House only because it was blocked by the Republican leadership. This measure, providing $300,000,000 in the first year for aid to the states by a generally acceptable formula, is expected to be reintroduced in substantially the same form early in the new session, and to be passed.

HOUSING: The 80th Congress, in its special post-convention session, passed virtually all provisions of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill (S.866) except those providing for public subsidies for slum clearance and low rent public housing. It is assured that a bill containing those unenacted provisions will be introduced promptly when the new Congress convenes, and chances of passage in 1949 are considered good. S.866 provided subsidies, aggregating $160,000,000 annually after four years, for construction of some 500,000 units of urban public housing. This was admittedly, only a token program, and there is strong sentiment now for larger goals in any new program to be undertaken. The rural housing sections of the new program

are in the making, with the Department of Agriculture taking responsibility for farm housing and the Housing and Home Finance Agency for rural non-farm. The exact kinds and amounts of subsidy assistance to be offered are not yet known. In urban redevelopment, the Administration is said to favor loans totalling $1,000,000,000 and grants totalling $500,000,000 over a five-year period to cities that qualify by providing subsidies in at least half the amount provided by the federal government. These aids would be used for acquisition of blighted central-city areas by public authorities and their redevelopment by public and private enterprise.

HEALTH: Inconclusive hearings were held in the 80th Congress on two major health bills; S,545, providing for grants-in-aid to the states for health services to the indigent, and S.1320, to establish a national health insurance program. The Truman Administration advocates national health insurance, and legislation of that kind is sure to be introduced and considered seriously. Proponents do not feel that passage in 1949 is assured, but they look for its eventual enactment. Among other health measures to be considered are federal aid to the states in providing full-time local public health services, aid to the states in providing school health services; expansion of the mental health program; and additional assistance in hospital construction. The outlook for such measures is favorable.

SOCIAL SECURITY: The Administration is expected to press hard for extension of coverage of old age insurance; increase in the amounts of old age benefits; disability insurance protecting workers from loss of income due to illness; and Congressional action designed to obtain substantial increase by the states in the amounts and periods of unemployment payments.

AGRICULTURE: Administration and Congressional leaders are taking another look at the sliding-scale price support program passed by the 80th Congress, to take effect in 1950. Farmer reaction to it during the campaign was one of distrust and fear. An attempt is being made to work out a formula for parity payments that will assure farmers of adequate protection. Both party platforms voiced support of the family type farm. The extent to which this will be reflected in concrete proposals is still speculative. There will, however, undoubtedly be increased support for the rural electrification program, and some look for increased support of farmers cooperatives.

INDUSTRY: Southern and Western industrial development will benefit from additional support for TVA and other public power projects, which is confidently expected. It is also fairly certain that minimum wages will be increased, possibly to 70 cents an hour, and the coverage of minimum wage requirements extended. The Administration's strategy on repeal or revision of the Taft-Hartley Law and development of a new program of industrial relations is not yet evident.

CIVIL RIGHTS: Strategy in this most difficult field is being closely guarded. Opponents of the President's program as a whole are expected to use the civil rights issue in obstructionist tactics. Similarly, opponents of the civil rights measures may be expected to withhold support of other measures in an effort to force concessions from the Administration. In preparation for the conflict on this issue, the Administration is making an effort to see that those who opposed his election because of his civil rights stand are not in a position to block his program through control of key committee posts. What will emerge from the 81st Congress, and in what order, no one is now willing to predict.

December 1, 1948

WASHINGTON LETTER

Always during the last few months of the year there is a ferment of activity in Washington among those interested in legislation to be taken up by the Congress soon to convene. Public interest groups are particularly active this year in anticipation of the opening of the 81st Congress, since they feel that prospects for obtaining social legislation are brighter now than at any time since 1936.

These citizen groups are of several kinds. There are organizations built around some particular social need, such as the Committee for the Nation's Health, leading supporter of comprehensive health assistance legislation, including national compulsory health insurance. Another is the National Public Housing Conference, sponsoring general housing legislation, with special emphasis on assistance to localities in providing housing for families of low and moderate income. Also there are groups, such as the League of Women Voters and the Council on Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, which are interested in the whole field of social legislation and cooperate with organizations in particular fields in support of one program or another. Then there are organizations representing the broad interests of some particular section of the population, such as CIO and AFL, the Farmers Union and the American Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These, too, often give valuable support to social legislation, particularly of the kind that would especially serve the interests of their own constituents.

At this time, conferences are being held daily among such groups in an effort to agree on legislative goals that they can jointly seek. Agreement is not always easy and usually results from some degree of give and take, which is significant as a pattern of constructive compromise that may be followed by the lawmakers as legislation passes through Congress.

HOUSING: Following a conference with the President, Administrator Raymond M. Foley, of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, recently stated to the press that the Administration would seek early Congressional action on housing legislation that had been passed over by the 80th Congress. He stated the Administration's goals as follows:

"Declaration of a national housing policy.

"Authorization for renewal of federal financial aid to communities for low-rent housing projects, initiated by local agencies, for occupancy by low-income families, with preference to low-income veterans of World War II.

"Authorization of federal loans and capital grants to assist communities carrying out slum-clearance projects, initiated by local agencies, so that the land, when cleared, may be sold or leased at sound re-use values for private or public redevelopment in accordance with local plans and with the locality sharing the net cost of clearance.

"Authorization of financial assistance by the Secretary of Agriculture to farmers for construction of adequate farm dwellings where the farmer does

not have the resources or credit to finance independently. Under certain circumstances, provision also would be made for minimum repairs of presently substandard farm housing.

"Authorization for federal sponsorship and coordination of a long-range program of housing research. Aimed at reduction of housing costs, it would deal with study of development of more efficient homebuilding techniques, methods and new materials, and development of adequate economic and statistical data on needs and markets."

These are substantially the same goals as those of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, which was passed by the Senate but failed in the House during the closing days of the 80th Congress. No official spokesman for the Administration has made any statement about the amounts of assistance to be sought for these purposes, but Senators Tobey, Flanders, Ellender, Sparkman, Maybank, Wagner and Myers have joined in stating that they will sponsor legislation containing all provisions of the T-E-W Bill that were not enacted in the last session. This would mean, over a four to five year period, federal aid in the construction of 500,000 units of urban and rural nonfarm low rent public housing, loans up to $1,000,000,000 and grants up to $500,000,000 to cities for redevelopment of slum areas, and aid through the Secretary of Agriculture for the construction or repair of farm dwellings. For farm housing, the T-E-W Bill provided a loan authorization of $250,000,000 for home construction, and $12,500,000 in grants for repairs and improvements. The Senators said they favored an "escalator" clause that would permit the President to accelerate or diminish the amount of aid extended from year to year.

Except for the "escalator" clause, these goals are considered by some leading supporters of housing legislation as being too modest in view of the present favorable outlook for social legislation. The National Public Housing Conference, for example, through its legislative committee is developing proposals which are expected to be more nearly commensurate with the known needs than the legislation which was prepared for consideration by the 80th Congress. Working in close cooperation with the NPHC is the Housing Legislation Information Service, a liaison group composed of Washington representatives of more than forty national organizations in the fields of social welfare and public administration. The prospect is that many of these organizations will ask Congress, during hearings on housing legislation, to raise its sights and give the nation, not a token program, but one which offers real prospect of achieving a substantial betterment of housing conditions.

HEALTH: The Committee for the Nation's Health looks for early introduction of S.1320, the Murrary-Wagner-Dingell Bill, providing for a national system of compulsory health insurance. The two main competing health measures in the 80th Congress were S.1320 and the Taft Bill, S.545, which would have limited federal health assistance to indigents. The outlook is good for passage of the health insurance bill by the Senate and at least fair for its passage in the House. Through Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, the Administration has reiterated its support of health insurance, to be supplemented by special legislation providing federal assistance in the improvement of local public health services, school health programs, additional hospital construction, and other aids making up a comprehensive program to assure minimum health services to the entire nation.

34, Smith, Charles

December 21, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

Paul Williams suggested that a list of our Virginia members be sent to him and to you. Here is yours, in the attached envelope.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34-Smith, Charles

December 23, 1948

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

I had the enclosed letter from George Hecht, which please return.

I have never been to but one meeting of his Executive Committee. It is a straight lobby for legislation assisting the health, welfare, and schooling of children.

I have explained in person to Hecht that we are not a pressure group, but he has a hard time believing that.

I should think you could well be in touch with Mrs. Fahy. We could do a good deal to inform people about good causes that the American Parents Committee is pushing.

This place has been frantically busy for the last six weeks. We are almost out from under the load of the meeting.

I hope to see you in Ashland or Washington early in January.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

37 - [redacted] Smith, Chas -

January 24, 1949

Dear Charlie:

The enclosed from Lewis Henderson is of interest. You might return it to me when you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Believe this was returned with batch of materials
4/14/49.
MEJ

34-Smith, Charles M.

January 25, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles Smith:

The enclosed is only a token, but we hope it will help.

We are arranging to send a similar sum each month.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

34-Smith, Charles M.

January 26, 1949
Dict. January 24

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles:

Somewhere in the map book should be just a plain relief map of the South. You know how those English and German ones do, using your device of deeper and deeper colors to give prominence to the heights. Don't make one, but keep your eyes open for one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34-Smith, Charles M.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

February 1, 1949

Mr. Charles Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

I had the Council buy this from a circular advertisement, hoping that it would be useful to us.

I don't think it is, but it might be useful to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 Smith, Charles M

February 1, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

The Council has been officially invited (in an invitation which I can't find) to participate as a part of the National Citizens Council on Civil Liberties in Washington February 15 and 16. As you doubtless know, this one is promoted by the National Civil Liberties Clearinghouse, 1000-11th Street, NW, Washington.

It is to be regarded (in my judgment) with a clear distinction from a similar meeting being promoted at about the same time--in good part, so far as I can see, by persons lately active in a part of the Progressive Party. We were invited to that one too, but don't think we will go.

Could you please take on the job of representing the Council at the February 15-16 one?

I don't think it means much more than signing the register and being present for such of the sessions as interest you, though we would like to get a letter telling us of any good ideas you picked up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 - Smith, Charles M

February 10, 1949

Mr. Charles Smith
1833 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charles Smith:

The date for the Executive Committee meeting has finally been set for March 16. Can you be with us? We should like it very much, and I do hope that you can come.

We meet in the Council's offices as usual at ten o'clock.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

34-Smith, Charles H.

February 15, 1949

Mr. Charles Smith
2710 N. 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

We do badly need the dope about New South's name.
Please break loose and send us the memo.

Maps for Georgia and Louisiana urgent too.

I want to hear all about the new job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:t

34- Smith, Charles

March 7, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

The Executive Committee meets here in Atlanta March 16, beginning at 10 A.M. I know you are desperately busy, but if circumstances would let you come, you would be mighty welcome. Maybe that is the time when you could bring all the maps and tell us how far you have got.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34 - Smith, Charles

March 9, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

We still hope you are coming down to the Executive Committee March 16.

If you are or if you aren't, could you almost right away writhe, heave, and burst your bonds and get the maps in the mail?

We cherish every patient hour you put in on that, and want them now the more.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34-Smith, Chas

April 15, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charles:

I assume that with all the things that are on you, the Washington letters will not materialize in the future.

I have, therefore, written that limited number of our people to whom they were going and told them that they were out of luck in the future on that.

We still count you as one of our main guys.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

34- Smith, Charles M.

4/25/49

April 25, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

As you are one of our staunch co-propagandists, I send you twenty-five copies of our new "punch" pamphlet, hoping you will pass them out to some of your eager visitors.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

RECEIVED
JUL 19 1949
Southern Regional Council

July 17, 1949

Dear George:

A few days ago I returned from New Mexico where I had deposited my family for the summer, hoping that the climate will give some relief to little Meredith from her asthma. Doing a house-cleaning job, I was shocked to discover, tucked safely away in a desk that I have not used in months, four or five letters from you, which have gone without acknowledgment. George, I am mortified over this. I had not written of my own volition partly because of very distressing circumstances that occupied my mind to the exclusion of all else for a long while, and even about that I felt badly. I do not want you to think that I am to any degree indifferent to you or your work or that of the Council, and I hope you will not believe that.

My newspaper venture, George, turned out very badly. I found that I had relied too much on my natural assumption that the other fellow is playing square, and discovered that not only had I been badly misled as to the circulation and financial condition of the paper but as to some dubious affiliations of the Engemans. I therefore left the paper abruptly, feeling some chagrin over my guilelessness and over a loss in money that I could not afford in the least, and with only the consolation of having gotten in some good licks for good causes while the fun lasted. Within a very few days thereafter, my father, recovering from a broken back, arrived by plane to be with me for a few days, and on the second day suffered a heart attack. He was in the hospital for the next three months, much of the time in great danger. I practically lived in his room there. He has now recovered sufficiently to go to a little farm of his out in Fauquier County, to gain strength for an operation necessary to relieve him of pain caused by pressure of his spine on a nerve root. On top of that, Meredith has been severely ill with asthma, leading to our taking her, and the others, out to Las Vegas, where they will remain until September. The reports on her so far are good. There is still another problem with which I have been wrestling, about which I don't want to write, but should like to discuss it with some some time if you come to Washington.

During this time, as you can imagine, my plans for continuing work have been sadly neglected. I am just now in a position to pursue that with some assurance that I will be able to follow through.

I hope, Geroge, in your generosity, you will be able to understand why I have seemed neglectful of the good work in which we are both so deeply interested. One of your notes mentioned the $250. You shall indeed have that, though I can't send it immediately, and I wish it could be a great deal more.

Give my best to the others in the office, and to your family, of whom I think often and fondly.

Sincerely,

Charles

34 South Carlington

July 19, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
2710 North 25th Street
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Charley:

Mighty glad to hear from you but sorry to know of the conjuries of troubles.

I am pleased that you have put the family in New Mexico rather than in Arizona. In my opinion, New Mexico is more fun.

I have hired, for a couple of summer months, a pleasant young historian who is working on the maps. We hope to get a dummy together in a few more weeks. We are all impressed each time we unroll the thing with the extent and depth of your labors.

I hope to be in Washington before so long and will try to get hold of you.

We are so low in funds here that, not withstanding all your emergencies, we are hoping that before the year is up, you will find the $250.00. But, we would be more forgiving of you than almost any one else.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

Smith, Charles
B.S.

September 19, '49

Dear Charlie,

How very kind that was of you to peel off that two hundred and fifty dollars (to give it the dignity of spelling-out), which Paul sent us this morning. A tremendous help, at a time when we are cracking into pieces.

But we are doing more than ever, and will find a way to live. I don'T doubt that you and Paul conspired usefully to that end.

I am as sorry as can be over the other news. None of my business, but I am fond of you both.

Newest small pamphlet. Have you ideas as to how we can get unprecedented social-gains juice out of it? The Southern Newspaper Publishers' Assn. is sending it to all their members, and we are xtrying an extra push to get it into the hands of interested newspaper readers, so they can in local committees follow up with the papers, and run a sort of current audit of how they do.

Best,

G.

November 17, 1949

Mr. Charles M. Smith
Hotel Martinique
1211 Sixteenth Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Charlie:

The Council's annual membership meeting on November 9, upon the recommendation of the nominating committee, elected you to the Board of Directors. The Board is composed of 72 persons, drawn from over the South and widely representative of the people of the region. It meets ordinarily once a year, with travel expenses paid. It rests the function of supervision of the staff of the Council upon the Board's executive committee, made up of seven persons plus the officers of the Council.

I enclose a list of the present Board members and of the fourteen persons elected the other day. Board membership is held for varying periods. The term to which you were elected expires in 1950.

I warmly hope that you can give us in this way the benefit of your advice and experience. This is a time when the thoughtful working together of southern people is more needed than ever.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t
enclosures

McKay

"Palmerstone"
The Plains, Virginia
November 22, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I will be very happy to serve on the Board of Directors of the Council. I have regretted very much not being able to work more closely with you and this will give me some feeling that I do have an active part in the work. Thanks a great deal for the opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Charles M. Smith

Charlie.

Smith

January 25, 1950

Mr. Charles Smith
Palmerstone
The Plains, Virginia

Dear Charlie:

Thank you a lot for your letter about helpful people you know hereabouts who know about UNESCO. I have passed it on to Dr. Forrest C. Weir who is in charge of the Federal Council of Churches here.

I hope to be in Washington before so very long and will discover you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

34- Smith, Charles M.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Sent to: members of Exec. Ctee.
Officers of State Divs. &
affiliated ctees

We sent you one or two copies of a monthly Washington Letter from Charles Smith.

Charles Smith has taken a job as editor of the North Virginia Free Press which takes, for the time being, all his moments. Therefore, unless things ease up for him, he can't supply us with the material for continuing his letter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

October 13, 1948

Rev. Emerson Smith
1444 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Well over a year ago, after the controversy about the Negro community in the Westhampton area had been settled, we got Tom Allen to write an article for New South about it, called "They Held Their Homes".

I have noticed here in the lower South that the newspapers have carried almost nothing about the school controversy centering on King George County, Virginia.

You must have kept a careful file of clippings on it. It is tremendous in its precedent because it opens the whole vein of suits for equalization of facilities, and will almost certainly entail major changes in the expenditure of public money in the South for the next few years.

Could you do us a write-up on it? I think the whole South ought to be told what occurred.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

F. D. GOODWIN
Vice-President

MRS. J. EARL MORELAND
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

J. A. BOSSERMAN
Treasurer

W. A. MANN
Assistant Treasurer

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

JOHN M. ELLISON
J. EARL MORELAND
Department Chairmen

EMERSON C. SMITH
Department Director

Department of Interracial Cooperation

1444 East Main Street, Room 215

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

R. B. MONTGOMERY
President

HENRY LEE ROBISON, JR.
Executive Secretary

MINOR C. MILLER
Associate Executive Secretary

RECEIVED
NOV 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Since seeing you in Chicago I have talked to Mr. Rupert Picott of the Virginia Teachers Association who informs me that he and representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. are to have another conference with the Superintendent of Schools of King George County early next week. The result of the conference will determine whether it will be necessary to institute another suit against the county. He suggests that I wait to write up the article for you until the middle of next week, at which time I would be in possession of what may be the final facts on the case.

Not knowing how soon you have to have the story, I thought I had better let you know that this additional material will be available and leave it to you as to whether you would like me to send in a report on the case as it is to date or wait until next week. If you want it quickly I can get it off to you by the end of this week. If not I can get it to you by the end of next week.

Sincerely,

Emerson Smith

November 24, 1948

Rev. Emerson C. Smith
Department of Interracial Cooperation
1444 East Main Street, Room 215
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thanks for your letter.

Of course hold the story until next week, but I do think it should be locked together then.

I am much pleased with the outcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

December 10, 1948

Rev. Emerson C. Smith
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
1444 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are holding space in the December issue of New South for your article. This is just the time to print it. I do hope you have been able to get to it, and can send it to us in a matter of days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
bc: Harold Fleming

34-Sm-misc - Smith Emerson

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA96

1948 DEC 28 PM 3 46

A LLU217 PD=RICHMOND VIR 28 254P=

TU ATLANTA

HAROLD C FLEMING=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

SENDING ARTICLE AIR MAIL TODAY=

EMERSON SMITH=

MU 2390

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

34 - Smith, Emerson
(New file -
dig out previous
corresp. in Misc. file)

December 30, 1948

Rev. Emerson C. Smith
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
1444 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

That is a honey.

Depth and truth and neat writing.

We are making a December-January issue of New South, and what happened in King George County has place of honor.

I am sure it cost you a lot of trouble. It is beautifully done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

F. D. GOODWIN
Vice-President

MRS. J. EARL MORELAND
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

J. A. BOSSERMAN
Treasurer

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Assistant Treasurer

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JOHN M. ELLISON
J. EARL MORELAND
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EMERSON C. SMITH
Department Director

Department of Interracial Cooperation

1444 East Main Street, Room 215

RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

R. B. MONTGOMERY
President

HENRY LEE ROBISON, JR.
Executive Secretary

MINOR C. MILLER
Associate Executive Secretary

Jan. 5, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I trust that the article on the King George School was not too late in arriving. I have asked Mr. Rupert Picott of the Virginia Teachers Association to read it over and check it for inaccuracies and mis-statements. He said he thought that it was all right but would suggest a change in the 2nd sentence on Page 5 of the original copy - "More than 50 counties join in this appeal to the Governor." He would prefer something like this - "Since that time more than 50 counties have also appealed to the Governor for similar financial aid." He feels that the Governor would like to be able to prove that the counties had gotten together to put pressure on him for financial aid and that to say that they joined in an appeal might suggest this.

I don't think this is too important but if it is not too late I will appreciate it if you could change that sentence.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Smith

Emerson Smith, Director
Department of Interracial Cooperation

ES:lj

34 - Smith, Emerson

January 26, 1949

Rev. C. Emerson Smith
1244 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Here is a copy of our letter to the State Superintendents of Schools. A similar letter is going also to each person especially in charge of Negro education in each state.

The hundred copies of New South which you received are your own personal copies as author. We will send you additional ones for the county superintendents.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

et

34- Smith, Emerson

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
President

ROBERT LEE HOUSE
Chairman, Commission on Activities

MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary

ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

W. A. MANN
Treasurer

109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

March 11, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Thank you for your check of $3.60 to reimburse us for postage. I am enclosing a receipt for the same.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Smith

C. Emerson Smith, Director
Interracial Cooperation

CES:lj
Enclosure

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

34-Smith, C. Emerson

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

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President

ROBERT LEE HOUSE
Chairman, Commission on Activities

MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary

109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

W. A. MANN
Treasurer

March 11, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 1 making suggestions for a closer relationship between Negro and white teachers and Negro and white P.T.A. The idea is a good one and we plan to do something about it.

I hope that you will send us further suggestions as they occur to you.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson

C. Emerson Smith, Director
Interracial Cooperation

CES:lj

RECEIVED
MAR 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 15, 1949

The Rev. Mr. C. Emerson Smith, Director
Department of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches
109 West Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

You will be interested in the cheerful news that the December- January issue of New South, with your article on King George County, has had the largest circulation by far of any issue of the little magazine ever put out by the Council.

We sent out not only our regular 5,000 or so, but another 2,000 to all county and many city and town superintendents of schools in the thirteen southern states. The Atlanta Urban League bought 5,000 copies for distribution, and the Association of Negro Teachers in Georgia bought 7,500 copies, so that each of their members might have one. All in all, it comes to around 20,000.

So you did us and the South a good turn.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
cc: Mr. J. M. Ellison, Chairman
Department of Interracial Cooperation

GSM:t

34-Smith, Emerson

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
President
ROBERT LEE HOUSE
Chairman, Commission on Activities
ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

Department of Interracial Cooperation

C. EMERSON SMITH, Director
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

JOHN M. ELLISON, Chairman
Department of Interracial Cooperation
MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary
W. A. MANN
Treasurer

March 16, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta3
Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 16th. I am very happy that the December - January issue of the New South has had such a wide circulation. Let's hope that our school authorities get the point.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Smith

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

34-Smith, Emerson

August 12, 1949

The Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith
Department of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches
109 West Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

We shall pretty soon be needing the list of influential ministers about whom I wrote you under date of July 23.

Do send it in as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

34 - Smith Emerson

August 25, 1949

Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith
109 Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has been very helpful to many good causes over the South. Their particular effort is to forestall movements subversive of friendship and justice.

They have lately established a number of area offices, one of which is in Raleigh, North Carolina. The man newly in charge there, Theodore Friedman, will be traveling in North Carolina and Virginia. I have given him your name as one who will, I am sure, wish to be helpful to him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

84- Smith Emerson

September 20, 1949

Mr. C. Emerson Smith, Director
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thanks a lot for the names. They will help us.

I want to get with you soon and swap program plans.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

September 22, 1949

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

The Hampton Institute inauguration is Saturday, October 29, 1949.

They will have at Hampton a conference beginning Thursday evening, October 27, on "The College, the Negro, and Industry," but the Council need only supply an official representative to be present at the inauguration ceremonies on Saturday, October 29.

I think it would be excellent for the Council to be represented there, and you are clearly the right person to go. If you can undertake it, let me know, and I will notify Hampton that you will be our representative.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

October 3, 1949

The Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith
Department of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches
109 Grace Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Emerson:

Could you take on the job of representing the Southern Regional Council at the inauguration of Mr. Alonzo Moron as president of Hampton Institute on Saturday, October 29?

It begins with a conference Thursday evening, October 27, on "The College, the Negro, and Industry," but the official ceremony is on Saturday, October 29, and that is the only day you would have to give to it.

The Council would be happy to pay your expenses to Hampton and back.

Please let us know pretty quickly what you can do. You would be our best foot forward.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
President

ROBERT LEE HOUSE
Chairman, Commission on Activities

MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary

109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

W. A. MANN
Treasurer

Oct. 7, 1949

Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I shall be happy to represent the Southern Regional Council at the inauguration of Mr. Alonzo Moron.

I would appreciate any instructions that you would care to send.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson Smith

Emerson Smith

ES:lj

Note: He phoned 10/17/49.
Cannot do it. He is getting
a substitute.

October 11, 1949

Rev. Emerson Smith
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for writing that you would be willing to represent the Council at Mr. Moron's inauguration. Your letter has reached the office during Dr. Mitchell's absence.

The enclosed invitation and program give full details of the occasion. Would you be good enough to have someone fill in the card showing which sessions you will attend and return it, in the envelope provided, to the Inauguration Committee?

The Council will expect to take care of any expenses involved. Please let us have a notation on this.

GSM:
with Mrs. McKay's
approval.
DEJ

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

10/11/49

STAFF:

This is the full address of the Virginia Council of Churches:*

109 West Grace Street -- Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

I believe we have not had the West on our records, and once some mail was returned.

met

* to be used when writing
Rev. Emerson Smith

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
President
ROBERT LEE HOUSE
Chairman, Commission on Activities
ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

Department of Interracial Cooperation
C. EMERSON SMITH, *Director*
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

JOHN M. ELLISON, Chairman
Department of Interracial Cooperation
MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary
W. A. MANN
Treasurer

Oct. 19, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Following my telephone conversation with you I have talked with the Rev. T. V. Morrison, Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal, 221 - 34th St., Newport News, Va. Mr. Morrison is a member of our Department on Interracial Cooperation and is sincerely interested in promoting better Race Relations. He very readily consented to represent the Southern Regional Council at Mr. Morone's Inauguration.

I have talked with the Chairman of the Inaugural Committee and explained my reasons for having to withdraw. He assured me that the Institute will be happy to have Mr. Morrison represent the Southern Regional Council and that he will communicate with Mr. Morrison.

I deeply regret that it was necessary for me to do this. Since I was an Instructor at Hampton Institute I was looking forward to returning to the campus in an official capacity. I hope that the next time you ask me to do something, I will be able to carry it out more satisfactorily.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson

Emerson Smith

ES:lj

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1949
Southern Regional Council

34 Smith, Emerson

October 21, 1949

The Rev. Mr. Emerson Smith, Director
Department of Interracial Cooperation
Virginia Council of Churches, Inc.
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Emerson:

Thanks a lot for arranging for Mr. T. B. Morrison of Newport News to represent the Southern Regional Council at Mr. Moron's inauguration at Hampton.

For formality's sake I am writing directly to Mr. Morrison, and to the Inauguration Committee at Hampton, making this all doubly clear.

If in the next day or so you could hasten to us your notes on Virginia in '48-'49, we could still use them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

Emerson Smith

Correspondence of October 9, 1950 same as that of Caroline Gillespie--copy filed under her name.

ARTHUR W. NEWELL
Vice-President

U. G. WILSON
Vice-President

MRS. EARL BROWN
Vice-President

VIRGINIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, INC.

OFFICES AT RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, AND BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA

RT. REV. FREDERICK D. GOODWIN
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ROBERT LEE HOUSE
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ROLAND P. RIDDICK
Chairman, Commission on Finance

Department of Interracial Cooperation

C. EMERSON SMITH, Director
109 West Grace Street, Room 202
Richmond 20, Virginia

JOHN M. ELLISON, Chairman
Department of Interracial Cooperation
MINOR C. MILLER
Executive Secretary
W. A. MANN
Treasurer

Oct. 11, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October 9. I shall be glad to send Mrs. Hortense Young some nominations for the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Emerson

Emerson Smith

ES:lj

GEORGIA ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
A Department of the Georgia
Education Association

Monroe, Georgia
November 25, 1940

Captain Frank W. Spencer
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Captain Spencer:

We can not forego the opportunity of again telling you just how much we appreciate the splendid contribution you made to the Convention of the Georgia Association of School Administrators. Your address was not only timely and thought-provoking, but it elicited the highest kind of response from the listeners.

Our secretary, Mr. Allen C. Smith, is mailing you a check to cover your expenses to the meeting. We are sorry that the straitened condition of our finances does not allow us to proffer you an honorarium in keeping with the splendid contribution you made. May I extend both officially and personally our sincere appreciation for what you are meaning to the welfare of the people of Georgia.

Yours truly,
(s) L. D. Haskew
President, Georgia Association of
School Administrators.

LDHaskew/s

C O P Y

- -

FITZGERALD PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Fred Ayers, Superintendent
Fitzgerald, Georgia

November 28, 1940

Capt. Frank W. Spencer, Chairman
Chatham County Board of Education
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Capt. Spencer:

First of all, I would like to tell you how very much I enjoyed your address before the Georgia Association of School Administrators in Atlanta last Friday morning. It was one of the finest addresses I have heard on this subject. I wish that every teacher and school official in the state could have heard your message.

I recall that, in your address, you referred to your visit to Denmark. As program chairman of the Fitzgerald Rotary Club, I would like to extend to you an invitation to speak to our club Tuesday, January 14 at 12:30 E.S.T. If you can come, I would like for you to discuss your visit to Denmark. If you find that it is possible for you to come, I hope you will have time during your visit here to see our schools and to meet a number of our citizens.

Trusting that it will be possible for you to be with us on this date, I am

Sincerely
(Fred Ayers)
Fred Ayers, Superintendent.

FA:MC

C O P Y

A Brief Outline of the Activities of Frank W. Spencer in the Business and Civic Life of the Community.

1- Born in Savannah November 19, 1882. Attended local elementary and high schools. Went to sea at the age of 16 years and followed the sea for 17 years. Attended New York Nautical College for a course in Navigation. Holds U. S. Master's and Marine Engineer's licenses for American ocean going vessels in addition to a State License for the Pilotage Service.

2- Has served as Master Pilot for the Port of Savannah and President and Treasurer, Savannah Bar Pilots, Inc., continuously for the past 23 years. Arranged and successfully executed a $50,000.00 bond issue for the purchase and fitting out of a steam pilot boat for the port on a five year bond issue basis but due to efficient management of the Company's operations the bonds were paid up and retired in three and one half years.

3- Served as Port Engineer for Strachan Shipping Company operating a fleet of 30 vessels during the years 1919-1920.

4- Appointed General Manager and Treasurer of Atlantic Towing Company when the Company was organized in 1920. This is a Corporation with capitalization of $250,000.00. The Atlantic Towing under Captain Spencer's management was one of the few concerns that paid a dividend to its stockholders all through the depression years. As Manager of this Company he devised and made effective a method of maintaining deep water at the various terminals of the port thereby saving terminal owners approximately $200,000.00 per annum as compared with previous outlays for dredging costs.

5- Credited with the opening of a new channel in the upper stretch of the Harbor for ocean going vessels during 1917 when there was only a 9 foot depth in that part of the channel. Captain Spencer took the s/s SKULDA, the first ocean going vessel to pass through the Seaboard Air Line Bridge, to the Savannah Sugar Refining terminals on July 26, 1917, and was recognized for this accomplishment by both local newspapers and particularly by Mr. B. W. Oxnard, first President of the Refinery. Mr. Oxnard indicated that the handling of the s/s SKULDA through the upper channel to the Sugar Refinery was just as important as the opening of the Refinery itself. Mr. Oxnard's opinion has bourne fruit in view of the fact that there are now a number of large industrial plants in that particular section of the Harbor with an approximate value of $30,000,000.00. This stretch of the channel now has a low water depth of 26 feet.

6- Appointed French Consular Agent in 1929 with continuous service to date.

7- Proposed and developed plans through an Act of Congress for the creation and operation of a ship-shore Radio Station on the Ogeechee Road and 39th Street. This Station has proven to be a valuable adjunct to the Port of Savannah by rendering a 24 hour service for ships at sea and is known as the Marine Holding Company of which Captain Spencer is President.

8- Served as Local Manager, U. S. Shipping Board, Recruiting Service, during the World War. This Bureau assisted in training and placing approximately 20,000 young Americans as seamen on board American vessels.

9- Has served as Chairman of the River & Harbor Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and Savannah Cotton & Naval Stores Exchange for several terms and has been called upon to appear before the Rivers & Harbors Committee of Congress, Chief of U. S. Engineers, War Department, and the District U. S. Engineer in the development of the Savannah Harbor on various occasions.

10- Now serving as District Representative American Pilots' Association for South Atlantic coast between ports of Wilmington, N. C. and Miami, Florida and is also a member of the Finance Committee of this National Organization.

11- Now serving as a Director of the Atlantic Coast and Gulf of Mexico Tow Boat Ass'n with headquarters in New York City.

12- Served as President Chatham Area Council Boy Scouts of America three terms and is now a member of the Finance Committee of the Council. Sea Scouting was inaugurated under Captain Spencer's direction while he was President of Council and has since expanded into a very definite phase of Scouting for the youth of the Community. The first negro Scout troop was likewise organized during Captain Spencer's administration. Their are now six negro Boy Scout Troops with a total of 140 enthusiastic members in Chatham County.

13- Served as Director of the Savannah Rotary Club for several terms. Chairman, Boys Work Committee, under President Porter Pierpont.

14- Now serving second term as member of the Chatham County Board of Education.

15- Proposed consideration of a joint teacher-board pension plan for school teachers and other personnel in school system. A study of such a plan is now in the hands of Committee on Pensions within the Board of Education. Advocated and assisted in passage of legislation authorizing the Board of Education to pay pensions out of educational funds.

16- Proposed and consummated hearings on advisability of general school survey by experts, if, and when, such a survey can be financed by the Board. This action had the full endorsement of Superintendent of Public Schools O. B. Strong.

17- Proposed annual physical examination for all school personnel now in effect.

18- Proposed a Special Survey Committee within the Board which is now functioning in behalf of school needs.

19- Was extremely active in assisting the Chatham County Teachers Association in 1933 in planning a forum which originated and carried to a successful conclusion the construction of the new High School building on Washington Avenue.

20- Served as a member of the first Commission which developed plans, secured personnel and carried out other details for the establishment of Armstrong Junior College and provided two scholarships for the College.

21- Proposed and assisted in securing first grant of Federal funds amounting to $101,000.00 for pressing repairs and betterments in the local public schools. Captain Spencer was warmly commended by President Henry Blun and the Board for his work o in securing these funds for school needs. The minutes of the Board of Education record these facts. Additional Federal funds followed the acquisition of the original amount above cited.

22- Has served three years as a member of the State Board of Public Welfare. This Board administers the Program for the benefit of the needy people of the State including the aged, the blind, dependent children and cripple children.

23- Now serving as Chairman of the Committee for the Georgia Academy for the Blind in Macon, Georgia.

24- Has served on various Community Welfare Programs since 1929. Member of the original Nutritional Lunch Committee which is at present serving some 5500 needy children in the local schools.

25- Has served as Chairman of advisory committees working with all aspects of government activities in the community, namely: C.W.A., F.E.R.A., W.P.A. and N.Y.A. Now serving as Chairman of Public Relations Board, W.P.A.

26- Has been selected on various occasions to appear on local, state and regional educational conferences as a recognition of his progressive and sound views on school needs for our youth. (See letters attached).

27- Member Executive Board local American Red Cross Chapter.

28- Appointed by Gen. Grayson as Vice President City Bond Issue for $1,000,000.00 now under way.

No compensation has been received by Captain Spencer for any civic or public welfare service in which he has been or is now engaged. His principal interest is entirely centered in three phases of community life:

1: The continued development and advancement of the Port of Savannah.

2: The further development and betterment of Public Health, Public Education and Public Welfare in the Community.

3: The planning of a well rounded program of public participation in behalf of community needs.

NOTE: Record compiled at request of persons interested in public affairs.
December 2, 1940.

Spencer

Station WTOC - Savannah, Georgia

B.H.LEVY BROTHERS & COMPANY - "LEVY'S PAYS TRIBUTE"

Friday, January 16, 1942
9:45 - 10:00 A.M., E.S.T.

Anncr: Presenting..... Levy's Pays Tribute!

Cue: Theme..... LW 202-3

Smart: Friday morning, 9:45 ... time again for the dedicatory broadcast presented each Friday at this time by the Store Dependable, B.H. Levy Brothers and Company. It's "Levy's Pays Tribute", which you know by this time, salutes an outstanding citizen each week... salutes him for his achievements and his standing in our community life. But here... I'm taking too much time from our air hostess.. so.. suppose I call the roll...B.H.Levy Hostess Ouida McLendon..

Ouida: Ready to take over..

Smart: Tenor Hugh Taylor...

Taylor: Ready to sing "Would It Make Any Difference to You".

Smart: Soprano Edith Bennett

Edith: Ready to help Hugh sing.

Smart: Attendance 100%...including (run on piano) ... Jean Wallace at the piano. Now, let's hear from Ouida McLendon.

Ouida: Thank you, Bill... and good morning everyone. Another Friday morning and another salute to an outstanding citizen of Savannah.. and as in past broadcasts, we're going to wait until the very last moment to tell you his name, hoping that through our description you'll be able to recognize him even before we call his name. While we're giving the salute, a Postal Telegraph messenger will be delivering to the recipient of the salute a basket of flowers from A. C. Oelschigs, with the best wishes of the store Dependable. Before our salute we turn to music, blended in vocal tones by Edith Bennett, and Hugh Taylor...who sing for us first..

Hugh: Sings first line... "Would It Make Any Difference to You".

Cue: Song

Ouida: We're not giving out hints this morning, but we would like to say that anyone who knows this man at all should recognize him immediately when we start telling of his varied activities... activities which turn the calendar back to near the

turn of the century. In his youth at that time this young Savannahian found the call of the sea more than he could deny, so to sea he did go at the ripe young age of sixteen. Did we say he had a touch of the sea in his make up.... more than a touch we think. The bounding main claimed his love for 17 years... so no land lubber is he whom we salute this morning. Is it any wonder that his first hand experiences have been instrumental in guiding so many of our coastal activities. We find him attending the New York Nautical College for a course in navigation, and holding U. S. Master's and Marine Engineer's licenses for American ocean going vessels, in addition to a State License for the pilotage service. Frankly his services and offices have been so many that we'll have to touch lightly on the most important and omit some altogether. This man has been credited with the opening of a new channel in the upper stretch of the harbor for ocean going vessels during 1917, when there was only a 9 foot depth in that part of the channel. It was he who proposed and developed plans through an act of Congress for the creation and operation of a ship-shore Radio Station on the Ogeechee Road and 39th Street. During the first world war he served as local manager of the U.S. Shipping Board, recruiting service, this office having assisted in training and placing approximately 20,000 young Americans as seamen on American vessels. He has served as chairman of the River and Harbor Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and of the Savannah Cotton and Naval Stores Exchange, and has appeared before the Rivers and Harbors Committee of Congress in the interest of development of the Savannah Harbor. Surely by this time you should have guessed the identity of our tribute receiver this morning ,,, but in case you haven't we'll tell you about more of his activities. He serves now as District Representative of the American Pilots Association for the South Atlantic Coast between the ports of Wilmington and Miami, and is also a member of the Finance Committee of this national organization. He is a director of the Atlantic Coast and Gulf of Mexico Tow Boat Association, and has served not one but three terms as

President of the Chatham Area Council Boy Scouts of America, and is now a member of the finance committee of the council. Has he worked with local civic clubs? Yes... having served as director of the Savannah Rotary Club for several terms.. and by the way, he is now serving his second term as a member of the Chatham County Board of Education. As if these activities weren't enough for this civic minded individual we find that he has proposed consideration of a joint teacher-board pension plan for school teachers and other personnel in the school system. He proposed and consummated hearings on the advisability of general school syrvey by experts, and proposed annual physical examination for all school personnel. Back in 1933 he was active in assisting the Chatham County Teachers Association in planning a forum, which originated and carried to a successful conclusion the construction of the new High School Building on Washington Avenue. Still the activities of this gentleman go on and on... so we'll have to watch the clock to know when to stop. He served as member of the first commission which developed plans for the establishment of Armstrong Junior College, and provided two scholarships for the institution. He has served four years as a member of the State Board of Public Welfare, and is now serving as chairman of the committee for the Georgia Academy for the Blind, in Macon, Georgia.. Since 1929 various community welfare programs have received his wholehearted assistance and support. Showing a vital interest in the betterment of youth, he has been selected on various occasions to appear on local, state and regional educational conferences as a recognition of his progressive and sound views on school needs and the advancement of our young people. We could go on and on citing the activities of the well known Savannahian...we could tell of his work as a member of the executive board of the American Red Cross, and tell of his appointment by the late General Grayson as vice president of the city bond issue. We might add here that no compensation has been received by him for his work in civic and public welfare. His principal interests are:

> The continued development and advancement of the Port of Savannah.
>
> The further development and betterment of public health, education and welfare in the community
>
> and...the planning of a well rounded program of public participation in behalf of community needs.

He is chairman of the waterfront division of civil defense for the protection of terminals and shipping. Now comes his name, if you haven't already guessed it... He has served as master pilot for the port of Savannah and president and treasurer of the Savannah Bar Pilots, Inc continuously for the past 23 years, and was appointed General Manager and Treasurer of the Atlantic TowingCompany when it was organized in 1920. Yes, we're saluting Frank W. Spencer, as loyal a Savannahian as ever breathed our salt flavored air, and may we add that Savannah without Captain Spencer wouldn't be the same place. We've spoken so much in nautical terms today, Bill, in mentioning Captain Spencer's many activities that perhaps we should introduce the next musical selection in a seafaring fashion... how about it?

Smart: Cast a line there, mates... heave to you two hearties, and hoist a bit of song off the starboard bow, batten down the hatches and tell us what it's going to be.

Edith: I love you more each day.

Smart: And what's the meaning of that me young maiden.

Edith: The name of the song sir... I love you more each day.

Smart: Well, up with the anchor and full speed ahead.. and don't spare the piano.

Cue: Song

Ouida: Commercial

Smart: Thank you Ouida McLendon for this morning's Levys Pays Tribute program. Today's salute was to Captain Frank Spencer..the songs were delivered by Edith Bennett and Hugh Taylor, accompanied by Hean Wallace. Next Friday morning at this hour another salute presented by B.H. Levy Bros & Co., the Store Dependable..and on next Tuesday night at 8:00PM comes the program "What's your Number?", with cash awards.. so listen in. This is Bill Smart speaking for the Store Dependable... This is the Savannah Broadcasting Co.

Savannah Tugs Handle Ticklish Wartime Assignment

Savannah Evening Press August 16, 1945

The freighter Hanley is shown above being towed into Savannah harbor stern first after a sea collision early in the war five miles off Tybee. The steamer, loaded with supplies for the South Pacific, ran head-on into the Tanker Pan Maryland, loaded with 100,000 barrels of high octane gasoline. The mishap occurred on Feb. 24, 1942 during a heavy fog. The tanker made its way to Charleston after local tugs and a navy tug, with the assistance of a high sea, broke the vessels apart. In the picture can be seen the tug W. F. McCauley of which Capt. S. W. Edleman is captain alongside the Hanley whose bulkhead gave way necessitating the stern-first towing operation.

Master Pilot

COMDR. F. W. SPENCER

Artesian Water From Here Slacked Doughboys' Thirst on Far-Flung Battlefronts

23,167,750 Gallons Pumped Into Ships Bound for Mediterranean and South Pacific—Comdr. Frank W. Spencer Removes Bars on Port's Wartime Activities—More Than a Million Tons of War Supplies Shipped From Here—Atlantic Towing Company's Tugs Make Proud War Record.

How artesian water from Savannah's wells cooled the parched lips of Uncle Sam's fighting men in the Mediterranean theater and checked the thirst of thousands of others hurrying to battle Hirohito on battlefields in the South Pacific was the unique story told by Comdr. Frank W. Spencer, U. S. C. G. T., this morning when he lifted the veil of secrecy from Savannah's World War 2 port activities.

A total of 23,167,750 gallons, or 92,671 tons, of good old Savannah water went into the tanks of 325 ships during the two and a half years this city served as a major port in the war effort, according to Commander Spencer, who in civilian life is master pilot and manager of the Atlantic Towing Company.

Commander Spencer explained how the Atlantic Towing Company's water barge handling 500 tons of water each trip loaded the tanks of vessels headed for the fighting front. Tanks fore and aft and those between the double bottoms of vessels were carefully chlorinated and into them was pumped Savannah's pure water. It solved the problem on fronts where drinking water was at a premium because of contamination.

Praising the work of the Atlantic Towing Company's fleet of tugs which handled shipping both in Savannah and Brunswick, Commander Spencer declared the officers and crew and shore personnel can look back on a job well done. He pointed out that all were on a round-the-clock schedule and long hours weren't considered where the war effort was concerned. The commander on being commissioned as a Coast Guard officer in 1942 disposed of his Tybee home and rigged up living quarters at 226 East Bay street, next door to his station, in order to keep a 24-hour vigil on the river.

Delving into thick files which held the story of a home front alive to its responsibility Commander Spencer reviewed two and a half war years "on the river."

The launching of the freighter General Oglethorpe, first ship completed at the Southeastern yards, plunged Savannah into its war shipping program after "a quiet nine months." The freighter named for Georgia's founder took on cargo here but she never reached her destina-

Continued on Page 9, Column 2

Shattered Bow of S. S. Hanley

A close up "shot" of the smashed bow of the steamer Hanley shows how closely she escaped sinking after a head-on collision with the tanker Pan Maryland. Comdr. Frank W. Spencer can be seen on the deck directing operations as tugs of the Atlantic Towing Company prepared to tow the damaged ship into Savannah harbor. The bulkhead of the freighter failed to withstand the smashup so the tow to port had to be made stern first, a difficult operation.

ARTESIAN WATER FROM

boats the tugs were "drafted" for

A close up "shot" of the smashed bow of the steamer Hanley shows how closely she escaped sinking after a head-on collision with the tanker Pan Maryland. Comdr. Frank W. Spencer can be seen on the deck directing operations as tugs of the Atlantic Towing Company prepared to tow the damaged ship into Savannah harbor. The bulkhead of the freighter failed to withstand the smashup so the tow to port had to be made stern first, a difficult operation.

ARTESIAN WATER FROM HERE SLACKED

Continued from Page Fourteen

tion, for the proud vessel was stalked in the North Atlantic by one of Herr Hitler's submersibles. Savannah was heavily represented in the casualty list and many homes were saddened by the sinking.

Tugs of the Atlantic Towing Company were on hand at 136 launchings at three Savannah shipyards. These bulldogs of the river took over as each ship left the ways and the helpless hull was cast out into the river to be trapped by the current and perhaps grounded if an alert tugmaster didn't nose his little ship alongside to take over and hustle the craft to a safe mooring.

The Atlantic Towing Company's fleet handled 1,278 shiftings of ocean-going vessels in Savannah harbor and participated in 586 docking and 645 undockings. It all added up to 2,645 services to ships engaged in the transportation of troops, war materials and naval services. A total of 207 convoys was provided at this port. This meant the assignment of tugs as escorts to the extra big ships coming into the river or outbound. The busy little tugs would stick to them from the time they crossed the bar until they were safely berthed or when the journey was outbound the escorts would be right there until the unwieldy freighters were in the open sea with deep water under their keels. Nothing was left to chance or good fortune.

During the war interval more than a million tons of war supplies were shipped out of the port of Savannah.

Down at Brunswick, the Atlantic Towing Company had tugs at 96 launchings at two yards; handled 84 shiftings, 63 dockings, and 100 undockings. The grand total of tug activity for the two ports was 2,988 instances of war services rendered without a hitch. All of this was exclusive of hundreds of lighters and barges which required assistance of tugs.

Discussing the loading of water here, Commander Spencer pointed out that it was taken on in addition to cargo and that the ships with the necessary facilities were mainly those equipped for transporting troops.

In order to properly render all of this wartime service it was necessary to convert the tug Frank W. Spencer, a 250-horsepower steam propelled vessel, to diesel. A 840 horsepower engine was installed and the Spencer was rearing to go with triple strength. Uncle Sam needed her most and the Spencer was soon chugging south for South American ports where she was assigned to convoy service.

Commander Spencer declared the port was in a dilemma with only three tugs available, the W. F. McCauley, Cynthia No. 2, and the Robert W. Groves. He promptly hopped a train to Washington and laid his cards on the table. Washington was sympathetic and Savannah was promised two tugs. Two 700 horsepower Diesels were forthcoming and one was dispatched to Brunswick. They are 700 horsepower and new Diesel tugs. "They were a big help," Commander Spencer summarized. They are operated by the Atlantic towing Company as agents for the War Shipping Administration.

Another service performed by Atlantic Towing Company crews during the war was the delivery of new 1,000 horsepower tugs built at Atlantic and Gulf shipyards to North Atlantic ports. Commander Spencer personally supervised the reconstruction of tugs and barges at Norfolk for foreign service.

During the war the tanker movement was particularly brisk. Many arrived heavily loaded with high octane gasoline so vital to keeping Hunter Field's and Chatham Field's big bombers soaring.

One outstanding performance by the tugs in the war was dragging the slips and terminal fronts. It was "spare time" work but a vital job for it prevented shoaling in ships' berths. Towboats were also provided to standby when explosives were being loaded on ships which did not have power on their main engines. Commander Spencer is proud of a citation from the Savannah Machine yard which points out that production awards won by the company were in a large measure due to the efficient co-operation of the Atlantic Towing Company in providing tug service whenever the occasion demanded.

Tug captains and crews took their shares of the risks when they navigated in submarine territory along the coast. Not once but often the Atlantic Towing Company's tug fleet ventured forth where subs were known to be lurking. Early in the war when the navy was short patrol boats the tugs were "drafted" for rescue work. They would pick up navy crews and head to sea. Protection? Commander Spencer laughed. "All they had was the sidearms carried by the navy men." Only one launching was delayed because the tugs were searching for crews of ill-fated ships that defied the U-boats.

A near tragedy occurred within five miles of Savannah Beach. February 24, 1942, was one of those pea-soup foggy nights when one could slice the stuff with a pocketknife.

The tanker Pan Maryland with 100,000 barrels of high octane gasoline was bound north and the steamer Hanley was ploughing her way south with war supplies for the South Pacific. At 2 a m. they met —headon at full speed—the sea giants were locked in a tight embrace with both bows crushed.

Helpless they floundered in the sea. Three Atlantic Towing Company tugs proceded to the rescue. The navy sent another. The tanker was down 35 feet at the bow but her bulkhead held and an explosion was averted. Sparks flew as the vessels ground together and ships' and tugs' crews felt chills course up and down their spines.

"Heavy seas began to run and for once I wasn't sorry," Commnader Spencer said. The water broke over the tugs from bow to stern but it took the combined power of tugs and sea action to pull the ships apart. The crippled tanker limped toward Charleston at a mile an hour while the Atlantic Towing Company's tugs towed the freighter—stern first—into Savannah harbor. The ships and cargoes were valued at $10,000,000.

Another time the tanker Oklahoma caught a torpedo and lost her stern and 21 members of the crew. The vessel, loaded with oil, was hit between Savannah and Brunswick and went down fast. Wrecking tugs pumped her out and took her to the entrance of Brunswick harbor where the Atlantic Towing Company tugs were waiting. They carried the vessel the rest of the way in and pumped out the cargo.

Captains of the Atlantic Towing Company's tug fleet who carried on during the war were: S. W. Edlemen of the W. F. McCauley; J. V. Ryan, the Cynthia No. 2; Con Robinson, the Robert W. Groves; F. W. Spencer, Jr., W. S. A. No. 1, and J. T. Hotch of Brunswick, the W. S. A. 24.

The tug Cynthia is a real war veteran. The rugged little craft was an Associated Press dispatch boat in the Spanish-American War. She participated in World War No. 1 and has tucked two other wars under her belt, Germany in the Atlantic and Japan in the Pacific. The last shot in the Spanish-American War was fired at the Cynthia, by an American gunboat through a mistake in identity.

August 17, 1945

Commander Frank W. Spencer USCGR(T)
Liaison Pilot Officer
6th and 7th Naval Districts
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Commander Spencer:

Thank you for sending us a copy of your letter of May 21 to Mr. William F. Lynes, Jr., Chairman of the Savannah Chapter of the American Red Cross.

One would like to think that we have reached the point where qualified Negroes could be invited to membership on the Home Service Committee of the Red Cross, but apparently we have not. I don't blame you for resigning.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director.

GBJ:IBT

COMMANDER FRANK W. SPENCER, USCGR(T)

LIAISON PILOT OFFICER
6TH AND 7TH NAVAL DISTRICTS

SAVANNAH CHAPTER

AMERICAN RED CROSS

21 May 1945

Mr. Wm. F. Lynes, Jr., Chairman
Savannah Chapter American Red Cross
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Bill:

I have reached the conclusion since the Home Service Committee meeting on Monday of last week that I can no longer serve as its Chairman. I deeply regret this decision but in order to keep faith with my convictions of fair play, I must resign from the Committee.

The sentiments expressed by four of the five members present do not conform to Red Cross policies of "no discrimination as to race, color or creed". It is held that individual men and women representing Red Cross created by Congressional action must be willing not only to sacrifice their own prejudices of race but sacrifice everything that is undemocratic.

I firmly believe that any genuine understanding between our races must issue from a cooperative process through experience in planning together constructive action. It was because of this belief that I hoped that the Committee would want to invite negro citizens of intelligence and culture to membership on the Home Service Committee.

I am in accord with Howard W. Odum, widely known southern educator and writer at the University of North Carolina that "for the newly equipped negro citizen and leader in cultural opportunities, in political opportunities, and in all others, of course, any plans that were made would assume that he must have his pro rata position in the social order..."

It wont be laws that will finally solve our prejudice problems, Bill, it will be a realization by all of us of the fact that race antagonism is bad medicine in a country which calls itself a democracy and for which its white and negro sons are giving

SAVANNAH CHAPTER

AMERICAN RED CROSS

their lives. The time has come for those of us who believe this to speak out and act accordingly.

I deeply regret that this action of mine comes at the beginning of your term of office. But, if I know you at all, I am certain that you will firmly endeavor to extend democratic privileges and opportunities for participation in Red Cross to all of our citizens. New leadership and determination in constructive objectives will go far in making democracy work in and out of Red Cross.

Trusting that you are on deck, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Frank W. Spencer

Frank W. Spencer

C O P Y (SEAL) C O P Y

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

August 28th, 1945

Dear Frank:

Ever since reading the splendid article appearing in the "Evening Press" of recent date, in connection with shipments of artesian water to our boys overseas, shipments of war-time materials, and the lifting of certain bars on the por't war-time activities, I have intended writing to you, commending you for the outstanding services you rendered in these matters.

You can well feel a justifiable pride in the unselfish and untiring manner in which you gave of your time and your energies to all assignments entrusted to your care, and the satisfactory way in which they were handled to a conclusion.

Speaking for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Savannah, and all Savannahians in general, may I say yours has truly been "a job well done", and we are, indeed, grateful for your intelligent and conscientious handling of all matters in connedtion with the Port of Savannah and its activities.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ PETER
Peter Roe Nugent
Mayor

Commander Frank W. Spencer,
Savannah,
Ga.

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1945
Southern Regional Council

Savannah, Georgia
November 23, 1945

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3 Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Please accept my thanks for your letter dated November 20, 1945 indicating that I have been elected Second Vice President of the Council.

You may be assured that I shall do all possible to extend my best efforts in promoting the objectives of SRC, Inc.

Trusting that you are on deck and with all good wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

Frank

Frank W. Spencer.

November 26, 1945

Commander Frank W. Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Commander Spencer:

We want to run photographs of our new officers in the December issue of The Southern Frontier. If you have a glossy print, won't you please send us a copy as soon as possible? We would also like to have a brief sketch of your personal history.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

(via air mail)

Savannah, Georgia
November 28, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

I have your note of the 26th instant requesting data covering my activities in general, together with photograph.

Enclosed data will give you all the information covering my activities. I have only one photo (also enclosed) which has been used by the local papers which will probably serve your purpose and will thank you to return same.

Please let me have an outline of the objectives of SRC and indicate future possible dates of meetings to be held by the Board.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

"Frank"

Frank W. Spencer.

Enclosures

November 30, 1945

Commander Frank Spencer
Post Office Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Frank:

Thanks for the personal data and the photograph. We shall try to take good care of the photograph and get it back to you. The story of your activities is certainly interesting. I hope you are making notes for an autobiography.

Although you have no doubt received our various publications as they came out, you might like to have the whole "works" in one package, so we are sending this under separate cover. The objectives of SRC are, of course, based on the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond statements which are reprinted in the number one pamphlet. These have been supplemented by various resolutions passed by the Board or by the annual meetings. (See material inserted in number one.) Ray Warwick is now working on the promotion leaflet which is going to be quite attractive.

At present the Board of Directors has two regular meetings a year. One of these is held the day before the annual meeting and the other immediately after the annual meeting. I do not think this is a particularly good arrangement, but special meetings may be called any time they are needed. I think it is quite likely that we will need a special Board meeting in the Spring.

The Executive Committee, of which you are an ex-officio member, will meet quarterly hereafter. The tentative schedule is the fourth Wednesday of February, May, August, and the second Tuesday in November, which would be the day preceding the annual meeting. It is quite likely that the Chairman will want to call a special meeting of the Committee in December or January.

Among the many reasons why I am glad that you are a Council officer is the fact that you live near enough to Atlanta to attend Executive Committee meetings without great inconvenience. During 1944 and 1945 our three Vice Presidents, with a possible attendance score of 24 for the 8 meetings of the Committee, actually had a score of 11 Since they are counted toward a quorum, you can see what we were up against. We had one meeting without a quorum, had to postpone two others, and had several meetings with the

bare quorum of five members exclusive of the Executive Directors.

Our new president is planning to visit us sometime in December. As soon as the date is definitely set, I will let you know. I think it would be fine if you could come up at the same time.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Separate cover. Everything

December 10, 1945

Commander Frank Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Frank:

I hope you can come up to Atlanta Friday, the 14th. President Paul D. Williams will be here all day. We are asking the local members to come to Council headquarters at four in the afternoon for a little informal discussion with Mr. Williams. Come if you can.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

(178)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL CUNCIL INC

=63 AUBURN AVENUE NORTHEAST ATLA=

REGRET INABILITY TO BE ON DECK FRIDAY WITH MR WILLIAMS=

SPENCER.

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1945
Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PM 5 54
30
ATLANTA
Clerk

SPENCER ELECTED GEORGIA CHAIRMAN

PRESS —5-16-46

GILBERT ON SOUTHERN CONFERENCE BOARD FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Commander Frank W. Spencer has been elected chairman of the committee for Georgia of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, it is announced in a letter from Miss Margaret Fisher, executive secretary of the committee.

Commander Spencer, formerly a member of the board, was elected in statewide balloting of the membership by mail. Dr. Ralph Mark Gilbert, pastor of the First African Baptist church here, and the Rev. David Cady Wright, Jr., of Emanuel Episcopal Church, Athens, were elected to the twenty-two member board.

Other officers named are Mrs. Harry M. Gershon of Atlanta, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays of Atlanta, and Glenn W. Rainey of Atlanta, all vice chairmen.

Announcing the committee's program for 1946-47 this morning, Commander Spencer said that it "will continue its broad program for human welfare which is based upon the religious concept of brotherhood."

The committee believes, he said, in an informed and active citizenry as the best safeguard for democratic institutions, and will continue to expand its program of encouraging citizens to register and will use its influence toward the election of public officials who it believes will serve the best interests of all the people.

Items on the two-year program include support of measures designed to strengthen the pattern of family owned and operated farms, support of measures to speed industralization, and support of an aggressive program of public and private housing, among others.

At a recent membership meeting held in Atlanta, Commander Spencer said that resolutions were passed that the committee continue its support of OPA, that it work for passage of the Patman Bill and the Wagner-Ellander-Taft Bill, both housing plans, and of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill for health and social security.

Other bills which were specifically lauded in resolutions include the Pepper-Thomas-Hook Bill broadening coverage of the Wage-Hour Act and raising the minimum wage; the Federal Anti-Poll Tax Bill; a fair employment practices bill; the McMahon Bill for control of atomic power; the bill extending loan to Britain of $3,750,000,000.

Bills opposed in resolutions were the Case Bill and the Ball-Burton-Hatch Bill.

As chairman of the Committee for Georgia, Commander Spencer said that he would work in full accord of the principles of the committee as outlined in the program and as stated in the resolutions. Membership in the committee is growing daily, he asserted, more than a hundred Savannahians at present being members.

Named Chairman

COMDR. F. W. SPENCER

FRANK W. SPENCER

MASTER PILOT
PORT OF SAVANNAH
GENERAL MANAGER AND TREASURER
ATLANTIC TOWING COMPANY

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

May 19, 1947

Commander Frank Spencer
Atlantic Towing Company
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Spencer:

It was very kind of you to send up the clipping about the Negro policemen in Savannah. This whole matter has heartened us all. Savannah, and Georgia, are much to be congratulated for that wise decision.

The Council wrote Mayor Kennedy of its appreciation and I am sure Mr. Clary wrote also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSMtr

FRANK W. SPENCER · GENERAL MANAGER

C. F. LUBS, JR · SECRETARY

ATLANTIC TOWING COMPANY

Diesel Electric Tug CHATHAM 1270 HP
Diesel Tug FRANK W. SPENCER 700 HP
Diesel Tug CYNTHIA No. 2 700 HP
Steam Tug WM. F. McCAULEY 600 HP
Steam Tug ROB'T W. GROVES 400 HP
Water Barge ATCO 500 Tons Capacity

OFFICE PHONES 8103 - 8104 - DOCK PHONE 8105 - NIGHT PHONE 8105
P. O. BOX 136 - 228 EAST BAY STREET - SAVANNAH - GEORGIA

Savannah, Georgia
June 3, 1947

MEMORANDUM for George S Mitchell

The attached news item and editorial were carried in the New York Times. The original white-Negro crew of the BOOKER T WASHINGTON had an outstanding record in the American Merchant Marine. A fine outline of the achievements of southern white and negro crewmen on this vessel was covered in "All Brave Sailors" during the war years. Incidents of this sort serve to injure "Americanism" in the eyes of foreign nations.

Please return news items at your convenience.

Best wishes.

"Frank"
FWS

Enclosures

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 434, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

June 20, 1947

Mr. Frank Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Spencer:

I very much appreciate your kindness in sending me the two enclosed clippings. They certainly do not constitute good propaganda for Americanism.

I will appreciate any other items of interest from you from time to time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

2 enclosures

FRANK W. SPENCER · GENERAL MANAGER

C. F. LUBS, JR · SECRETARY

ATLANTIC TOWING COMPANY

Diesel Electric Tug CHATHAM 1270 HP
Diesel Tug FRANK W. SPENCER 700 HP
Diesel Tug CYNTHIA No. 2 700 HP
Steam Tug WM. F. McCAULEY 600 HP
Steam Tug ROB'T W. GROVES 400 HP
Water Barge ATCO 300 Tons Capacity

OFFICE PHONES 8103 - 8104 - DOCK PHONE 8105 - NIGHT PHONE 8105
P. O. BOX 136 - 228 EAST BAY STREET - SAVANNAH - GEORGIA

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1947
Southern Regional Council

Savannah, Georgia
October 9, 1947

Mrs Agnes McKoy, Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Please accept my thanks for your letter of October 6, 1947.

It is apparent that copy of letter attached has not reached your hands. I deeply regret that it is not possible for me to serve.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frank W. Spencer

Frank W. Spencer

Enclosure

Spencer, Frank W. (Cmdr.)

October 16, 1947

Comdr. Frank W. Spencer
Atlantic Towing Company
P. O. Box 136
228 Bay Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Spencer:

We are all most regretful that the heavy pressure of duties in Savannah has made it necessary for you to withdraw from the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council. Although I am, myself, but newly come to the Council, I understand that your contribution has been very great, and we are sorry to lose you.

With every good wish, I remain

Most cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

Spencer, Frank W.

February 3, 1948

Captain Frank W. Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Captain Spencer:

I greatly appreciate your kindness in sending to me the reprint from the October, 1947, Harvard Law Review, with the splendid article on the Thomas Committee's report on the Southern Conference.

I am very glad that the article was written.

Sincerely, and with best regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

34- Spencer, Frank W.

November 8, 1948

Commander Frank Spencer
Post Office Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Commander Spencer:

Thank you for your kind words and for your order for three dozen copies of the civil rights statement. They are going out by mail this morning.

Observe that the reprint carries a round-up of editorial comment, beginning on page 6.

I send also a couple of copies of the statement in its original appearance in New South. Also, four or five paste-ups of some of the newspaper stories.

If the Council can help you at any time, we want to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

G.S.M.
11/8/48

FRANK W. SPENCER · GENERAL MANAGER

C. F. LUBS, JR · SECRETARY

ATLANTIC TOWING COMPANY

Diesel Electric Tug CHATHAM	1270 HP	Steam Tug WM. F. McCAULEY	600 HP
Diesel Tug FRANK W. SPENCER	700 HP	Steam Tug ROB'T W. GROVES	400 HP
Diesel Tug CYNTHIA No. 2	700 HP	Water Barge ATCO	500 Tons Capacity

OFFICE PHONES 8103 - 8104 · DOCK PHONE 8105 · NIGHT PHONE 8105
P. O. BOX 136 · 228 EAST BAY STREET · SAVANNAH · GEORGIA

Savannah, Georgia
November 10, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for your letter of the 8th instant together with copies of the New South for September 1948.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Frank

Frank W. Spencer

RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

34. Spencer, Frank W.

January 4, 1949

Commander Frank W. Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Commander Spencer:

Thank you so much for your recent check of $2.00 covering renewal of membership for the coming year.

Mrs. Spencer had a joint membership with you last year, and I am sure you will want to continue her as a joint member for the coming year. Such joint memberships were previously $3.00 per year, however, at our last membership meeting it was voted to increase membership dues from $2.00 to $3.00 for single membership, and from $3.00 to $4.00 for joint membership. Won't you please therefore, let us have an additional $2.00 covering Mrs. Spencer, and also that we may have you both as members in 1949?

Meanwhile, with every good wish for you both in the new year, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

548 NE Fourth Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
March 24, 1960

The Honorable J. Howard Edmondson
Governor of the State of Oklahoma
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

My dear Governor:

The contagious unrest of various ethnic and religious groups within our land and their cry for personal dignity and equality of opportunity are receiving world wide attention. Because we love America and take pride in our great State of Oklahoma, we respectfully appealed to you on Tuesday, March 22 to favor us with a vaccine of goodwill and understanding.

Discernable progress is being made in the State of Oklahoma in translating the broad principles of freedom and equality upon which this Nation was founded. However, we are far from satisfied with things as they are. Racial prejudices and discrimination are still evident which not only affect our State morally but economically. We believe that improvement is not nearly as fast as it could be if all official and unofficial agencies, as well as our citizenry pushed with full energy and determination.

We want to be immune from the stigma of injustice within our borders; we want to live together in unity; we want to be kind and neighborly; and we want our businesses and industries to grow, to prosper and multiply. In order to assure this growth, it is imperative that the Negro citizen be utilized at his fullest potential in all segments of our economy and by all means extended the choice and right to all places open for use of the public in general.

As head of our State, we prayerfully request you to make a forthright statement concerning the rights and privileges of our citizens before God and in our Democracy. A word from you will help the faint hearts of the many and soothe the hates and prejudices of the few. We would also like to, respectfully, request that you utilize your good offices to form a state wide interracial committee of citizens who would work toward these ends.

As per our conference of March 22, you will find attached a suggested list of Negro and White citizens whom you might wish to consider for membership on such a committee. (See Attachment No. 1). We have, also, taken the liberty of enclosing for your consideration a suggested format of organization, purpose, and activities of such a committee based on the experiences of other states with similar committees. (See Attachment 2).

Governor Edmondson, we wish to commend you for the "Oklahoma Pride Program" and your plans for the future growth and development of our great State. We, too, have pride in Oklahoma - its spiritual, moral and economic growth. We, too, would like to have our children remain in Oklahoma at the conclusion of their formal training and become a part of this growth. We are willing to help you in any way we can to create and maintain a healthful climate where we can live in prosperity and in favor with God and man.

My kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

James E. Stewart
Acting Chairman
Provisional Committee on Human Relations

JES/vs

Encls. 2

Attachment No. 1

SUGGESTED LIST FOR COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

NAME	ADDRESS	AFFILIATIONS
Dr. Charles N. Atkins	1301 NE 6th Street - City President, Urban League Board	Physicians
Mr. Charles L. Bennett	500 N. Broadway- City	Okla. Pub. Co.
Miss Corinne Breeding	1500 N. Robinson- City	Insurance
Dr. Jesse Chandler	Muskogee, Oklahoma	Physician
Mr. J. H. Dalton	729 NE 18th St. - City	Oil Retired
Mr. Harvey P. Everest	Liberty National Bank Oklahoma City	President of Bank
Mr. Henry Griffing	1210 Larchmont Ln. Oklahoma City	Video Theatres
Rev. John Heinbrink	Norman, Oklahoma	Associate Minister First Presbyterian
Mr. John K. Held	3220 NW 30th Street - City	Labor Representative
Rev. Ben T. Hill	123 N. Greenwood- Tulsa	Pastor, Vernon Ave. AME Church
Rev. W. K. Jackson	1200 Euclid - City	Pastor, St. John Baptist Church
Mrs. W. L. Kistler, Jr.	1744 E. 29 - Tulsa, Okla.	Wife of retired Oilman
Mr. George Lynn,	Muskogee, Oklahoma	President, First Natl. Bank
Mrs. Clara Luper	1819 NE Park Pl - City	School Teacher
Mr. Augusta Mann	1508 N. Norfolk - Tulsa	Mann Bros. Grocery
Mr. O. M. McDaniel	Idabel, Oklahoma	Principal, Booker T. Washington Sch.
Mr. F. D. Moon	900 N. Eastern Ave.	Principal, Douglass High School
Mr. Beverly Osborne	209½ W. Grand Ave.	Beverly's Inc.
The Right Rev. Chilton Powell	608 NE 18th St.	Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Oklahoma
Mrs. Frances Plummett	Oklahoma City	School Board

Mr. John Rogers	Tulsa, Oklahoma	Banker
Atty. Cecil Robertson	Muskogee, Oklahoma	
Mr. Andrew Rusworm	Watonga, Oklahoma	Mortician and Councilman
Miss Willa Strong	McAlester, Okla.	Principal, L'Overture School
Rev. W. McFerrin Stowe	1516 N. Harvey, City	Pastor, St. Luke's Methodist Church
Mr. Wayne B. Snow	Liberty Bank Building- City	President, Oklahoma City Council of Churches
Mr. James E. Stewart	548 NE 4th Street	Okla. Natural Gas Company
Rev. C. K. Stalnacker	Tulsa, Oklahoma	Pastor, First Baptist Church
Dr. R. B. Taylor	Okmulgee, Oklahoma	Dentist and Councilman
Dr. Jack Wilkes	Oklahoma City	President, Oklahoma City University

Attachment No. 2

A. SUGGESTED METHOD OF ORGANIZATION

1. Committee appointed by the Governor.

2. Size of the Committee between the range of twenty to twenty-five.

3. The Committee could be composed of citizens representing a cross-section of our State. This cross-section would be selected from members of religious, national origin and racial groups, as well as business, labor and government. State wide organizations represented might include civic, fraternal, women's, educational and veterans' groups.

B. SUGGESTED PURPOSE OF THE COMMITTEE

1. The Committee would function as an advisory group to the Governor in matters relating to intergroup tensions and situations which threaten harmonious relationships among the various ethnic groups in our State. It's activities in this area would be twofold; the prevention of intergroup tensions arising and the dissolution of such tensions should they arise.

2. The Committee would further promote unity and understanding among and between all the people of our State: by examining the causes of racial and religious prejudices wherever they occur; attempting to eliminate discrimination arising from such prejudices; promoting educational programs and other activities to aid in the accomplishment of these ends, and by providing an over-all state wide vehicle designed to help solve the basic problems of discrimination in all fields of human relations in the State of Oklahoma.

3. The Committee would also have the opportunity to function dually as representative citizens and the Governors' Committee on Human Relations, seeking always to establish, throughout our State, a democratic pattern in conformity with the American ideal.

C. SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

1. Consult with the Governor on matters involving good will and understanding among the various ethnic, racial and religious groups of our State.

2. Consultation with various heads of state departments on matters relating to situations involving interracial and interfaith matters.

3. Consultation and communication with private and public organizations, employers, that may seek advice on questions of human relations, and with their consent furnish them advice in connection with formulating programs for the elimination of discrimination.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE (CONT'D.)

4. Foster the practice of American principles of democracy by means of educational programs, research projects and reports, publications and whatever other programs that might meet the approval of the Governor.

5. The Committee would move into areas on its own or on the direct request of the Governor, Legislature, any individual, or any group of individuals who might solicit its services in matters consistent with its purposes. The Committee would not possess the power of subpoena; it would employ the tools of education, conciliation, and persuasion to obtain its objectives.

Material For Reference Gathered By

William E. Douthit, Executive Director
Urban League of Oklahoma City

CH2-3396

Office - Central 5-0441

OKLAHOMA NATURAL GAS COMPANY

POST OFFICE BOX 1620

OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

Central 5-2839 Home

May 20, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Probably you have read the statement of Gov. J. Howard Edmondson relative to his personal feeling on segregation and the formation of The Governor's Committee on Human Relations. You will observe the enclosed letter mentions a conference held with him on March 22, 1960.

The Committee has had three (3) meetings here at the State Capitol Building since its formation; is divided up into sub committees such as Public Accommodations (hotels, motels, restaurants, amusement centers, parks, etc.); Job Opportunities (private industry and state); and State Institutions. He has placed $10,000 in a fund to hire a director and office assistant to maintain a office for the balance of 1960. We have been in the process of finding a suitable person to act as director, without much success, for the past month or longer. ~~Mabe~~ Maybe you would know of such a person. However, we could not assure the person employment beyond 1960, since our state legislature meets in January and

OKLAHOMA NATURAL GAS COMPANY
POST OFFICE BOX 1620
OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

the matter of continuing the committee would rest in their hands when they meet.

We have every reason to believe that some good will come out of the committee's action, however, to date progress is slow due to lack of direction and poor means of gathering infromation and know how from other similiar committees and states or cities working on these problems. Our Committee on Infromation and Education (which also includes public relations) has contacted several Texas and Missouri cities, but even so, each city and each state will have its own method as well as problems. I suggested, at the conclusion of their report to the entire committee this week, that they write you and request the services of our consultants whom I assured them were up to date on the total picture and could probably get us off on the right foot with a program of action. It was agreed that the committee should contact you for such services as the Southern Regional Council will give.

The Governor, while making his statement relative to the formation of the committee, requested that citizens planning demonstrations such as "sit-ins" would first give the committee a chance to act. As you know, Oklahoma City was in the forefront of this type protest and we cannot, in good faith, allow the committee through lack of infromation or direction, give our youth the impression that we are not able to meet the challenge.

OKLAHOMA NATURAL GAS COMPANY

POST OFFICE BOX 1620

OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

Therefore I am requesting you to give us a date as early as possible at which time members of the committee may spend at least one-half day with SRC consultants. The next meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, June 20th, and we would like if possible, to have the meeting with your group before that date. I told the committee that the services of SRC consultants was without charge and I hope my statement was correct.

Best regards to the staff and my friends in your area, and may I hear from you at an early date.

Respectfully yours,

James E. Stewart

James E. Stewart

548 N. E. 4th Street

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

P.S. Mr. Harvey P. Everest, chairman of the over all committee will leave for Europe, June 14, and would like if possible to be in on the meeting. Mr. Chas. L. Bennett, managing editor of the Oklahoma Publishing Co. would not be available on May 27-28 or June 10-11. Any other dates are suitable.

Daily Oklahoman 4-8-60

Racial Study Group Listed

Gov. Edmondson's office Thursday announced names of 26 persons named to the human relations committee he hopes will bring racial harmony to Oklahoma.

His executive assistant, J. Leland Gourley, said additional appointments will be made to the committee. Its first meeting is to be at 3 p.m. Wednesday in the capitol.

The governor's announcement he was creating such a committee recently caused Oklahoma City Negro leaders to suspend planned lunch counter demonstrations.

He said he wanted such a committee to advise him and recommend courses of action because he disapproved of discrimination by commercial establishments because of race.

Named to the committee are:

OKLAHOMA CITY — Dr. Charles N. Atkins; physician and president of the urban League board; Charles L. Bennett, managing editor of The Daily Oklahoman and Oklahoma City Times; J. H. Dalton, retired oil man; Harvey Everest, president of the Liberty National Bank; John K. Held, labor union representative; Rev. W. K. Jackson, pastor of St. John's Baptist Church; Mrs. Clara Luper, school teacher;

And F. D. Moon, Douglass High School principal; Beverly Osborne, restaurant operator; Rt. Rev. Chilton Powell, Episcopal bishop of Oklahoma; Rev. McFerrin Stowe, St. Luke's Methodist Church pastor; Wayne B. Snow, president of the Oklahoma City Council of Churches; James E. Stewart, Oklahoma Natural Gas Co.; Rabbi Joseph Levenson, Temple B'Nai Israel, and J. R. Gordon, businessman.

TULSA—Rev. Ben T. Hill, Vernon AME Church pastor; Mrs. Augusta Mann; attorney John Rogers and Rev. C. K. Stalnacker, First Baptist Church pastor.

MUSKOGEE—Dr. Jessee Chandler, physician, and Cecil Robertson, attorney.

NORMAN—Rev. John C. Heidbrink, First Presbyterian Church pastor.

IDABEL—O. M. McDaniel, Booker T. Washington High School principal.

WATONGA — Andrew Russworm, mortician and councilman.

McALESTER — Willa Strong, l'Ouverture School.

OKMULGEE—Dr. R. B. Taylor, dentist and councilman.

July 27, 1962

Mr. John Manning
1027 Baldwin Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Manning:

This is just a note to thank you for turning over to us Mr. James Stewart's wallet which you found on July 25. We are sending the wallet on to Mr. Stewart today.

Again, thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

OKLAHOMA NATURAL GAS COMPANY
POST OFFICE BOX 1620
OKLAHOMA CITY 1, OKLAHOMA

9/20/67

Hi Paul:

Thought the enclosed articles may be of some value.

We're still not out of the woods yet, however.

Best regards.

Jimmy Stewart

File - Board, Stewart James or Gen. 1967

September 25, 1967

Mr. James Stewart
Oklahoma Natural Gas Company
P. O. Box 1620
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear Jimmy:

Thank you very much for the interesting clips. You have a lot of sin in Oklahoma still, but you are frailing better than most people are.

Best.

Filed in Research 9/25/67

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Clips from: Oklahoma Journal, Sept. 20, 1967
"'Integrate Faster,' Panel Urges State
The Daily Oklahoman 9/20/67 —
"Complete Integration Hearing, Panel tells"

February 2, 1946

Mr. H. Siegel, Manager
Atlanta Terminal Company
Terminal Station
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

On January 31 I returned from Jacksonville, Florida on the Royal Palm. It was approximately two hours late and did not carry a diner. I therefore went in the colored restaurant at the Terminal Station for breakfast. I sat on the stool second from the left end of the lunch counter. I waited at least five minutes for the waitress to come for my order. At the end of that time, she spoke from her position there and asked, "Is there something for you?" I replied, "Yes, I want breakfast." This had to be said above the noise which one would find in any busy station like the Atlanta Terminal, and so that she might hear me at that distance. She came closer, and was very discourteous in her entire attitude. I told her that I would like to have grapefruit juice, bacon and eggs, toast and coffee. She said in a very insolent way, "We don't have any grapefruit juice or bacon or cream for the coffee." I asked her to go to the other side and get some. She refused to do so in a very impertinent manner. At that moment I left the restaurant.

May I assure you that I am like most of the traveling public in that I do not look for special favors. I feel, however, that it is a matter of just plain good business for an employee in a public restaurant to be courteous and to give as efficient service as possible. I can conceive of the possibility that there were no grapefruit juice and bacon and cream available. It so happens, however, that I have, over a period of six years, purchased food for a large number of people, and feel that it is hardly possible that all three of these items were out of stock in a busy restaurant.

I understand thoroughly what type of situation pertains in a station restaurant with as much business as that of the Atlanta Terminal Station. However, I do feel that the traveling public deserves some consideration. I am frequently in and out of the Terminal Station because of the nature of my work, and would find it convenient to use the restaurant there. At the same time, I feel that there are many other people who would like to use those facilities, but are restrained from doing so by the general conditions, and especially the attitude of that waitress.

I am taking the liberty to call this to your attention in the interest of harmonious relations and of good business. I trust that you will accept it in the same good spirit that it is presented.

Yours very truly,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

Gilbert
Glearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

T- Pe

To: Dr. Trigg

From: GBJ

Date: March 8, 1946

Mr. Edgar Ray, Chairman of our Florida Division, has been asked to address the Florida Negro Teachers Association in April on the subject of "Functional Education." He wants some help. I told him that I was not sure what "functional education" is, but that I would turn the problem over to you. Could you write a few words by way of definition and illustration of the meaning of functional education?

Cadet Nurses To Hear Trigg

MIAMI. FLA.—(SNS)—

Delivering the commencement address to the members of the United States Cadet Nurse Corps, which group will graduate from the Brewster hospital, on the night of Friday, September 6, starting at 8:30 o'clock, in the Day Spring Baptist Church, will the noted scholar and educator, Dr. Harold L Trigg, of the Southern Regional Council, of Atlanta. There are twelve members of the class which began training here in September, 1943.

Members of the board of control of the hospital and faculty members invite friends and patrons to attend all of these exercises and also announce other closing services and events.

BACCALAUREATE SLATED

Scene of the baccalaureate services on Sunday morning, September 1, in the Ebenezer Methodist church beginning at 11 o'clock. The speaker for the occasion has not been announced due to the recent loss of the pastor of the church, the late Dr. C. K. Brown but will be announced in subsequent editions of this paper.

Class Night Exercises for the nurse group will be held on Wednesday evening, September 4, at 8:30 o'clock in the Nurses' Home of the hospital.

A reception for the parents and immediate friends of the graduates will be held after the graduation program in the home of the nurses, it was stated. Dr. W. R. Schnauss is medical director and Miss Florence M. Jones, Registered Nurse, is superintendent.

August 13, 1946

Dean C. D. Haliburton
St. Augustines College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dean Haliburton:

I had the opportunity to stop in Raleigh a few days ago but was not fortunate enough to see you personally.

I am seeking information about a young lady who was registered as a student at St. Augustines College last year. Her name is Miss Edith Taylor. She comes from a city in Florida.

Would you be kind enough to tell me what progress she has made toward earning the Bachelor's Degree; also what her present status is. Any information which you give concerning her personal adjustability will be held in strictest confidence. This would include approximate scholastic average, adjustability to students and staff members, as well as her general standing as a student.

I would appreciate an early reply. Let me assure you again that this information will be held in confidence.

With kindest good wishes to you and Mrs. Haliburton, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MP

File

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

August 16, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E .
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Trigg:

I was glad to have a letter from you. I'm sorry I didn't see you when you were here. I believe I was out of town. At any rate I didn't know you had been here until you were gone. (Does that sentence make sense?)

About Edith Taylor. Miss Taylor transferred here from St. Paul, and was allowed 58 semester hours by transfer. Last year she earned 27 hours here. I find that she has offered also 5 hours from Florida Normal, earned in summer school in 1944, but the Registrar has not entered them on the books. (She is not here now, but I presume they will be allowed.) If so she would have 90 hours as of last May. I believe she may be attending summer school this year, so that possibly six more hours will be added to this total. In any case she can satisfy the semester hour requirements for graduation, by taking a normal load this year. I mean, either if she has credit for the Florida Normal work, or if she earned 5 or 6 hours this summer.

Another requirement for the degree is a general average of 65 in the work done here. Last year Miss Taylor earned an average of 65.7. In ten semester courses she had 3 C's, 6 D's, and one failure.

Miss Taylor was in some of my classes. I found her easily discouraged when she found a subject difficult for her. She adopted a fatalistic attitude, and wanted to withdraw late in a course, which would have been a

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

sure way to lose credit, rather than stick it out, with a determination to do her best. The course was with me, and I persuaded her finally to stay in the course, which she did pass by a bare maggin. Otherwise I did not have any difficulties with her.

I don't know the details, but I do know that she had difficulties with some of the administrative officers, including the department of the Dean of Women. It is possible that Mrs. M. M. Latham could give you more information on that subject. So far as I know, she got along all right with her fellow-students.

I would say that some of her actions are evidence of emotional immaturity, as indicated by the case described above. McClenney agrees with me that she has ability to do college work, if she can keep herself straightened out. Several times last year she indicated to me that she was unhappy here, but in her talks with me she was usually concerned about her poor grades in her subjects.

I hope that this information will prove of some value to you.

With best wishes for you and the family, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Cecil D. Halliburton

Cecil D. Halliburton

August 20, 1946

Dean Cecil D. Halliburton
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dean Halliburton:

I am sincerely grateful to you for your letter of August 16, giving me information concerning Miss Edith Taylor. I shall see that this letter is kept in strictist confidence.

When I come to Raleigh next time, I hope to see you personally.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

August 20, 1946

Mrs. M. M. Latham,
Dean of Women
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Latham:

I am writing to ask some confidential information about Miss Edith Taylor.

I understand that she is average or below in scholarship. I am deeply concerned, however, with her adjustments with faculty, students and with the dormitory-living situation. Would you be kind enough to send me a statement?

May I assure you that whatever you say will be held in strictist confidence.

This young woman is receiving some aid from interested people in the church which might be used effectively by some other person if Miss Taylor is not the proper personality to do effective work after her college training.

I have not seen you in some time, and hope that I may have the pleasure on my next trip to Raleigh.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

Woman's Auxiliary to the National Council
Diocese of Florida

PRESIDENT
Mrs. B. C. Riley
625 Washington St.
Gainesville

VICE-PRESIDENT—PRESIDENT-ELECT
Mrs. Henry W. Havens
2845 Corinthian Avenue
Jacksonville 5

DISTRICT PRESIDENTS
No. 1—Mrs. Sherman P. Hammatt
397 Ortega Station
Jacksonville 5
No. 2—Mrs. Frederick Vaill
Moultrie
No. 3—Mrs. B. W. Helvenston, Jr.
Live Oak
No. 4—Mrs. E. M. Hacker
224 West DeSoto St.
Pensacola
No. 5—Mrs. Charles Bill
Panama City

RECORDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Robert Smith
Rt. 1, Box 141D
South Jacksonville, Florida

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Wilmon Newell
504 East Church St.
Gainesville

TREASURER, PRO TEM.
Mrs. Merle A. Bowlin
1660 Mayview Road
Jacksonville, 5

UNITED THANK OFFERING CUSTODIAN
Mrs. Sherman P. Hammatt
397 Ortega Station
Jacksonville

SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
Mrs. W. J. Matherly
732 West Boulevard
Gainesville, Florida

SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
Mrs. Downing Knight
Glynlea, So. Jacksonville

SECRETARY OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
Miss Louise Gehan
Florida State College for Women
Tallahassee

SECRETARY OF PROMOTION
Mrs. W. Shelley Humphreys
1903 Main Street
Jacksonville 6

SECRETARY OF SUPPLY
Mrs. George E. Lewis
316 E. Park Ave.
Tallahassee

DIRECTOR OF CHURCH PERIODICAL CLUB
Mrs. Ethel Carter
Monticello

Tuesday -Aug, 1946

My dearest Jane:

Your letter came yesterday and if it had been possible for me to have felt any sorrier for myself than I was already feeling on account of not getting to go to Kanuga, this would have finished me up. I'm glad, however, that you are having such a wonderful conference and certainly hope that nothing will prevent the rest of us from going another year. You were just more fortunate than the others who had duties keeping them at home for the 'probation' time.

If you think Mrs. Chapman is the person for our Annual Meeting, please approach her on the subject and see whether or not it would be possible for her to come to us. The dates for our meeting are January 29-31. If she could only be with us one day, we would prefer having her on the 30th. If she is going to South Carolina near that date, both might be worked together.

At the meeting of our Executive Committee last week, we decided to ask Bishop if we might invite Dr. Franklin to be our speaker for our opening mass meeting (we shall just plan without the men as I understand they are planning without us). We thought he would have a message which the women would enjoy and get a lot out of. As soon as I have a chance to talk with the Bishop and get his consent, I shall write Dr. Franklin and see whether or not he can come. If not, we might use Mrs. Chapman for that mass meeting.

I have been most anxious to hear whether or not you went to see Dr. Goold at St. Augustine's and what you found out. The Executive Committee is in a dither about a report which Satterwhite brought to me and we feel Dr. Goold has been most unfair and discourteous, to say the least. Rosalie sent Edith's reservation fee of $15.00 and instead of Dr. Goold writing me, he sent Satterwhite a special delivery letter stating that the college would not accept Edith another year as a student. He gave no reason except that "She did not enter into the spirit of the school". That is all foolishness so far as we are concerned and when I hear from you, the Committee directed me to write him stating that the women were the ones sending Edith to school and that we demanded and expected a better explanation than that as to the reason why they would not accept her. He said to Satterwhite that there was nothing against her record of conduct, but she just didn't fit in. I'm not sure they will take her any place else with that sort of a dismissal. Florida A & M is refusing girls now -- freshmen -- and I have my doubts if we can get her in there. They are saving space for G.I. students.

Edith's grades were not good, although she did manage to pass in everything. I am much disturbed about the whole affair and want your report so I will know what to do next.

We were undecided about the amount of the check. Otis was to find her circular and let Rosalie know just how much to send you but she has not done so. I was under the impression that the fee was $30.00 this year in addition to the reservation fee. Am glad you got the money and all of us were glad for you to have it.

Please give my kindest regards to the Skardons. I have thought about them and their sons and asked about the sons who were prisoners each time I had the chance. Have thought each time I would write a note but you know how much time I have for notes which can be put off. I am so fond of both of them and they were so perfectly lovely to me the year I lived in their cabin.

Am glad you are COLD. Better preserve some of it for, Sister, we are anything but cold here. We are also very wet.

Love to you always,

Devotedly

RUTH

When Edith came to see me, she said the Dean talked with her and told her she should return to St Augustine's because her "D" grades would be credited there; but might not on a transfer. He also told her she could graduate next year by carrying 15 hours one semester and 16 one. The tales just don't hang together. Satterwhite said Dr. Goold talked to him also about Edith. He had nothing against her conduct but she didn't "fit in." Bosh!!!

Introduction to chapter on "Guidance, Functions and Services" for Project IX (Southern Educational Problems) of the Study of The Postwar Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt held a6 Washington, D. C. October 15-16, 1945. Submitted to Mr. Dolph Camp, August 20th, 1946

SOME ECONOMIC TRENDS IN THE SOUTH WITH GUIDANCE IMPLICATIONS

There is a new vision and a new hope in the South today. Rationalizations for regional dificiencies are giving way to dispassionate recognition of reality, to experimentation, and to intelligent planning for the greater use of technological resources in developing the natural wealth of the region pointing toward a balanced economy within the region and integration with the national economy.

Progress toward industrialization is steadily gaining momentum. This includes manufacturing and service industries of varying volume. In one state alone plans have been made to establish 2,429 new industries, "mainly to manufacture products from local raw materials." Three hundred of these went into actual operation between September 1944 and December 1945 in spite of war time restrictions, and they are now coming into being at the rate of fifty a month.

Mechanization in agricultural production including rice, sugar cane, and cotton is rapidly displacing traditional man-mule power. Air transportation delivers perishables from Southern farms fresh to Northern markets, and famous Southern playgrounds may experience a complete change in clientele because of resorts in Mexico and the Carribean being brought closer by plane to those who are able to pay.

The focal point of transition to the new economic pattern is mechanization in agriculture in general, and in cotton production specifically. Cotton was and is the major cash crop for the largest number of farm workers in the South. Competition with new synthetic fibers, and with increasing foreign production with resulting decrease in exports long since reduced King

Cotton to an advanced stage of insecurity. Now, complete mechanization in production is expected to increase the unit-output per man and lower production costs to competitive levels with other fibers and with foreign production.

It is the sharp decrease in need for hand labor in cotton production which provides a major problem. It is estimated that a million families on Southern farms will be displaced within the next five years by the use of machinery. In spite of plans to counterbalance this movement of farm people by increasing the number of non-farm jobs in the region, migration from farms to urban centers within as well as without the region is an inevitable result of the imminent increase in the use of machinery for farm production.

Mechanization in agriculture, industrialization, migration and urbanization are all parts of the same picture involving the full utilization of raw materials, capital resources, science applied to production, management and distribution, educational institutions, and human wealth.

The impact of this composite change upon the people of the region, the estimated million farm families who must seek other means of livelihood as well as those who may remain in agricultural pursuits is the problem which brings society face up with stark reality of present trends.

To many, it means no jobs; to some new jobs on or off the farm. To the majority it means new and intricate adjustments, confusion and bewilderment. This is the group with low incomes, substandard housing, inferior educational facilities, inadequate health provisions--the group least prepared to withstand the shock of abrupt change. They will produce problems for the rural communities in which they remain and the already overtaxed urban centers to which they go.

The riches of sea and earth and sky have value only to people. Change in the South involves the region's total resources--natural, human and social.

The pressure of this complex movement upon personalities without understanding of its meaning and trends, or even an elemental conception of the nature and sequence in individual adjustment demands organized effort to adjust change to "all these people," and to aid the people of the region to make desirable individual adjustments in the transition to balanced economy.

Natural wealth and machines are means to one end--the improved living of 40 million Southern people. The South has the resources. It is the South's problem. The mental and physical health of all the people is essential to the full utilization of regional natural and social resources. The conservation of human, natural and social wealth are parts of the same whole. Permanent growth is possible only in the full development of all. Mechanization and industrialization are subjected to constant research, planning, and scientific direction. The people of the region need equally adequate study and aid in making adjustments to migration, urbanization and the wider and more complex occupational front. Chance and the 3 R's are as valueless to the people as to the land and machines. Regional human resources are an effective element in the total pattern of progress thru and after this period of transition only in so far as society with the tangible cooperation of agricultural and industrial leaders and thru its schools and related agencies guarantees aid to each individual child in the region

(1) in helping him to discover his best abilities and interests;

(2) in providing and guiding him into adequate experiences for the growth of these best abilities and interests to expression on a level of vocational competence;

(3) in providing opportunities for and directing him into the successful expression of these matured abilities and interests in channels which are satisfying to him and the community in which he lives; and

(4) in rendering the needed advisory service to the nurture of his total personality to the point of self-direction in making desirable adjustment to people and movement in his changing local, regional, national, and world communities.

Organized guidance services by professionally trained personnel are essential to united advance.

The South in Transition.

The ~~future~~ destiny of the United States at home and in ~~foreign~~ ~~affairs~~ relations is dependent upon ~~what happens~~ ~~what happens~~ then and ~~movement~~ in the states of the Southern Region. America cannot ~~discharge~~ give what she owes to the world ~~unless~~ in the form ~~of~~ an ~~exemplary way~~ example of ~~peace~~ harmony men of differences discovering and paramounting their ~~similar~~ likenesses in harmonious living together in communities, large and small, unless ~~all of our~~ this exemplary way of life includes the forty million people who ~~live in the south~~ make up the population of the South.

the new world-community

In these states poverty is credited with being the cause of deficiencies in purchasing power, health, ~~school~~ public school facilities, and ~~the~~ other goods and services which are considered essential to a nationally desirable standard of living for all citizens.

Back of the poverty of the region are causal factors which have accentuated the southern growing isolation from the national economy.

The producing of raw materials by ~~hand~~ magnitude power and machine at home, & the processing of the same materials without the region ~~by machine~~; the persistent cotton production of cotton in losing competition with foreign grown fiber, and with synthetics; discriminatory freight rates; and the outside ownership of the limited ~~supply of machine~~ capital resources within the region have combined to give the home folk a smaller share of production dollar than in other portions of the country. The South is predominantly agrarian in economy, and cotton is ~~still~~ yet the principal money crop.

More vital still ~~to~~ as a cause of regional deficiencies is the tragic waste in human resources. Natural wealth essential variety has been and is here in abundance. Human beings ~~are~~ likewise here in surplus quantity and varying ability. The opportunities for expression ~~of~~ for forty million individual differences are so ~~restricted~~ limited by a restricted occupational range, and by the traditional conception of black and white jobs that many of the most enterprising youth of the region leave for the north, east and west where the promise of personal and economic security is greater. ~~Seventy five per~~ Three fourths of those who remain lapse into a daze of frustrated futility, or develop the

anti-social traits which give off an excrescence of hatred and violence in human relations. Lynchings and intergroup conflict are mere symptoms of the lack of opportunity to achieve personal and economic security because of an unbalanced economy and the mis-use or under-use of human resources.

To meet the needs growing out of recognized deficiencies and strengths in the southern pattern of living, ~~man~~ individual leaders and ~~any~~ organizations are ~~studying the and~~ subjecting the situation to ~~an~~ scientific analysis, ~~an~~ interpreting their findings to the public, and planning the changes which will bring balance to regional economy and integration into the national economy.

The transition from the old to the new is definitely underway. Industries in number and variety are ~~due~~ being established to add machine processing to the production of raw materials. ~~The~~ Cotton ~~production~~ is changing from man-mule to machine powered production. The impact

of these mechanical changes upon personalities and human relations will bring problems and challenges which warrant the special consideration of leaders within and without the region lest the welfare of human beings become subordinate to a purely structural balance between agriculture and industry.

The provision of new and different farm jobs, of more non-farm jobs, and for the living adjustments for displaced farm workers who will migrate to urban centers in the South, as well as in the North East and West cannot be consigned to chance with any assurance of effective solution. Intelligent study, interpretation, planning and direction of effort can eliminate the fine which separates the southern states as a region of deficiencies. Providing ample opportunities for the satisfying expression of the best individual abilities, and for integrating all these units of strength into one great national expression of humanitarian power and world wide service is the challenge which the Southern Region faces.

There are two major approaches

possible to individuals + groups who essay to aid in this transitional process. One of pressures from without ~~which implies the inability of the region to direct its own destiny~~ which bring assistance of men and movements interested in the social and economic problems of the region. The other of stimulation from within focuses local interest and power upon the process of growth into ~~self~~ self direction. Time will increase the latter and diminish the need for the former.

One of the many organizations functioning in this transitional stage upon the total area of change but with special reference to adjustments in human relations is the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia and which operates in the thirteen States of the South — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

The Council was organized in February 1944 as an outgrowth of the former Southern Commission on

Interracial Cooperation, and a series of conferences held at (1) Durham, North Carolina on October 20, 1942 by southern Negro leaders, (2) Atlanta, Georgia on April 8, 1943 by southern white leaders, and (3) at Richmond, Virginia on June 16, 1943 by ~~the~~ representatives from both groups. On August 4, 1943 a continuing committee of both groups meeting in Atlanta to ~~wrk~~ plan the implementation of the statement drawn up at Durham urge the South "... to pool its effort and set up a strong, unified Southern Regional Council constituted of representatives of both races and of private and public groups..."

~~Where voting~~ Full members of the Council reside in the thirteen states name above. Persons living elsewhere may become associate members ~~there~~ for integration into national movement a National Advisory Council is provided.

The functions of the Council are: (1) research and surveys to find the facts as a basis for constructive planning; (2) translation of research for ~~g~~ interpretation of conditions and proposed action to the cooperating public; (3) cooperation with other agencies which have liberal & humanitarian programs; consultative services to private and public agencies; and (5) formulation of constructive plans and proposals for bridging the gap between ~~who~~ the present and the desired future.

Rt. 3, Rockville, Md.
Aug. 26, 1946

My dear Dr. Trigg,

I have just received your letter, which caught me here in Rockville where I am spending a few days with relatives.

You asked me some definite questions about Miss Edith Taylor. Yes, I understand that she is just average or below in scholarship. Her "adjustments with faculty, students, and with the dormitory living situation" were her real problems here. She seemed to be a law unto herself and was unwilling to take criticism or advice from any one. Her dormitory director, the dietitian cashier, President, librarian, etc., etc.

registered complaints against her. She never once identified herself with any phase of Church work, although she says she is preparing herself for that work. She might make it in a large institution where she would be lost in the crowd. I think she has a very definite complex and thus resents any suggestion made to her, since she takes it as a personal criticism. Although she was a failure at St. Augustine's, that does not mean that she can-

not make it in another environment
I would like to see her have a
chance to try again.

I shall be glad to see you
on your next trip to Raleigh.
Congratulations on your new posi-
ion!

Very truly yours,
M. M. Latham

September 25, 1946

Mrs. M. M. Latham
Dean of Women
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Latham:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 26.

I had surmised that the situation with reference to Miss Edith Taylor was as you discribed and I am grateful for your statement concerning her.

I see by the papers that St. Augustine's has opened with a very large enrollment. I am sure you are very busy but happy at having so many students this year.

The next time I come to Raleigh I shall certainly come out to St. Augustine's to see you and my other friends there.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:IBT

Dr. Trigg's Engagements

(1946)

July 25-26 -- Durham, N. C.

August 2-3 -- Hampton, Virginia

September 6 -- Jacksonville, Fla.

October 10 -- Columbia, S. C.

THE MISSIONARY SERVANT
A Magazine for the Preservation of the Faith
Box 266
STIRLING, N. J.

Please return to my desk
RBS

October 24, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Reginnal Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg,

May the grace and peace of the
Holy Ghost be with us forever.

Perhaps you will not recall our meeting. It was at the convention of the Catholic Committee of the South at New Orleans during September past. At that time I approached you with a request for a paper on the Southern Regional Council, its work and its plans. You agreed to provide such and gave me your card, informing me that either you or Doctor Guy B. Johnston would do us the favor. At present we are working on the January and February layouts and would like to include your article in one of these issues.

Because of the paper shortage and also the labor difficulties we are forced to present our copy six weeks in advance of the publishing date. We would appreciate it very much if you would keep this point in mind if you intend to work for January or February.

We do not know the rates acceptable to you, but if you will be so kind as to mention what is acceptable, we shall try to meet them. The lenght of the paper should not exceed 1500 words.

It is to our interest to spread interracial good will wherever possible. We hope you will assist us in this endeavor. May God bless you and prosper your work.

Sincerely, In the Most Holy Trinity,

Donald Lynch, M. S. SS. T.

Rev. Donald M. Lynch, M.S.SS.T.
Editor

ydl

October 30, 1946

Rev. Donald M. Lynch, M.S. SS.T.
Editor, The Missionary Servant
Box 266
Stirling, New Jersey

Dear Father Lynch:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 24.

I recall with keen pleasure the meeting at New Orleans and our conversation concerning an article relative to the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Johnson and I have discussed the matter and he has asked me to take the responsibility for writing this article. I shall get it up as soon as possible and submit it to you in ample time for your January or February issue.

There is no charge for the article. I only hope that it will be acceptable to you.

I trust that it will be my honor to attend some more of your meetings in the future.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:rr

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 Auburn Ave. NE $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM	X	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 11, 1946

Mr. Chester Cowart
610 West Duval Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Another engagement prevents my seeing you November 21. Sorry.

Harold L. Trigg

November 20, 1946

Mr. U. A. Johnson
Box 235
Bessemer City, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I thank you for your letter of October 29 and am glad to know that you are adjusted to your work and community relationships.

I think that your ambition to go to school next year is an admirable one. You should be able to do graduate work on the basis of your one year experience at the present location.

I trust that all will continue to go well with you and that you will close up the year in as happy an attitude as you are now. Please let me have the address of Mr. M.D. Allbright.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

P.O. Box 235
Bessemer City, N.C.
October 29, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I am very greatful to you for your letter of September 13, and I find the community to be somewhat as it was when you visited it. As I learn the pupils and the teachers, as well as the people of the community, I enjoy my work more.

I am saving my money that I may enter school somewhere next year to begin graduate work. Or do you think I should get a little more experience before doing such? I have in mind attending Atlanta Univ. or New York Univ. Probably you have a suggestion concerning doing that, if so I will appreciate hearing them. I hope with the money I save this year alone with what I can earn during the summer, I will be prepared to attend some school.

Give my very best wishes to Mrs. Trigg. Best wishes I remain

Sincerely yours,
U. A. Johnson

December 5, 1946

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
Executive Director
A.L. Lewis Branch Y.W.C.A.
1215 Lee Street
Jacksonville 4, Florida

Dear Mrs. Dixon:

I have put a red circle around January 12 on my calendar and will expect to be with you at 4:30 P.M. on that date.

I am having our literature sent to Mrs. Montgomery Corse, 1801 Goodwin Street. I trust that we may obtain her membership. I thank you for making this suggestion.

Looking forward with keen pleasure to seeing you and my many friends there, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

MRS. LUCILLE G. COLEMAN
CHAIRMAN, BRANCH COMMITTEE
MRS. JOHN E. RUTLEDGE
FINANCE CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRED A. DIXON
BRANCH EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

YWCA

A. L. LEWIS BRANCH
Young Women's Christian Association
1215 LEE STREET
Jacksonville 4, Florida

November 4, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

It was nice meeting you again. I thought our Florida meeting was very good. Our hopes are high and I know we are going to see a remarkable degree of progress within the next year.

Please put the date of January 12, 1947 on your calender for the Forum at the A.L. Lewis Branch, Y.W.C.A., 4:30 P.M. When you have time you can send me some data for publicity and the subject you would like to discuss.

Please invite Mrs. Montgomery Corse, 1801 Goodwin Street, to become a member of the S.R.C. She is interested and is an ardent worker with the Planned Parenthood organization. I think she is State Director.

Yours respectfully,

Florence J. Dixon

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
Branch Executive Director

FAD/dh

December 6, 1946

Mr. G. F. Robinson
933C South Atlantic Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I thank you for your letter of November 30 and wish to assure that I am looking forward with keen pleasure to my visit to the Good Neighbor Club on January 14.

The only expense attached to this trip is that of transportation. I regret that it is necessary to set up any cost item. The transportation will be between $35 and $40, round-trip.

I will let you know the hour of my arrival as soon after January 1 as possible.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

933 E. So. Atlantic Ave.
DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

Nov. 30. 1946

24.85
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5.
5.
5.

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Having assumed the Chairmanship of the Program Committee of the Good Neighbors (I was a Co-Chairman of the organization before leaving for the North last May) I find that you are to represent the Southern Regional Council at our meeting on Jany 14.th. I would like to ask as to what expense will be involved for us by your coming. I must plan our meetings with a view to necessary expenses and ask for a budget.

The meeting will be held most likely in the neighborhood of the Bethune-Cookman College if not in the College Auditorium as this month the meeting was in the First Baptist Church (white). We alternate - Other meetings have been held in the First Methodist and the Tourist Church alternating with New Zion Baptist and Bethune-Cookman. You will likely be entertained in the Bethune-Cookman Dormitory &c. We should know in advance the time of your arrival for most likely Mrs. Bethune would be glad to have you speak to the students. This you can tell us as the time approaches.

Looking forward to meeting you and having you address our meeting I am, with all best wishes for the success of your work

Cordially yours
G. F. Robinson

THE MISSIONARY SERVANT
A Magazine for the Preservation of the Faith
Box 266
STIRLING, N. J.

December 6, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

May the grace and peace of the
Holy Ghost be with us forever.

We are now making our February lay-out and would like to include your paper on the Southern Regional Council if it is possible. We will be forced to send our February number to the press to be set up on December 28th. Would it be possible for you to send us your article before that date?

We realize you are a very busy man and are reluctant to rush you, but we would deeply appreciate your cooperation if we can have your paper for our February number.

With every good wish for success in your endeavors.

Sincerely
In the most Holy Trinity,

Father Donald Lynch

Donald M. Lynch, M.S.SS.T.
Editor

DML/YD

P.S. Since we feature pictures with articles, we would appreciate any pictures suitable for cuts that you can send us, especially a picture of the author.
DML.

Trigg - [illegible]

December 27, 1946

Rev. Donald M. Lynch, M.S. SS.T.
Editor, The Missionary Servant
Box 266
Stirling, New Jersey

Dear Father Lynch:

I am very sorry to have been delayed in sending you the article for the paper. However, I hope it will be acceptable to you and will reach you in time to go the press for the February issue.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:ms

encl.

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE by Stetson Kennedy. Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1946.
364 pages. $3.00

Reviewed by Harold L. Trigg

What one sees in the South as it is revealed by Stetson Kennedy depends upon the point from which he looks at the portrait which the author has done in black and white. From the skies where some men go to look down in holy horror on a "benighted land" the unmasked south is one thing. From within the section where one has become inured to or included with all that is descinled in Southern Exposure it is another picture. From the Mason and Dixon line with ones back to the North and eyes focused on an isolated South it is still another. To see that the author sees however, one must stand by his side with backs to the gulf on to the Rio Grande and look northward at a South of traditional inantia, or woeful deficiencies in the essentials of the democratic way of like, and of sectional pride and smoldering resentment that flares at men or movements which essay to charge one jot or title of the old before the new guarantees to preserve the cherished essentials of the old. But one's gaze moves on now beyond the Mason and Dixon line into a realm of men who have, in pursuit of their own selfish ends, directly or indirectly contributed to the present short comings of the South. It is this picture of these thirteen states not only as a section but also as a region of the country as a whole, and in interaction with the North which is indispensible to complete understanding of what Mr. Kennedy portrays.

It is a ruthless survey of political, social and economic conditions of a part of the United States which produced the author himself as well as his forebears as far back as the Revolution.

The secrets of the Klan and other hate dispensing organizations are laid bore in a way that is possible only by one who has been on the indide.. Southern politics with northern slush funds, the blot-out demogogue, and the Negro pawn becomes a sordid story of selfish intriged. The author devotes

part three of the book to The Road Ahead, some suggestions as to the way out. He evaluated Federal Aid to agriculture, health and education, the TVA expanding industrialization, the labor movement in the region, fair employment practice, and gives some suggestions as to how the Negro can achieve "total equality."

Southern Exposure uncovers the South, and those who are responsible for her present plight. Mr. Kennedy's tendancy to probe into some sensiture wounds of yesteryear can be forgiven. He is almost three generations from 1860, and could not be expected to view the situation through the same eyes as his grandfather who fought in the Civil War.

For anyone who would know the South of today, the book is essential reading.

January 4, 1947

Rev. Donald M. Lynch, M.S. SS.T.
Editor, The Missionary Servant
Box 266
Stirling, N.J.

Dear Father Lynch:

I have a mat which can be used in your publication. I trust that it is not too late to include it.

We are very proud of the forthright statements by leaders in the Catholic Church on human relations. It gives us courage to carry on in adverse circumstances.

Wishing you a New Year full of peace and great challenges. I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

January 8, 1947

Mrs. P. T. Hall
Arcadia Hotel,
Raleigh, N.C.

Dear Mrs. Hall:

I plan to arrive in Raliegh on January 18, at 2:30 in the morning. It is a very early hour and I am sorry to disturb your slumber. I will be grateful however, for a room. I shall probably be there Saturday night also.

With kindest good wishes, I reamin

Yours very truly,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

January 8, 1947

Mrs. Chas Simmons
434 W. Ashley Street
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Simmons:

I plan to arrive in Jacksonville the evening of January 11, and plan to stay over Sunday.

Looking forward to seeing you and Mr. Simmons.

Yours very truly,

HLT

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

January 8, 1947

Mr. G. F. Tobinson
933C South Atlantic Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I plan to arrive in Daytona Beach on the evening of January 13. Following the suggestion in your letter of November 30, 1946, I will go directly to Bethune-Cookman College. Whatever schedule of meetings or contacts with key persons you choose to make for me will be acceptable. Bishop Arthur Moore has suggested that I see Mr. Louis N. Head.

I look forward with great pleasure to the meeting with the Good Neighbors, and you personally.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

F O R U M

PROGRAM

A. L. LEWIS BRANCH Y. W. C. A.

SUNDAY JANUARY 12, 1947

Mrs. John E. Rutledge, Presiding

Selection ---------- "America"

Devotion ---------- Rev. J.K. Satterwhite
Rector-St. Phillips Episcopal Church

Selection ---------- Central Baptist Church-Choir

Presentation of Speaker -------- Rev. L.E. Terrell
Bethel Baptist Institutional Church

Address — Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Selection — Central Baptist Church-Choir

Questions and Discussions

COMING EVENTS

Annual Meeting of Y.W.C.A., Tuesday January 14, 7:00 P.M.

Chain of Mission-
Mass Meeting Laura Street Presbyterian Church, Thrusday,
January 16, 7:45 P.M.

1946–47 FORUM SEASON

A. L. Lewis Branch

Young Women's Christian Association

1215 LEE STREET

JACKSONVILLE 4, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE

Mrs. M. B. McLendon
Miss Josephine Lowe
Mrs. Thelma Williams
Mrs. Mary Todd McKenzie
Miss Mardgery Harvey
Mrs. Catherine Burns
Mrs. M. P. Broome
Miss Lydia Hart
Mr. Theodore L. Redding
Mrs. John E. Rutledge
Miss Delphine Thomas
Mrs. Evelyn Foster Robinson
Miss Garrett Tookes
Miss Louise Howard
Mr. J. L. Preston
Mr. J. D. Brooks
Mr. H. James Green
Mr. Alphonso W. Johnson

Mrs. Lucille G. Coleman, Branch Chairman
Mrs. Fred A. Dixon, Branch Executive Director

SPEAKERS

OCTOBER, 1946

Dr. L. E. Terrell, Pastor
Bethel Baptist Institutional Church

Miss Lydia Hart, Presiding

NOVEMBER, 1946

Mrs. Vera Walker, Nutrition Consultant and Specialist
Florida State Board of Health

Mr. H. James Green, Presiding

JANUARY, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. John E. Rutledge, Presiding

FEBRUARY, 1947

Rabbi Israel Kaplan, Rabbi Emeritus Congregation
Ahavath Chesed, Laura and Ashley Streets

Mr. Theodore Redding, Presiding

MARCH, 1947

Representative Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Mr. J. L. Preston, Presiding

All forums, unless otherwise designated, are held the Fourth Sunday in the Month in the Auditorium of the Branch Y. W. C. A.

January 21, 1947

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
1902 Venus Street,
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Dixon

May I thank you for the pleasure I had in appearing before the fine audience at the Y.W.C.A., on January 13. I am sure you are making definite contribution to good will and morale in the city of Jacksonville, and I trust you will always have good luck with these forums.

With kindest good wishes to you and Mr. Dixon, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

January 3, 1947

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
1902 Venus Street
Jacksonville, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Dixon:

I am inclosing a brief biographical statement and a mat for use in publicizing your meeting of January 12.

In all probability I shall arrive in Jacksonville on the evening of January 11, at 10 o'clock.

With kindest good wishes, I remain.

Yours very truly,

HLT:k

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

Encl.

Memo from HAROLD L. TRIGG

to

Harold L. Trigg,
Associate Executive Director
Southern Region Council
Atlanta, Georgia.
~~Native of Lynchburg, Va.~~
1. Came to Council January 1, 1946.
Formerly
a. President
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, N.C.
1939-1945.
b. Supervisor Colored High Schools
State Department of Education
Raleigh, N.C.
1928-1939.

Education:
Public Schools: Lynchburg, Va.
College: Morgan College
Baltimore, Md.
Graduate Study:
Syracuse University
Columbia University

Memberships.

a. Former Vice-President North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

b. Former President North Carolina Negro Teachers Association.

~~c. American Legion (Veteran World War II)~~

d. Lay Reader, Protestant Episcopal Church.

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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Ship Radiogram

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CHAIRMAN, BRANCH COMMITTEE
MRS. JOHN E. RUTLEDGE
FINANCE CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRED A. DIXON
BRANCH EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A. L. LEWIS BRANCH
Young Women's Christian Association
1215 LEE STREET
Jacksonville 4, Florida

December 11, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Thanks for the letter and the next item on the agenda is data for news articles about you.

Will you please send me something about your acheivements prior to affiliation with the Southern Regional Council? I would like to have a photo or 2 mats for our local papers. Trust this will not inconvience you too much.

When you have decided on your subject you can let me have it.

Thank you again for your untiring service. Looking forward to seeing you in January.

Yours very sincerely,

Florence J. Dixon

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
Branch Executive Director

FAD/dh

(P.S.) We will arrange to take good care of you between January 12 and the 14th, even to a nice Hollywood bed. Let me know when to expect you.

January 29, 1947

Mr. P. B. Young, Jr., Editor
The Journal and Guide
711 East Olney Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Dear Mr. Young:

I am enclosing my special article for the week, and am listing below the names of some persons who may be interested in positions on your staff.

I have not approached them but will be happy to suggest that they write you if you wish the negotiations to start on this end.

Reporters are scarce. There is one good man, Joel Smith, 199 Roach Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia. He is employed now by the Atlanta World. Another is James Herndon, Morehouse College. He will not be available until June. He works part-time with the World.

The following are good linotypists:

James Roberts, 709 Magnolia Street S.W.
Thomas Watson, 520 Johnson Street, N.W.
Thaddeus Williams, Butler Street Y.M.C.A.

Your father tells me that he is leaving for a month's rest. I trust that it will mean his complete recovery.

Kindest regards to the family.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:mp

Journal & Guide
1/29/47
II

HJ article

GEORGIA MUDDLE MAY MEAN PROGRESS
By Harold L. Trigg

The present political crisis in Georgia is so much a part of the general pattern of the political, social and economic progress in the South as well as in the State itself that it warrants a special word of interpretation for those whose lack of understanding of the situation may permit real movement to be obscured by the much publicized series of incidents which find Georgia with two claimants to the office of Governor of the State.

The fact that one "governor" is the duly elected Lieutenant Governor, and the other had not been a candidate for any office when the Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge died on December 21, 1946, involves mere technicalities of constitutional law which the State Courts will interpret in due time.

The real issue may be solved by the expected court decision , or it may persist and come to crisis again and again. It is the conflict for power between one group which would maintain the status quo in the economic and political life of the State and the other which would bring about constructive change in line with national growth. The function of government is to provide essential services for all the people which the individual, for many reasons, cannot secure for himself in our form of community living. The Southern State legislatures since the close of the Civil War have used at least half of their time and energy in making laws which would either deprive the Negro of equal services or which would permit the provision of these services if and when considered feasible.

This type of evasive legislation has meant not only waste of time and public moneys, but has also caused certain groups of white people to suffer deprivation of essential governmental services.

It is a definite index of progress in the South when a state legislature is free to put services to all the people first and foremost in its deliberations, and to include the Negro in the "all the people" who are due such services from the tax payers money.

The North Carolina General Assembly which convened the second week in January has been absorbed in legislation to provide better salaries for teachers, improved educational services, expanded facilities for health and medical care, and other constructive measures. The participation of the Negro voter in the elections which chose these law makers was a matter of course. The Georgia General Assembly has spent most of the first fifteen days of its session which began January 13 on maneuvering and legislation which will not only deprive the Georgia Negro of his vote but which will also put the primary in the hands of a small group which can prevent white persons from voting. Services to "all the people" have been completely subordinate to the bogus "Negro issue".

The point at which the state legislature in the South feels free to serve the people is the beginning of the new day in economic and social welfare which will eliminate the poverty of that state.

A foot rule for progress in the South is the ratio of time spent by a state legislature on measures for progress for all its citizens, to time spent on keeping the Negro "in his place" and incidentally the white man lowest down "in his place".

The series of events since December 21 which led up to the current crisis in Georgia politics have not been limited to one type. One group has taken over the functions of government limited by some officials who await the ruling from the courts. The most significant element in the drama, however, is the ever increasing strength of the protest by citizens over the

Clearcopy Union Stamp
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entire State against the tactics of those who gook over.

The end of this act may find Georgia at the point where its lawmakers will feel conscious of a mandate to serve all the people by measures which will mark the dawn of a new day of progress for citizens regardless of race.

Georgia, like some other Southern states, is in transition to an era of constructive expansion in providing for the needs of the people. If this is not the turning point, it will come. Those states of the region which have already entered this era are not disturbed about the Negro vote. The chief issues lie in quantity and quality of services, and not in the conflicting personalities of statemen and demagogues, or in maintaining "white supremacy" by methods which are not the ear marks of superior civilization.

In spite of all the turmoil the Georgia Negro remains unperturbed.

The Negro Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County will hold its annual Roosevelt Dinner at which the Georgia born Illinois State Senator E.C. Wimbish will be the principal speaker. A prominent Negro attorney, A.T. Walden, President of the Georgia Association of Citizens Democratic Clubs, has requested permission to present the Negro's views on the "white primary" to a meeting of the General Assembly. He was refused permission.

Albany State College
Albany,Georgia
March 18,1947

Dr.Trigg
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Church Building
Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Dr.Trigg:

Dr.B.R.Brazel has informed me that you will participate on our open Forum at the State teachers meeting April 11th. if you can arrange to get back to Atlanta on the same day. I am sure you can arrange to do this as we have planned to have this part of the program at two o'clock Friday April 11th. and it should not last longer than one hour and a half.

It is our plan to have you and Mrs. Tilly participate on this program together with Dr. Boyd from Ft.Valley State College. I am sure that with such persons participating this phase of the program should make a great contribution to the teachers of Georgia

I will have Mr. Duval check the train schedule in Columbus and will notify you very soon. I would like to have a letter from you at an early date in order that I may send the program to the press.

The association will take care of your expenses.

Very truly yours,

William H. Dennis, Jr.

William H. Dennis,Jr.,Chairman
Program Committee
Georgia Teachers Association

March 26, 1947

Mr. William H. Dennis, Jr.,
Albany State College
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dennis:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 18.

I shall be happy to serve on the panel at 2 P. M., Friday, April 11, for the State Teachers Association.

Please send me any further details which may be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

Albany State College
Albany, Georgia
March 31, 1947

Dr. Harold Trigg, Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We are very happy to know that you will serve on our panel at 2 p.m. April 11th.

The theme of our convention is "Education for Social Adjustment". We thought that the matter of Race Relations certainly plays an important role in Social Adjustment. We are asking each speaker to make a 15 min. preliminary statement and leave the rest of the time for questions.

Very truly yours
W. H. Dennis, Jr.
W. H. Dennis, Jr.

WHD/jam

World 4-6-47

Ga. Teachers Meet In Columbus Apr. 10-11

The 1947 annual meeting of the Georgia Teachers and Educational Association will be held next Thursday and Friday, April 10 and 11, at Columbus, Georgia. E. J. Granberry, the president announced Saturday that upwards of three thousand teachers, gathered from Georgia's 159 counties, are expected to be in attendance and to participate.

The theme for the two-day meet will be 'Education for Social Adjustment,' with Dr. B. E. Mays, the president of Morehouse College, delivering the principal convention address.

An elaborate program, designed to cover every phase of teacher-pupil growth, educational facilities and handicaps, together with suggested ways and means by which the total school program may be strengthened, has been prepared.

The sessions will get underway Thursday afternoon at 1:30 p. m. at the Spencer High school with L. S. Molette, presiding over the principal's meeting. Concurrent with the principals' meeting, three other groups, the Jeanes Supervising teachers, the Extension Agents and the Vocational Agricultural Teachers, will conduct separate sessions. Mrs. Gladys Davis will preside over the Jeanes session. P. H. Stone will preside over the Extension Agents, while Alva Tabor will be in charge of Vocational Teachers.

COMMITTEE MEETS

From 3:30 to 4 p. m. on Thursday, April 10, there will be an executive committee session of the Georgia Committee on Cooperation in Teachers Education, at which time Dr. Aaron Brown, president, Albany State College, will preside. The meeting of the Delegate As-

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 6)

The Weather

Partly cloudy and mild

Ga. Teachers

(Continued from Page One)

sembly, beginning at 4 p. m. and presided over by the president, Dean E. J. Granberry, will end the afternoon sessions for the first day. Again that evening at 8 p. m. at the St. James Baptist Church, the teachers will assemble for Dr. Mays' address.

FRIDAY'S SESSIONS

The session will begin Friday morning at the Spencer high school at 9 a. m. when the president's annual address on the state of the Association, will be delivered. The Albany State College Choir will render special music. Following this address, brief felicitation messages will be delivered by George Edwards representative of the National Urban League, J. O. Williams, contact representative, P. M. A. and William H. Shell, Minorities Placement Specialist, U. S. Employment Service.

Departmental meetings, beginning at 10 a. m. will be held for Elementary teachers, High School teachers, Home Economci teachers and Vocational teachers. Miss Alma Stegall will be consultant for the Elementary teachers, Dr. Alphonso Elder of Atlanta University will be consultant for the high school teachers, Miss Daisy Lewis will serve the Home Economic teachers and Alva Tabor will be in charge of vocational teachers.

Followin gthe lunch hour, the session will re-assemble for an ad-

National Edition
Feature page
Mid-South—St. Hd.

III

2/5/47

1 -Mid-South

HLT- article

SOUTHERN LEGISLATURES AND THE NEGRO BALLOT

By Harold L. Trigg

The convening dates for Southern state legislatures meeing in 1947 are for Alabama, May 6; Arkansas, January 13; Florida, April 8; Georgia, January 13; North Carolina, January 8; South Carolina, January 14; Texas, January 14.

In Alabama the Boswell Amendment to the State Constitution was adopted by a close vote in the November 1946 election. While not a "white primary" statute, it is more.....

designed to eliminate the Negro ballot by giving local registrars the authority to require any citizen wishing to exercise his right of franchise to prove he is "of good character, understands the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government" and that he "can understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." Any citizen of Alabama can be disqualified at the whim of the registrars who are the sole judges of "good character" and of ability to "understand and explain."

The Arkansas legislature during the current session has repealed the separate primary election law which was passed in 1945 to prevent Negroes from voting in state

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primaries by separating the primaries for federal and state officers. It was too expensive and caused too much confusion. A companion act remains on the statute books. It empowers a political party to prescribe qualifications for party membership and for voting in party elections. This statute has had no general use for disqualifying the Negro voter.

A legislator from Florida's Duval County has signified his intention to introduce a "white primary" bill in the coming session of the State legislature, in spite of the fact that 30,000 Negroes voted in the 1946 primaries without untoward incident. With the exception of North Florida, sentiment for the bill is weak.

In Georgia the adherents of the General Assembly-elected Governor Herman Tal-

...more.../

madge fight frantically to have a "white primary" bill passed before the "case of the two governors" goes to court on February 7, or because the insistant public demand for adjournment until the courts decide who is governor. The House passed the bill on January 28 by a vote of 133 to 62, but the State Senate is holding three hour public hearings on each of four afternoons this week to give the pros and cons a chance to express themselves. No Negro will be permitted to present his views in person to the Judiciary Committee which holds these hearings. On the second day of the hearing two Negroes were advised by a police officer to leave the Capitol. About ten other Negroes were refused admittance to the hearing. The Negro constitutes 34 percent of Georgia's population.

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The North Carolina solons who are free fromthe "white primary" issue are going ahead with hearings on a program of services to the people which will cost $248,147,084 for the next biennium as recommended by the Advisory Budget Commission, while the Georgia General Assembly uses its first 23 days with legislation to deprive a thirdof its population of the right to choose their representatives in government, and also on an annual budget estimated at $116,080,563, of which $38,422,026 is not in sight. In North Carolina the five colleges for Negroes will get a total of over 6 million dollars if recommendations are approved by the Assembly. While South Carolina legislates, the NAACP has announced its intention to go into court at an early date with the State's "white primary law." South Carolina's "white primary" law was passed by a special session of the legislature in 1944.

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Texas law-makers will consider the establishment of a Negro university at Houston, leaving the technical school at Prarie View. This is a result of the suit for entry into the University of Texas by a Negro youth. There have been some rumblings on the "white primary" front but nothing concrete as yet. It is possible that Texas has probably passed out of the period of waste in legislation for disservice to a substantial portion of her people.

In all probability the fate of the "white primary" will be decided before the next general election. As it rebounds to strike at the franchise of those whose status it has professed to protect, it nears the sound of its own death knell. The "understand and exphain" clauses may be the next line of defense.

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The Negro vote is essential to the perpetuation of the democratic process.

The relentless fight to secure and hold the franchise is a wholesome sign.

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St. Hd.

2/12/49

HLT-
author

1-Mid-South

WHY A WHITE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY?

By Harold L. Trigg

The tremendous waste of time, effort and the people's money in passing laws that provide for or permit the exclusion of the Negro from the Democratic primary in some Southern states where nomination in the democratic primary is equivalent to election always leads to the question "WHY?"

One of the three pillars of democracy is the obligation of the individual

more.....

2--Mid-South

citizen to share the responsibility for governing himself and to participate in the processes of group government. When the town hall became too large for the town meeting of all adult citizens our present representative democracy became a necessary economy. At present the obligation of each citizen is to participate in the choice of his representative in government. The effort to alienate the citizen from this obligation or to deprive him of this right is the only serious subversive activity in American democracy today. Communism and fascism are smoke screens to hide this viscious form of mining and sapping.

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The answers to "why the white primary?" are numerous, but not satisfactory. Seldom if ever do they expose the true motivation.

The proponents of the "white democratic primary" say that it is necessary to maintain "white supremacy". This is in spite of the fact that the Negro is one in every four of the South's 40 million population. In no state of the region does he outnumber the white population. If ALL citizens of voting age in any southern state cast the ballot in any given election the Negro votes would always be outnumbered. In no case, however, does a large percent of the white population vote in the primary. In Mississippi Mr. T. G. Bilbo received 102,000 votes in the 1934 primary

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for nominating a senator; in 1940, 91,000, and in 1946, 97,000 representing about 20 percent of the total white adult population (over 21) in the first instance, 15 percent in the second, and 17 percent in 1946. These percentages indicate that "white supremacy" is evidently a mere "scare headline" to divert attention from the efforts of a small group to maintain its own "supremacy".

They say that the white man must be free to nominate his own candidates for office. Under the one-party system these candidates become the representatives of the people. Therefore, the Negro has no representative in government. Shades of 76!!! Can we forget so soon?

They say that (1) the Negro is "not ready", (2) he is a short 150 years from

savagery. Since the Civil War a conservative estimate of the graduates of private and public secondary schools in the State of Georgia alone would be 100,000, and this is the approximate number of Negroes voting in the 1946 primary. The distance from savagery is much shorter than 150 years. The four Negroes in the Walton County massacre of July, 1946, were actual victims of pristine fury.

They say that the Negro is susceptible to bribery. The same charge was hurled back and forth during the election of a governor by a southern state legislature in 1947, but no Negroes were involved.

One southern legislator says "I'm in favor of any kind of a law that will keep a Negro from voting in our white primaries. I quote Genesis 9:24." It is dif-

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ficult to conceive a man boasting of centuries of civilization and still living in an era thousands of years before Christ. How long before an enlightened Christian leadership will give this Noah-Canaan anecdote its true significance!!!

They say that the Negro will vote in bloc. In spite of the fact that the "Solid South" is the outstanding example of bloc votiing extant, the Negro does not cast the solidified vote except there there is no alternative. These whose present perogative it is to select candidates for public office would certainly not expect a group of electors to cast their ballots for one who openly declares hiss purpose, if elected, to deprive these same electors of priviliges and services of citizenship. When the Negro votes in bloc he merely does what any group would do in similar circumstances.

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Where the Negro is permitted to choose between platforms of service he votes as a citizen and not a Negro.

These justifications for the "white primary" are too thin to hold water. The real reason is exposed in the statements of an astute political figure in the present Georgia melee, who claims that the "white primary" will mean the "end of Arnall's political career in Georgia." "He knows he can never be elected without the Negro vote." Governor Arnall represents progress, change in the status quo, expansion of opportunities and services for all people. The Negro vote is feared because it would be cast for progress. If it could be controlled by the status quo-ers there would be no "white democratic primary". The advocates of the measure vote a "bloc" of votes

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which is sufficient to swing the victory with the Negro excluded. It is evident that the "white primary" is the major threat to "right supremacy". This was realized by the notable group of citizens including the widow of a Confederate General and an Episcopal Bishop and the Baptist pastor of the late Eugene Talmadge himself who spoke vigorously against the bill in the Georgia Senate hearing February 4 and 6. The Negro vote acts as a purge to democracy. Those white men who would safeguard and perpetuate the processes of real democracy should not only want but insist relentlessly on guaranteeing the freedom of the ballot to all citizens regardless of race or color.

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St. Hd.

HLT article
3/5/47

JUSTICE IS AN EXPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE
By Harold L. Trigg

As the time draws near for the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia to decide the case of the "Two Governors" of Georgia, the question of law enforcement comes to the fore.

It resolves itself into a question of the attitude of the people toward the law, and their sense of justice. Jurors, prosecuting attorneys and judges are chosen from the people of a limited area. They are sensitive to public opinion, and, with rare exceptions, reflect the attitudes of the people in power. This is especially

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true when judges and other officials must be chosen at relatively frequent intervals. A supreme court justice may feel less hampered by such public pressure because the calibre of men chosen for this office is usually higher than average, and prestige acquired from service on this highest bench insures a lucrative practice if and when a judge gives up such a position for any honorable reason.

In the Georgia case the court will interpret the constitutional provisions for choosing a governor if there are any to cover the circumstances provided by the death of the Georgia governor-elect before his inauguration. The late discovery that dead men, men long distances away from the polls, and non-existent men cast

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write-in votes which gave Herman Talmadge a majority is not involved.

In this case there had been no lieutenant-governor. The recently adopted constitution provided for one, and he was duly elected in November, 1946, but could not take the oath of office until January, 1947, along with the oath-taking by other constitutional officers. The will of the people as expressed in the constitution will be a significant factor in the court decision.

If the people want justice administered, they will get it. In fact, justice is invariably administered in terms of what the people want it to be.

The two brothers who were acquitted of charges of "assualt and battery" on the young Negro at Monroe, Walton County, Georgia, in February of this year were of

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the same people as the jury. One brother confessed to the court that he had beaten the youth until his "knuckles were sore" but the jury's verdict was "not guilty". They are yet to be bried in a Federal Court on charges of intimidating a witness.

The five white men, alleged lynchers of John C. Jones, Negro veteran of Minden, Louisiana in August, 1946, were recently acquitted in a Federal district court of "conspiracy to violate the civil liberties". There is no news of any "righteous indignation on the part of the people from whom these jurors were drawn. The jury, in all probability, expressed the will of the people.

The law enforcement officers who immediately apprehended 30 of the 31 lynchers of Willie Earle near Greenville, S. C., on February 17, must be commended. They

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had the backing of the governor of the State, as well as the enlightened people of Greenville. When the case comes to trial the jury will reflect the will of the people from whom they are drawn.

The Negro suffers not only from the jury-furnishing the people's conception of justice but more seriously from the prevailing double standard of justice. The test of a sentence given a Negro is not the extent to which it is just, but whether or not a white man would have received the same sentence in the same circumstances.

It is frequently said that white men who perpetuate injustice upon the Negro will not be able to live with their consciences. The trouble is that conscience does not set standards of conduct, it merely approves or disapproves action in light of

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standards which one holds. The juries at Minden and Monroe will have no qualms of conscience because their conceptions of justice have not been violated.

Justice has no color. It cannot be used to describe cases in which color or race become factors in producing variations in punishment. If the lynchers at Greenville receive the same sentences that 31 Negro murderers of a white man under similar conditions would receive, then justice will have been done.

Justice is talked from the front porch but not taught in the back yard. Agents for dispensing justice must know what it is by virtue of the fact that they live it.

Government of the people, by the people and for the people assumes that the

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people understand the principles on which their government is founded. One major problem in the South is that men (not Negro) are entrusted with the machinery of government before they understand the use of it. This would not be done in a cotton field.

The survival of democracy is not dependent upon destroying communism but upon the extent to which white men and black men understand, respect and activate its principles and processes in living.

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St. Hd.

3/13/47
1- Mid-South

By Harold L. Trigg

On the first Sunday they traveled, 10,000 strong, by auto and mule-drawn wagon to the dedication of the $75,000 Juniper Grove Church and parsonage given them out of the "beneficence" of the not-yet-seated Senator T.G. Bilbo. A loyal follower of "The Man" was heard to say: "Give him the unusual strength, O God, to stem the tide of Communism and atheism coming this way."

This man and thousands of others in Mississippi are sincere in the belief that Bilbo protects them from communism and atheism. They would not recognize either of the

...more...

2-Mid-South

"monsters" at close quarters, but they send a man to the United States Senate because he protects them from two great and unknown dangers. That there are men who are so ignorant of the evils that beset them, and of Bilbo's power, but who are the qualified electors of a democracy is the most serious threat to America's leadership in the world.

I knew a colored man some years ago. He lived in an industrial community. He was principal of the public school. He had wealth and affluence. He was the colored "mayor" of the town. Nothing happened "across the tracks" with out his approval. He was a leading churchman and a liberal contributor to charity. He administered his school in an highly acceptable fashion. But none of these things gave him the power as tribal

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patriarch. His unofficial position of trust accrued to him because he kept down race riots. At intervals he would go to the general manager of the local manufacturing concern and convince the man that there might have been a strike and a riot if he had not nipped it in the bud.

The manager was a capable man. He necessarily had some degree of intelligence, but he also had groundless fears, which made him just as much a prey to deception as the followers of Bilbo.

The politician knows his fears in other people, and preys on both.

Down in Savannah a new mayor was inducted into office. He immediately formed an advisory committee of Negro leaders nominated by the Citizens Democratic Club.

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The Committee is to meet with the Mayor bi-weekly and advise him on the needs of the colored population of the city, after making a careful survey "of the needs of the community and make recommendations to him and the board of aldermen."

There is neither fear nor deception in this relationship—no threat of communism, atheism, or race riots. In all probability the Mayor will get the cooperation of the people whom the committee represents and the people will get reasonable consideration from the Mayor. It is a frank, openly arrived-at relationship. The Committee need not misrepresent the people to the Mayor nor the Mayor to the people.

There is a new empahasis on functional contacts between the members of different

~~racial or cultural groups to promote understx~~ ...more...

racial or cultural groups to promote understanding and godwill in community relations.

Protestations of brotherly love in occasional meetings are of value, but working together toward mutually desirable and accepted goals bring understanding and friendly interaction whether or not it is openly expressed.

Every community faces problems whihh affect people regardless of race or color. There is no justification for treating comunity needs and services as white or black. Health, sanitation, housing, education, recreation, law enforcement and observance, and job opportunity present needs for human beings and should be considered by representatives of all persons involved. They are not within the province of industrial

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(last page)

benevolence.

The safest insurance for consistent community progress is representative cooperative effort.

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St. Hd.

Mid-S

3/20/47

By Harold L. Trigg

In the famous "Battle of Governors" the Georgia Supreme Court has come through with a 5-2 decision on a question which involved the thinking and feeling of every citizen of Georgia. The Court ruled that (1) it had jurisdiction in the case; (2) the General Assembly did not have authority to elect a governor when it was found that Eugene Talmadge was elected by a majority of the votes cast in the November election; (3) the election of Herman Talmadge was invalid; and (4) Lieutenant-Governor M.E. Thompson became vested with full executive powers when Governor Ellis

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Arnall resigned.

This decision has restored the people's confidence in government by law and order. It is a vindication of the democratic process. It has acted as a tremendous morale booster for the vast majority of the people of Georgia who have suffered immeasurably since the late Eugene Talmadge received the nomination of the Democratic Party in July, 1946 for governor.

Following the death of Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge on December 21, the capable and fearless State's Attorney General Eugene Cook ruled on January 4, 1947 that Governor Ellis Arnall must hold over until his successor was duly qualified, but the power thirsty Talmadgeites not only usurped the powers of the Supreme Court in providing

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their own interpretationof the Constitution, they went even further and denied that the Court had jurisdiction in the case because the legislature is a sovereign body.

Every school child is taught the functions of the three branches of our government. It will, therefore, be difficult for any sensible person to understand the processes of reasoning by which this group could conclude that the Court lacks authority to interpret the constitutional provisions for choosing a chief executive for the State.

What the outsider must understand before interpreting the Georgia situation is that there is a small group of inordinately ruthless men in the State who have no regard whatsoever for courtesy and manners or for law and order. They blatantly interpreted the limitations of the courts authority. Early in the morning of January

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15 they found somewhere an additional 58 write-in votes which were sufficient to give Herman Talmadge a slight majority in the legislature's election of a governor. They forced themselves into the executive's offices and barred Governor Arnall from the Mansion. Recently it has been discovered that they secured votes from dead persons in the November election. Their reaction pattern is most evident in a comment from young Talmadge when he had learned of the Court decision. He said, "I didn't believe that five Judges would hold they way they did, which to me was contrary to law. Of course, all five of them have at one time been appointed to something or other by Arnall or Rivers." This group is still delving in petty personalities

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when the three million people of the State are demanding expanding services for their needs. They manifest no regard for the majesty of the law or the will of the people, but only for their own selfish machinations.

One commentator has by some weird stretch of the imagination seen in the dissenting opinion of the Court a parallel with the Federal Supreme Court pattern where the minority opinion seemed to take into account changing social and political conditions and the changing needs of society. In this Georgia case it was the majority opinion that recognized the growing need for the people to restrict government rigidly to those functions which the people cannot economically perform for themselves. The people could not have meant to give up to the legislature their right to elect a

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governor. This was settled in 1824. There is no circumstance which would justify it. The definite need in America today is to resist every effort to further centralization in government-totalitarianism

According to law Acting-Governor Thompson will serve for two years or until the next general election when there will be another election for governor. For that campaign it is reasonable to assume that the deposed Talmadge and adherents will resurrect the same old issue--"white supremacy" --and that the atmosphere in the next campaign will reek with venom and race hatred.

It is also necessary for the new executive to review all bills passed by the present legislature and either approve or veto them. Governor Thompson has already

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repudiated the "White Primary" law and endorsed two substitutes now before the legislature.

The Negro in Georgia stands in much more favorable position now, than under a Talmadge regime. Governor Thompson will in all probability follow the Arnall pattern and seek the growth and advancement of the State as a whole. He will have the substantial backing of the growing number of people who are fed up with the antics of immature "school boys".

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St. Hd.

3/27/47

1-Mid-South

By Harold L. Trigg

Crime in the United States increased 7.6 percent for the year 1946, according to a statement by Director J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Police files showed that more persons were arrested and fingerprinted than in any other year of record. Murder, negligent manslaughter, robbery, aggravated auuault, burglary, and larceny were all on the increase.

The Atlanta Police Department did a thriving business. The income for 1946 from fines, forfeiture, and sales reached a total of $936,000. Adding to this the

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2--Mid-South

value of recovered stolen property estimated at $1,109,832, the grand total reaches $2,045,832, while the appropriation to the Department for the same year was $1,363,835.

Arrests in 1946 reached an all time high of 111,622. The number of murders, 97, puts Atlanta well up among the leaders in this type of crime. The ratio of Negroes to whites on the lethal end of guns, knives, blunt instruments and axes was 10 to 1.

The reasons given for the national crime situation by Mr. Hoover would be valid for Atlanta and the South as well as the United States as a whole.

The lack of "adequate trained" law enforcement personnel is not confined to any one city or region, and today's criminals who were yesterday's juvenile delinquents

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are found every where.

The persistent hangover of "artime abandon" was quite evident in 1946, and the breakdown of the American family was not a new element in the national crime picture.

There are some other factors in this increase in crime, especially with reference to the Negro, which warrant further consideration.

Returning veterans in the "flush of victory", and, in the case of Negroes, expecting something that had not happened, found reception committees functioning to render them maximal aid in getting back to normal too often with the help of the black-jack.

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Growing disrespect for the law is due in part to light punishment meted out to Negro offenders, where only Negroes are involved. It is also due to the ease with which a law enforcement officer can receive exoneration for the brutal treatment or even the murder of a Negro, together with the lack of protection given a Negro prisoner after arrest. It is difficult for an individual to respect the law which permits his punishment by officers of the law before he has his chance in court, or the law which does not protect him from mob violence after he has been taken into custody. Dignity and majesty are attributes of the law only when it is administered without prejudice and in due process. Citizens who look to the law for

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persecution instead of prosecution cannot respect it. Improperly administered law begets crime. The new chief of police of the City of Atlanta recently told the members of the Department that today's law enforcement has risen to the rank of a skilled profession, which works as hard to prevent crime as it does to arrest violators; and that the modern police officer relies "more on common sense and tact than he does on his blackjack and pistol". This is excellent advice for any law enforcement officer.

Even more important as a factor in the production of Negro criminals is a school system which must bear an increasing part of the responsibility for teaching the child the fundamentals of community living, but which is less and less able to do so because of inadequate buildings and equipment, low salaries for teachers, and low morale

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among teachers and pupils. When teachers or students must resort to strike to secure essential needs, the only possible assumption is that teaching and learning are at low ebb.

The two fundamentals of group living, even before the 3 R's, are the individual's respect for human life, and respect for property. The criminal lacks either one or both.

The community is a mold in which the personalities of citizens are shaped. The home, the school, and the play ground, which in most southern communities is the school yard, have the child for most of the twenty-four hour day, and therefore are responsible for teaching him these fundamentals.

The present status of the family leaves the school and its environs with

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the burden of personality formation. The poor school is the breeder of warped personalities, of potential criminals. If the present situation in public education is permitted to continue the principal business of society in the future will be the detection and punishment of crime. The reality of the situation is inescapable. We are molding criminals rapidly and protesting crime loudly. The mold is fashioned for a rat, but we naively expect a rabbit. In a complex society like ours, accident will not produce good citizens, any more than good cotton, and rice and corn are accidental. The personality jells in shape of the mold. We will get criminals as long as we produce them.

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St. Hd.

4/2/47

1--Mid-South

By Harold L. Trigg

Of all the factors in the current upheaval in southern politics over the use of the ballot by the Negro voter in the primaries, one stands out as most significant. The 80 percent of the white persons who are eligible to but do not cast their ballot are finally aware of the hoax that is perpetrated upon them by politicians whose goal is personal power rather than service to the people.

On March 16 the Executive Board of the Florida Voters' League issued an 8-point statement on the tabulated replies to the question, "Should the State leave the ques-

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2--Mid-South

parties full control over primaries?" which had previously been submitted to all the members of the League. Ninety-seven percent of the members said "no". The following paragraphs from the statement give evidence of a growing courage in an increasing number of southern white people.

"The proposal (for a white primary) is a step away from democracy and toward control by a special group. As such it is a threat to all minority groups. If we permit an all-white primary, which is the purpose of this project, we can logically and easily go on to an all-Christian primary, an all-Protestant primary, a native-born-of-native parents primary, a red-suspenders primary. Through such a step-by-step method the Nazis, at whom men once laughed, destroyed democracy in Germany.

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"The primary needs no 'protection' from voters who happen not to be white. Thousands of them are intelligent and many are well-educated. They have the same wish for good government that others have."

The Florida Legislature which convenes April 8 will receive a "white primary" bill sponsored by Senator John B. Matthews. At the moment the majority sentiment is against the proposal. The opposition is fearless and outspoken.

In Georgia the Legislature adjourned March 22 with a "white primary" bill passed by both houses but signed by the "wrong governor". Since then it has been vetoed by Acting-Governor M. E. Thompson whose elevation to office resulted from the historic decision of the Georgia Supreme Court on March 19.

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The Woman's Society of Christian Service of the North Georgia Conference, the Methodist Church, passed resolutions at their annual session, March 27, among which are the following:

"We also earnestly deplore the injection of Race as an issue in any political campaign because doing so, (a) provides a smokescreen to hide real issues, (b) foments fear and distrust on the part of both races, (c) breeds hatred, injustice and lynchings and encourages Hate organizations, (d) destroys good government, (e) undermines World Peace by causing other nations to doubt our sincerity.

"We do affirm our unalterable opposition to a white primary because it is in direct violation of the constitution of the United States and the United Nations, of

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the Discipline of the Methodist Church, of the Social Creed of the Churches and the principles of the Christian religion. We favor in its place educational requirements fairly and equally administered for all voters."

The passage of a "white primary" bill by the Mississippi Legislature in March followed a spirited debate in which a third of the Senate openly opposed the bill and voted against it. One senator is quoted as saying "Some day what we are doing today will come backon us." There are also strong church women's organizations actively opposing injustices to the Negro.

Writing "To the White Citizens of South Carolina", a distinguished white citizen of the State said, "both justice and expediency indicate that the Negro should be

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permitted to vote in the Democratic primary in South Carolina." "Our own conscience foredooms our efforts to deny to the Negro equal political rights." "It is not only futile, it is self-destructive, to oppose those inevitable actions which are in part brought about by our own sense of justice."

When one individual or group is emboldened to speak out in the above terms, others gain courage and a silent minority in the right becomes a vocal and effective majority for the right.

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National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South—St. Hd.

4/10/47

By Harold L. Trigg

Four unmasked, overall-clad white men went to the home of the middle-aged parents of seven children who live in DeKalb County, Georgia. After claiming to the "the law" they gained entrance, giving as the only reason "them things you stole", forced the Negro couple out of the house and into a waiting car, drove to a secluded spot, and whipped the man with pistol, flashlight and blackjack. The woman screamed and was shot in both legs. Her husband ran to the home of another Negro to call hlep. According to the wife, one of her assailants put his foot on her neck while he "paddled" her. She was finally left alone to wander in a dazed condition through the woods until morning.

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The man and his wife were respectable people. No one can recall a single instance in which they had had an altercation with anybody. The County Police Chief combed the wooded areas for clues leading to the identification of the floggers, but has found none to date.

The Atlanta daily press reacted sharply. The Journal said editorially that "such terrorism is a menace to the entire community, as well as a blot on the county's good name and an outrage on humanity."

The Constitution in similar strain declared that "words cannot adequately express the contempt which self-respecting Georgians hold for the quartet of white hoodlums who Monday night flogged a Negro couple in nearly DeKalb County", and further that the

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conscience of "those, who for their own political or pecuniary advantage, have been preaching race hatred in this State should be more than a little troubled." It is the "portent for the immediate future" which the editor calls "the fearsome thing about this most recent incident", because the political campaign of 1948 will without doubt find white supremacy the major issue just as in 1946. It is the editor's admonition to "let thoughtful men ponder the possibilities and resolve to do whatever they can to eliminate the causes from which such atrocities stem" that warrant special attention.

Judging from the reation of the Georgia press and the many individuals and organizations who stood openly and courageously against the coup which placed Herman Talmadge in the governor's office for two months, and also inopposition to the"white primary"

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bill, it is fair and justifiable to assume that the vast majority of Georgians are outraged by this incident of brutality. They were likewise outraged in July 1946 when the Walton County lynching shocked the world. Why do such heinous acts continue to occur?

We come back to the same inescapable fact. The four men are representative of a small segment of southern society. They do not read the editorials in the liberal dailies, nor could they understand such sentiment if they were able to recognize words. Thye suffer no enduring torment for the simple paddling of an innocent Negro. This is merely bagatelle to their pristine unmorality. They have consciences but their standards of conduct are to low to give the censor any headaches. They live on the dim fringe of an enlightened society, unaware of Christian principles of group living, impervious to the

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piercing darts of ridicule which will come from all directions and distances, and moved only by hatred, fear, and the urge to wreak vengeance. They are the indispensible factor in "peanut politics".

Iti is of doubtful value to call them names or blast out at them in scathing language. Their ears are too far removed to hear. Protestations of brotherhood do not reach them. Nor is society purged of blame by designating them as a necessary and --"a submerged tenth" that cannot be helped to a higher status. Courts do not reach them because jurors are drawn from their ilk. Where the church is most backward, and where educational facilities are most nearly inadequate these forgotten men are found in largest numbers.

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Who may reach them effectively? There are four groups who have access to the margins of human existence--the teacher, the minister, the agricultural extension agent, and the insurance agent.

Good schools are essential to the preservation of democracy. The South has some but nearly enough. They cost money. The South does not have it. The Federal Government collects it from those who profit by investments in southern farms, factories, and forests. Federal aid to education is not a gift; it is a debt. Twelve years of good schools in these retarded areas will mean more than all the thunderings of justice and love.

The ministers in churches which may reach these "lost men" have the burden of

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bringing them face up with the gospel of Jesus—the love of God and one's fellows —some thousands of years than that of the Noah who cursed Canaan.

Farm and home agents of the Agricultural Extension Service are the advanced guard, the shock troops of enlightenment when they themselves are free from fear of budget cuts in Washington.

The insurance agent is a business man. Modern transportation enables him to get back of the backwoods. He might possibly carry something of more value than the fear of accident and death.

Until these "marginal men" are reached with a program of improved living, and wider horizons of culture and appreciation for the sacredness of human personality, eruptions of

violence will be a part of the pattern of life on the fringe.

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April 10, 1947

Mrs. Cora Hall
Ardadia Hotel
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Hall:

I plan to arrive in Raleigh on Monday morning, April 14, at 6:45. I shall be in the state for two or three days and would like to spend the nights in the hotel.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

National Edition
Feature Page
Mid-South--St.Hd.

apr. 23, 1941

By Harold L. Trigg

The disposition of the "white primary" issue by the Florida Legislature now in session will determine whether or not the State's governmental pattern has passed out of the stage of petty personalities into an era of providing for the needs of all the people. State Senator John R. Matthews, who won his seat in the upper house in spite of a heavy Negro voge against him, has introduced five bills intended to eliminate the Negro from politics in Florida. One follows the prevailing pattern of placing control of primary elections into the hands of parties which will adopt their own platforms and prescribe ~~their~~

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qualifications for their members, thereby eliminating state control of primaries.

The Florida press is predominantly against this legislation, and the consensus of opinion is that it will die in the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

In recent years Florida has moved definitely up into the most progressive group of southern states. It is quite probable that the "white primary" bogie will sing its swan song in this session of the State Legislature.

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At Jacksonville 22 percent of the 3393 Democratic voters in the Fifth Ward went to the polls in the primary on April 15 and gave Wilson Armstrong, the only Negro candidate for the City Council, 278 out of 782 votes which put him in second place to the highest

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candidate who received 353 votes. This occurred in spite of the fact that many Negro leaders and organizations opposed his candidacy, and had endorsed Claude Smith, Jr., a white man, for the Fifth's place on the Council. It is reported that Armstrong was sponsored by the same group which is behind the "white primary" bills inn the State Legislature in order to show that the Negro will take over the government if permitted to vote. The second primary for candidates not winning by a majority will take place April 29.

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The temperature of the Georgia political pot climbs rapidly again to the boiling point. A second Democratic State Convention will be held in Macon on April 30 for the specific purpose of purging the Talmadge group from the State Democratic Executive Committee. When Herman Talmadge was apprised of the proposed convention he is reported to

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havve said, "I assume Mr. Thompson is planning to hold meetings with Negro Democrats." He is trying to organize a "Zebra Party" to compete with the Democratic Party.

The group headed by Acting Governor M.E. Thompson changes that the Talmadge followers "bolted" the Party when they supported Herman Talmadge in the November (1946) election in which his father was the Party candidate nominated in the regular primary in July 1946, and by the Party Convention held in October at Macon.

All signs indicate that the issue in the 1948 campaign for governor (Mr. Thompson is limited to serving as acting governor until the next general election) will again be the Negro, and Georgia will be treated to another display of political pyrotechnics in which the explosive will be the venom of race hatred. The appeal will be made to the

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same group of voters who supported the ilder Talmadge in the 1946 election.

The so-called "Zebra Party" movement is already accused of destroying the "white primary" and of seeking to destroy the "county unity system", which allots the county with the smallest population two unit votes,and the largest co ntry only six.

The most potent argument of the Talmadge forces, however, is that the coming fracas will create two Democratic parties in Georgia and throw the choosing of state officers into the general election in Novemb r from which the Negro cannot be legally barred, with the inevitable implication that the Negro will control the election.

Georgia must face this crisis sooner or later. This may be the psychological moment. The decent majority of the state's citizenry has been aroused as never before

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by the threat to the freedom of all people, white and black,which the events of the past nine months have exposed.

The recent State General Assembly sent a delegation to a neighboring state to learn how that state keeps the Negro from voting. It would have been far more profitable to send a group to another neighboring state to see how that state permits the Negro to vote and yet remains on terra firma with ample funds for its many services to the people of the state.

The Macon Convention willbe a test of strength.

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National Edition
Feature Page.
Mid-South--St. Hd.

5/1/47

1-Mid-South

By Harold L. Trigg

Following the action of the Senate in the case of Mr. T. G. Bilbo, it is not altogether surprising that the open appeal to prejudice and race hate by advocates of "white supremacy" is being supplanted by subtle manifestations of benevelent paternalism.

According to press reports a recent meeting of the KKK in Birmingham was called to "save the Negro from his folly." One speaker declared that the Klan is not intolerant toward any race, creed or color, and that the Negro's attempt to gain an equal education and a voice in the government are an affront to every white Protestant, Gentile, Democrat in Alabama.

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2-Mid-South

In similar vein is a statement reported to be on an application card that members of the newly formed White Primary Clubs in Georgia are asked to sign which reads in part: "My political disposition is that as an aroused white citizen of Georgia, which means that I breathe no ill winds of hatred against any race, color, or religious creed, but believe that the rule of our government should be left entirely in the hands of white citizens...I agree to uplift the Negro, to be of all general assistance to him that I can, but never to permit him to vote or elect his color to our public offices in this State, unless by law I am forced to do so."

There is no need to analyze these statements to discover the degree of veracity or sincerety in them. It is of far greater importance to estimate the number of persons

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who will believe them and use the identical rationalizations to justify support of those men wh men who would deny the Negro the opportunity for education which is basic to intelligent and productive citizenship as well as the fundamental right to vote. Such an estimate is difficult or even impossible at the moment.

The Negro is a victim of the age old tricks of propaganda, the chief of which is the association between what the politician wants and the people's values. The "white primary" is tied to race purity. Thus seeking the right to vote is a part of seeking "social equality".

Some way must be found to divorce the essentials of living from this emotionalized attitude toward race mixture.

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The provision of opportunity for every American child to get an education up to the point of competence in personal, social, and vocational living is not a favor to the child but a sheer necessity for the promotion and perpetuation of the principles on which our government is founded. To some persons it is "social equality".

To enjoy the same facilities and services in travel from one point to the other on payment of the same fare is purely a business transaction. It is essentially similar to receiving a dozen eggs for sixty cents from a grocer who is selling eggs of the same grade for the same price to the customer next to you. Nevertheless it is "social equality" to some.

And so on ad infinitum the rights and duties, and the goods and services which are basic to living in a democratic society are tied up with a concept whose meaning

has as many variations as there are individuals in any given community. Extremists go so far as to tie up non-segregated seating in the church, and non-segregated burial in a grave yard with the quest for "social equality".

If there be "folly" in seeking an adequate education or a voice in government, it is the is the same folly of '75 which led up to the Declaration of Independence.

Any persons or groups who are genuinely interested in the "uplift" of the Negro are primarily concerned with America and in continuous refinement of the democratic process as it involves the living of every single American.

Democracy cannot survive on the differentials based on race, creed and color, but only on untrammeled opportunity for the maximal growth into individual worthiness, with

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with no limits other than individual capacity.

The emotionalized attitudes of the white man constitute the first line of barriers to Negro progress. How can they be changed? The present strategy is confined largely to the area of symptoms, and the attack is frontal, which explains the frequent recurrence of the symptom.

This is the frontier.

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36 - Trigg, H. L. - Addresses + Articles

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMO: May 13, 1947

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: Harold L. Trigg

SUBJECT: Availability of Vocational Courses (Trades and Industrial) on Secondary level for Negro Veterans in Institutions. North Carolina Situation, April 14, 1947.

I went to Raleigh, N. C. April 14 seeking information on the availability of vocational coursed for Negro Veterans on the secondary level in institutions.

The N. C. Department of Public Instruction through its Division of Negro Education had already held a conference of Negro High school principals at which three members of the Regional VA staff were present, and answered the questions of the principals on ways and means of educational services for veterans.

Mr. Newbold, Director of the Division of Negro Education gave me a summary of this confetence in addition to the over-all picture of Negro veterans training. Mr. S. E. Duncan, Supervisor of Negro High Schools had done much to stimulate the program. Mr. J. Warren Smith, Director, Division of Vocational Education and Mr. G. W. Coggin, Supervisor of Trades and Industrial Education had the facts and figures on the situation and gave them to me without hesitation.

I also visited:

James L. Carey, Training Officer, Goldsboro.
A. W. Jackson, Training Officer, Durham.
Jos. A. Christmas, Training Officer, Greensboro.
Regional Offices of the Veterans Administration at Winston-Salem.

I did not visit VA Sub-regional offices at Asheville, Durham and Fayetteville.

When I told Mr. E. S. Hunt, Assistent Chief, Vocational Rehabilitation and Educational Division, at VA in Winston-Salem that you had been instrumental in convincing VA in Washington that tabulations should show "race" he

brought out a new Hollerith card and his complete list of schools in which courses are offered. W. L. Beerman, Public Relations Officer and W. R. Wood, Acting Supervisor of Contracts and Training Facilities Section of the Regional VA also help me secure information.

THE SITUATION

Population of North Carolina 1940.

White	Negro	~~Negro~~	Other	Total
2,567,635	981,298	~~981,298~~	2,2690	3,571,623

It is estimated that there are 340,000 veterans of World War II, in the State at present. Of this number 52,982 white and 7,917 Negro veterans are in training. These 23.7 per cent are distributed as follows:

Institutional		Job		Agriculture	
White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
24,223	5,262	20,948	634	8,073	1,759
82%	18%	97%	3%	82%	18%

The break-down by academic levels was not available. It is, therefore impossible to determine how many of the 7,917 Negro veterans are enrolled in vocational courses on the secondary level.

Records in the VA Regional Office supplemented by those from Training officers show that;

Veterans are enrolled in 42 High Schools
Veterans are enrolled in 10 private institutions in the following courses;

Public High Schools ------
- Auto Mechanics
- Building Trades
- Brick Masonry
- Carpentry
- Painting
- Plastering
- Plumbing
- Elictricity
- Tailoring
- Blue printing
- Machine Shop
- Instrumental Music
- Barbering

Private Schools -
- Beauty Culture
- Business
- Radio

The enrollemnt figures change so rapidly that an estimate of 3,000 in these courses is close enough. A complete summary will be available in June.

It would not be accurate to say that the offerings are adequate. It is evident, however, that the program grows apace. Since my visit, a special joint committee has been set up to cooperate with VA in expanding and improving the Veterans Education Program. Negroes are represented on this committee.

The scarcity of vocational teachers seems to be the chief obstacle.

The North Carolina program for veterans' education seems to be well established. The significant feature of it is the cooperation between the State Department of Education and VA.

North Carolina has been planning regional vocational schools for some years. No specific locations have been selected.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. INEZ B. TILLISON
SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Return
WPW

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 26, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

The unexpected resignation of Rev. Edgar H. Goold, President of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina has brought to me the honor of being elected the first Negro president of the only four year liberal arts college for Negroes under the control and support of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Board of Trustees, the Faculty, Alumni and students of the college expressed the desire to have me take over the administration of the institution, and it becomes an obligation to my church that I cannot well ignore.

I am therefore submitting herewith my resignation as Associate Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council to take effect August 31, 1947. This action is being taken far enough in advance to make possible a suitable replacement.

My work with the Council has been the most challenging of my entire career. I came here because of my faith in the effectiveness of the regional approach to the problems of the South. I leave with increased faith in its possibilities.

The association with Dr. Guy B. Johnson at the beginning, and now with Dr. George S. Mitchell has been pleasant and stimulating. The smooth functioning of the office and field staff has been a concrete example of how two races can labor together toward mutually desirable objectives.

SRC holds the formula for the South of the future. With sufficient staff and funds the Council can function with signal success.

It has been a privilege to work with you as President of the Council and with the other members of the Executive Committee. The Council and the South are fortunate in having at their disposal the wisdom, time and effort of such distinguished citizens.

In my new field of endeavor I shall be glad to give freely of my energies to further the interests of the Council.

With every good wish, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Trigg, Harold

May 28, 1947

Report of Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director

to

The Executive Committee

The phases of the Council's work which have absorbed most of my time during the past 5 months are in the main three:

I. Vocational Education for Negro Veterans.

Under Dr. George Mitchell's direction SRC's Veteran's Services Division was instrumental in establishing contact between the Negro Veteran and Federal, state and local agencies in the 13 states of the Region. The veteran learned of the services available to him, and the agencies learned that the veterans wanted the services. The two attained a workable interrelation.

Since April 1, 1947 and as one of our 1947 objectives, I have been visiting states of the region to study the availability of Trades and Industrial education (other than agriculture) on the secondary level in institutions, public and private.

In North Carolina the work is well established. In Virginia it is expanding. In both states, regional vocational schools are in the planning. Cooperation between Regional Veterans' Administration officials and State Departments of education is the crux of the problem. North Carolina has it, Virginia is beginning to make the adjustment.

Difficulty in securing data on programs for Negro veterans has been a serious handicap. Dr. Mitchell succeeded in getting VA in Washington to revise the Hollerith tabulation cards so as to show breakdown by race. The information will now be available.

The Council continues to assist the Bi-Racial Committee of Jacksonville,

Florida in the implementation of the Survey completed May 1946. A branch of the National Urban League has been approved and other objectives are being achieved.

A major function of the Council is to interpret the regional approach to southern problems. In the performance of this function, I have spoken to the following groups;

1. Young Peoples Fellowship, All Saints P. E. Church, Atlanta. (mostly Georgia Tech students)
2. "Fireside Chats" Jackson, Tennessee, Negro Agricultural officials.
3. N. C. Interracial Commission, Eastern Division, Raleigh, Western Division, Asheville, North Carolina.
4. B. T. Washington High Night School, Atlanta
5. Wesleyan College, Macon, Two classes in Sociology and the College Assembly.
6. Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Assembly.
7. Bishop Payne Divinity School, Petersburg, Virginia, Commencement.

I also attended the meeting of the advisory council to the Committee on Southern Regional Studies, May 24.

The purpose of SRC is now boiled down to one brief statement: To render maximal aid to the Southern Region in the transition from emphasis on race to emphasis on the full use of regional resources--natural, social, human.

Southern people like this. It is concrete, hopeful and attainable.

HL Trigg Eng

June 4, 1947

Mrs. William M. Henderson
Harbor Island Route 3
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Henderson:

My engagement for the evening of June 14 in Wilmington has been confirmed.

Saturday is such a poor day to get people together, I am wondering if it would be better for me to arrive on Friday at 1:00 P.M. and speak for the Friday afternoon or Friday evening. If this will be acceptable, please let me know so that I can make the necessary arrangements.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

HLTrigg

May 28, 1947

Mrs. William M. Henderson
Harbor Island Route 3
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Henderson:

This will acknowledge your letter of may 24.

It is my understanding that I am to speak to a group of American Legion officers on the evening of June 14. It is probable that I will arrive in Wilmington early in the morning of the same day.

It would be a pleasure to speak to the Community Council in the morning or afternoon, whichever would be more convenient for those who would attend.

I recall that you mentioned this committee to me at the close of the Asheville meeting. I am grateful for your interest in SRC, and consider it a privilege to present the new approach to Southern problems to the Community Council.

Please let me know whether you prefer a morning or afternoon meeting.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Harbor Island Route 3
Wilmington, North Carolina
May 24, 1947

Dr. Harold E. Trigg
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I was one of the group who heard you speak at the interracial meeting in Asheville, April 28th, and I don't believe I have ever enjoyed anything more. In talking with you afterwards, I learned that you were planning a trip to Wilmington to address the American Legion on June 14th.

As you probably know, we now have a very active Community Council in Wilmington, representing both white and Negro groups. I am chairman of the Welfare Division of the Council, and I am writing to ask if it would be possible for you to speak to us at our next meeting. I feel that it would be a real privilege for all of us to hear you, and I hope that it will be possible for you to work it into your schedule. We will suit our time to yours; we can arrange the meeting for any morning, afternoon, or evening, with the exception of Saturday afternoon through Sunday. We will be very glad to defray any additional expense, should you arrive earlier or stay later because of our meeting.

We would like for you to choose your own topic, but if you feel that you would like to have any suggestions, I believe that some discussion of racial cooperation in the community, or a picture of the changing South, as you discussed it in Asheville, would be very interesting and valuable to us all.

I would appreciate your letting me know your plans, and the date and time that suits you best, as soon as you can. We are looking forward to having you, and hope that you will be able to come.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy W. Henderson

Mrs. William M. Henderson
Chairman, Welfare Division
Community Council

Tipsord

June 4, 1947

Dr. H. L. McCrorey
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. McCrorey:

The notice of your retirement carried by the Raleigh News and Observer of June 3, leaves me to look back over the many years of splendid service which you have rendered Johnson C. Smith University and the cause of education itself. The example of sterling character which you have set for the thousands of young men and women who have been students and stands out as a guide post to youth of the present and future.

I trust that you will have many more years of the rest which you so richly deserve.

With every good wish and highest personal regard, I am

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Return
PDW

June 4, 1947.

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Thank you for your letter of May 26 which I read to the members of our Executive Committee at our quarterly meeting in Atlanta May 28. Under the circumstances you outlined in your letter there was nothing for us to do but accept your resignation effective August 31, 1947. We did so with keen appreciation for the valuable services you have rendered the Council and with sincere regret that soon you must officially leave us. At the same time we desire to congratulate you on the high honor that has come to you and we feel particularly happy to know that your leadership will remain in the South.

If I may add a personal note it is merely to state that it has been an inspiration knowing you and working with you towards the progress of a better South.

With personal esteem and best wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

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DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

SRC staff Resignation

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Board Members

Corresp

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Date

Paul: Get your comments or changes. Send back & we'll send out!

DRAFT

(To The Board Members)
Signed by GSM

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors on May 28 the Committee regretfully accepted the resignation of Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Director. Dr. Trigg has been offered the presidency of St. Augustine's College at Raleigh and will take up his duties there on September 1.

Mr. Williams, as President of the Council, has asked me to write each member of the Board for suggestions as to a suitable person to succeed Dr. Trigg. If you have suggestions to make, please send them directly to Mr. Paul D. Williams, 3320 Gloucester Road, Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Williams will serve as Chairman of a special committee of the Executive Committee to recommend a new Associate Director.

We are all extremely sorry to lose our Associate Director. He has worked wisely, faithfully, and imaginatively in behalf of the purposes of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

George,
This letter is okay. Would recommend that you send as enclosures Dr. Trigg's letter of resignation and my reply. DD PDW
okay to mimeograph these 2 letters.

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PRESIDENT

1201

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TO ATLANTA

H L TRIGG, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

ST MARK CHURCH EXTENDS YOU AND URGES YOU TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION TO HAVE CHARGE OF OUR SERVICES SUNDAY JUNE 15TH PLEASE WIRE YOUR ACCEPTANCE=
FRED.

HLT.

15.

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

June 11, 1947

MR. F. J. ROGERS
710 Red Cross Street
Wilmington, N.C.

Leave Sunday 3:15 P.M. Can speak in morning.

H.L. Trigg

HLT 5-91

June 12, 1947

Miss Ruth T. Kimbrough
Principal
Madison High School
Albany, Georgia

Dear Miss Kimbrough:

I want to thank you for the privilege I had of being with you during your Commencement Exercise. I enjoyed every moment of the trip and wish that I could have stayed longer.

You are doing a splendid job as principal of the Madison High School and I wish you continued success.

I have wanted to write an expression of gratitude to the Holmes' family, but did not get the initials. They certainly made me feel at home, I felt that I had been visiting their home over a period of years.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

HLT Engagement.

May 28, 1947

Miss Ruth T. Kimbrough, Principal
Madison High School
Albany, Georgia

Dear Miss Kimbrough:

You may expect me on the afternoon of June 5. I shall wire you the exact time at a later date.

Looking forward with pleasure to my visit to Albany. I remain,

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

Madison High School
Albany, Georgia
May 26, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
63 Auburn Ave; N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is just to remind you that we are depending on you for our Commencement address on Friday morning, June 6.

Let us know what time you will arrive in the city, so that we can provide lodging for you. We would like to have some information about you and your work to be used in the introduction.

Very truly yours
(Miss) Ruth T. Kimbrough, Prin.

HLT. Pers

June 23, 1947

Mrs. A. W. Simkins
205 East Marion Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Simkins:

I thank you for the opportunity to confer with you on June 20. during my recent visit to Columbia.

I enjoy your column in the Journal and Guide and am sure that you are making a vital contribution to the improvement of human relation in general.

When ever you have suggestions that may be helpful to the Southern Regional Council, please feel free to make them.

With kindest good wishes to you and Mr. Simkins.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

HLT, Personal

June 23, 1947

Mr. A. C. Holmes
Monroe Street
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Holmes:

Please accept my thanks for the very generous hospitality accorded me by you, Professor Holmes and your two daughters on my visit to Albany in early June. The entire trip was a pleasant one. I trust that the future will bring additional opportunities to visit with you and your family.

With kindest good wishes to all of you, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

36 - Trigg, H. L. - Addresses + Articles

June 23, 1947

MEMO TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: Harold L. Trigg

SUBJECT: Trip to Wilmington, North Carolina on June 13.

I had the pleasure of speaking to the Welfare Division of the Wilmington Community Council. There were about twenty-two present, four of whom were Negroes. They are interested in the regional approach to problems in human relations and especially in the applicability of this approach to the Wilmington community. After a one hour discussion, they voted unanimously to invite a representative of the SRC staff to Wilmington for a one day work-shop for the entire community in which definite plans would be made for provision of improved human relations.

On Saturday, June 14, I spoke at a meeting of past Vice-Commanders of Division "B" and the "Go-Getters" club, consisting of commanders who had done exceptional work. These men are wide awake and spearhead a fine service for Negro veterans in the State.

June 27, 1947

Mr. John W. Vandervort
Box 131
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Vandervort:

Your booklet entitled "Know Your Country" is a stimulating, forceful statement of facts and principles. I am grateful to you for sending me a copy.

You probably know that I am scheduled to return to Raleigh on or about September 1 of this year. I trust that I will have the pleasure of seeing you after that date.

With every good wish, I am

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

HLT-[illegible]

June 30, 1947

Mr. T. D. Cardwell
1007 Henderson
Columbia 21, South Carolina

My dear Mrs. Cardwell:

In accordance with your request for the remarks delivered by me to the South Carolina Council of Social Workers on October 10, 1946, I am enclosing a copy.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k
Encl.

MRS. LUCILLE G. COLEMAN
CHAIRMAN, BRANCH COMMITTEE
MRS. LUCILE M. BAINES
FINANCE CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRED A. DIXON
BRANCH EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

YWCA

A. L. LEWIS BRANCH
Young Women's Christian Association
1215 LEE STREET
Jacksonville 4, Florida

July 3, 1947

Dr. Harold Trigg
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

The Branch Y. W. C. A. is now making plans for the 1947 - 1948 forum season and is contacting noted persons who are interested in this phase of community programs.

We seek now to list you among the speakers and the public affairs committee which will sponsor the coming series is anxious that you appear at one of the programs.

The fourth Sunday afternoon in each month from October throuth March is used for this program. At present, no assignments have been made. Should you prefer a particular month, please designate, otherwise, the committee will make assignments.

Please let me hear from you. Wishing you a pleasant summer. I am

Very truly yours,

Florence J. Sitow

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
Branch Executive Director

LVB

July 10, 1947

Mrs. Fred A. Dixon
Director,
A. L. Lewis YWCA,
1215 Lee Street,
Jacksonville 4, Florida

Dear Mrs. Dixon:

This will acknowledge your letter of July 3.

You have probably learned that I shall take over my new duties at St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina on September 1 of this year. In all probability, I shall be quite busy for the first few months. If you will write me again at Christmas time, I might be able to give you a definite answer to your very kind invitation.

With kindest good wishes to you and Mr. Dixon, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

July 10, 1947

Mr. Carter Wesley,
P.O.Box 3086
2418 Leeland
Houston 3, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Thank you so very much for your good offices in soliciting memberships for the Council in your Ram's Horn; this presents, indeed, the picture of a good member in action, and surely it is upon the membership itself that we must depend for much of our growth.

A receipt and a letter of welcome have been sent to Mr. and Mrs. Lilly. We are most glad to have them join.

With every good wish, and thanking you again, I am

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

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P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

E.K.H.

June 30, 1947

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 7 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I received in Saturday's mail a nice letter from Mrs. W. B. Lilly of Brenham, inclosing a postal note for $3.00, to cover membership for Mr. W. B. Lilly and Mrs. W. B. Lilly in the Southern Regional Council. Mrs. Lilly is a reader of my Ram's Horn, and it was there that I had solicited my friends in this area to become members of the Southern Regional Council. I know you will send them their receipt and tokens of membership, and I will take this method of welcoming them, since I am sending a copy of the letter to them, to kill two birds with one stone.

The postal note is made to me, so I will endorse it as I pass it on to you.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

cc: Mrs. W. B. Lilly
Route 2, Box 3A
Brenham, Texas

Incl. Postal Note #10,703,728

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July 11, 1947

Mrs. Marian B. Paul
2324 Washington Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Paul:

I am grateful to you for your letter of July 8 inviting me to speak to your club at sometime in October or November.

You probably know that I am scheduled to take over my new duties at St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina on September 1. I shall be quite busy during the Fall months and hesitate to make engagements outside the city until I know what my institutional schedule will be.

If it will not be too late, will you kindly write me in the latter part of September. I shall be happy to serve you on this occasion or a later one if the time permits.

With kindest good wishes, tI am

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT.k

2324 Washington Street
Columbia, S. C.
July 8, 1947

Dr. Harold Trigg
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

One of our women's Federated clubs of this state is planning to observe their 40th. Anniversary this fall. A guest speaker for this occasion is now being given our attention, and we are extending to you the invitation to come to us and deliver a message. It will be held in Columbia, S. C.. Any Sunday during October or November, at 4:00 P. M., will be suitable to us. Please let me know whether or not you will come. If you do accept, please let me know what your charges will be, including all expenses.

Yours very truly,

Marian B. Paul

(Mrs.) Marian B. Paul

MBP/hb

July 11, 1947

Mr. Sidney R. Tillinghast
State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Tillinghast:

I have enjoyed reading your letter of July 9 and look forward to receiving a copy of your letter to Mr. Deadum.

We are presently living at 32 "C" Street, S. W. This is in front of the Booker T. Washington High School. We will be glad to see you at any time.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

State Teachers College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina
July 9th, 1947

President Harld L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear President Trigg:

Thanks very kindly for your letter of June 10th.

Now that it has been one year and half since we held that memorable conversation on the last Friday night of school in your parlor, when your resignation went into effect, I should like to compare scores with you once again. When do you return to the state?

After I finish my extension work in the Extension Division of the University of Florida about the middle of August, I shall start for the south for a short visit. Some where along the line I should like to spend some time with you because I do appreciate that advice which you gave me---what to do and what not to do. Besides, some observations which I made then about certain persons are just as true now as they were when the conjectures were made.

Within a few days I shall send you a copy of an open letter which I wrote Mr Deadnum, who reviews the news for the Smith-Douglass Network, regarding the recent outburst of attacks made upon white women up in the Rich Square area. I think that you will like the line of reasoning which I presented.

I hope that Mrs Trigg and your daughter are enjoying good health and happiness, along with yourself. Give my best regards to them.

Within a few days you will hear from me again; just as soon as I can re-copy this article I will send one to you.

With kindest regards,

Sidney R. Tillinghast

Sidney R. Tillinghast

HLT - approve

July 14, 1947

Mr. G. D. Rogers,
1416 North Boulevard,
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Rogers:

On my trip to Florida for the meeting of the Business League, I want to make some contacts with veterans organizations and the offices of the Veterans Administration. In order to plan the trip economically, I should like to know the date and hour that I shall be on the program. Would you be kind enough to give me this information as soon as possible?

I trust that you have completely recovered from the indisposition which you suffered here. It is with great pleasure that I look forward to seeing you at the end of the month.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:k

748-48th Street
Newport News, Virginia
July 19, 1947

Dear Dr. Trigg,

I have been constantly thinking of you and your family, but without any excuse failed to write.

Congragulation on your recent achievement.

Dr. Trigg, I have failed to get a teaching position since I left College. However I did do substitute teaching here in Virginia last term.

Will you please be kind enough to send me a character reference as I would like to get situated on some kind of position until I am fortunate in securing a teaching position.

It seems to me that lack of experience seems to be one of the reasons why I don't get a job, but certainly

I can't get the experience unless someone gives me a chance to prove worthy of my calling.

Best regards to your family.

Enclosed you will find a self addressed stamped envelope.

Best of luck and good wishes in all your undertakings.

Very truly yours
(Mrs) Maude J. Sykes

July 19, 1947

Mr. Harry E. Resseguie
Chief, Washington Bureau
Fairchild Publications
509 Otis Building
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Resseguie:

I thank you for your letter of July 7 and look forward with keen interest to reading the articles which you are preparing.

It was a pleasure to have you call on us in June and I hope we may have the privilege of seeing you when ever you come to Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive
Director

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509 Otis Building
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

July 7, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern National Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Thank you ever so much for being so helpful when I called on you early last month in conjunction with the survey which we are making of the economic and industrial conditions in the South.

I returned to Washington recently and have made a note to see that you receive copies of these articles when we begin publication of them next October.

Sincerely,

FAIRCHILD PUBLICATIONS

Harry E. Resseguie

Harry E. Resseguie
Chief, Washington Bureau

HER:MH

Call Dudley

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VELMA T. McEWEN
WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL SECRETARY

July 23, 1947

President Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear President Trigg:

Congratulations on your new appointment as president of St. Augustine's College. I am sure that the college will profit by your appointment in every respect.

Since I am a former graduate of "St. Aug" I am concerned about the counseling service that the students are getting telling them of job opportunities in the various field in which they are majoring. Do you have a full-time payed counselor on the staff? If not, are students getting the same kind of service from their advisors?

Here in Baltimore the Urban League is making plans to start a counseling service at Morgan State College and I am wondering if I can assist you in any way with similar plans of this nature.

Best regards to the entire faculty and student body.

Sincerely yours,

Velma T. McEwen

Velma T. McEwen
Women's Industrial Secretary

VTM:k

HLT

ELIZABETH JANE McDONALD
HEMLOCK-HILL-ON-OXFORD ROAD
LAKE JUNALUSKA, N. C.

Aug 5th

Dr Trigg
Allenton Pa

Dear Dr Trigg:

I was so helped by your address at Trinity Church in Columbia & I thought maybe you might be able to help me again.

We, desperately, need a man this wife to serve as Director of our Bethlehem Center at Columbia S. C.

As everywhere this is a strategic point. Especially so here for the negroes on the Board underrate a Phil Young woman & she was a complete misfit. This a matter of personality:

ELIZABETH JANE McDONALD
HEMLOCK-HILL-ON-OXFORD ROAD
LAKE JUNALUSKA, N. C.

not racially. If you know of any are I would deeply appreciate help.

Mrs M. H. Bailey, 1309 Gregg St Columbia S.C. is acting Chairman of the Board. Mrs Speakman might contact her for you. We have employed a Mrs Florence Brown as assistant & Kindergarten worker: but she is not an executive.

I'll thank you for any help.

Sincerely

E Jane McDonald

Columbia College & alone.

SRC — Program Reports

36 - Trigg, H. L. — Addresses + Articles

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

FROM: Harold L. Trigg HLT .

SUBJECT: Report of Activies from March 26--August 31.

DATE: August 29, 1947

My last report was made to a meeting of the Executive Committee on March 26. Since that time my work has been divided between promotional activities for the Southern Regional Council, and a study of vocational courses in which Negro veterans are enrolled on the secondary level in institutions of the thirteen Southern States.

1.

VETERANS VOCATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICES

On April 14, I went to North Carolina and spent four days visiting officials in the Regional Veterans Administration offices, and in the State Department of Public Instructions. I was able to secure much information concerning vocational training courses for Negro veterans at the offices in Durham, Greensboro, and Goldsboro, after which I called at the office of the Regional Veterans Administration at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. A special report of this visit has already been made.

The North Carolina program seems to have developed more rapidly on a state wide level in its variety of offerings than in any other Southern State. This is due probably to two causes:

1. The Negro veteran in North Carolina has been organized as Division B of the American Legion since about 1923. This organization has provided a vehicle for concerted effort and for the distribution of significant information.

2. The second reason is the fine cooperation of the Division of Vocational Education in the State Department of Public Instructions, and the Regional Veterans Administration. The program has been aided immensely by the fact that North Carolina already had a large number of secondary schools in which vocational courses were offered prior to the War.

Many states of the South have been handicapped in their efforts to provide trades and industrial education for Negro veterans because there were very few school of this type prior to the War.

On May 4-7, I visited the Veterans Administration Office and also the offices of the State Board of Education at Richmond and the Veterans Guidance Center at Virginia State College in Petersburg, Virginia. It was difficult to secure information concerning the set up in Virginia, outside of the institution of higher learning at Hampton, Petersburg, Norfolk, and Lawrenceville. I think it is safe to conclude that secondary schools in smaller cities and rural centers are doing little or nothing in this line.

I t was the opinion of many officials that the small progress in developing a progran in the smaller schools was due to the fact that teachers in trade and industries are not available. The trade school connected with the Virginia State College at Petersburg is an example of what might be done for veterans, in its variety of courses and thoroughness with which they are taught.

On July 7, I had a conference with Mr. J. C. Holbrook, Director of

Vocational Rehabilitation and Education Service, at the Veterans Administration Office for the 5th Area, which is located at Marietta, Georgia. Mr. Holbrook was kind enough to offer me the cooperation of his office in making visits in the five states (South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and Alabama) which this office serves.

With a letter of introduction from Mr. Holbrook, I visited the Regional Veterans Administration Office, at Pass-a-Grille, Florida. The attitude toward vocational education for Negroes, on the part of Mr. M. M. Green (Chief, Vocational Rehabilitation and Education Service) is excellent. Mr. A. T. Worley, a local training officer, showed me through the vocational school at St. Petersburg. This is a part of the local Gibbs High School. The equipment for cosmotology, tailoring, auto repair, machine shops, and wood work is new and complete.

On July 31, I had the opportunity for making brief remarks before the National Negro Business League in Convention at Tampa. I emphasized three points:

1. The necessity for helping veterans to organize and join the most powerful of the National Veterans organizations in their respective states.

2. The need of veterans for initial capital to start small businesses which would enable them to use the skill acquired during or since the War.

3. The opportunity to continue vocational schools already begun and to convert them into Regional Vocational Schools.

On June 19, I had the opportunity to call at the office of Mr. Arthur Schiffley, who directs the Vocational Education Program for veterans in South Carolina. He informed me that two Regional Vocational Schools were being established, one for white and another for Negroes.

PROMOTION OF GENERAL FUNCTIONS OF THE SRC

My visits in promoting the general functions of the Southern Regional Council have been as follows:

April 28--Asheville, North Carolina Conference for Social Workers.

I explained the purposes and functions of the SRC.

May 8,---Atlanta, Georgia

A conference on Civil Rights was held in the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer. I was a member of an Sub-Committees.

May 21---Petersburg, Virginia

I was the speaker for the commencement exercises at Bishop Payne Divinity School.

May 24,--Atlanta, Georgia

The Advisory Committee on Resource-use Education met in Atlanta University. I represented the SRC.

May 28,---Denmark, South Carolina

I was speaker at the commencement exercises at the Vorhees Normal and Industrial School.

June 9---

In company with Doctors George S. Mitchell and Guy B. Johnson, I attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation.

June 13-14---Wilmington, North Carolina

On June 13, I explained the purposes, functions, and approaches of the Welfare Division of the Local Council of Social Agencies. On June 14, I was the speaker at a banquet to the officers and the Go-Getters Group Division B, American Legion, Department of North Carolina.

June 17-18---Atlanta, Georgia

Annual meeting of the SRC. This meeting brought out with pointed emphasis the necessity for using every opportunity to make explicit the functions, purposes, and approaches of the SRC.

June 19---Columbia, South Carolina

The South Carolina Division of the SRC held its annual meeting, in Trinity Parish House. Mrs. Havens, Dr. Johnson, and I were speakers.

J une 22---Fort Valley, Georgia

I was speaker at Fort Valley College Center.

June 26--Decatur, Georgia

I was speaker at a meeting of the Dekalb-Decatur Inter-racial Committee.

July 1

I lectured at the High School Principals' Workshop at Atlanta University.

JUuly 16--Emory University.

I was the assembly speaker for the summer session of the Theological School.

August 5-6-7----Spartanburg, South Carolina

The local unit of the SRC has recently completed a survey of housing conditions for Negroes in that city. At the invitation of Dr. Rosamonde Wimberley Boyd, I attended a meeting of Spartanburg's SRC unit and advised them as to the use of their findings of this survey.

August 11-15--Atlanta, Georgia

The Regional Office of the Boy Scouts of America held a School for Scout Leaders at Morris Brown College, which was attended by 160 men from eleven states. I was one of the directors of this School.

Harold L. Trigg

Associate Executive Director

HLTEE

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

September 8, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

This will acknowledge your letters of September 3 and 4.

It was a pleasure to have a brief visit from Mr. Harold Fleming on last Thursday. He had time to come out and see the campus at St. Augustine's.

I gave Mr. Fleming the copy of the report which you were looking for. I also gave him my keys to the office. I am sorry about the report. I didn't realize that it had not been returned until the morning on which I was leaving; then, it was too late to deliver it to someone else.

I shall get my report to you on or before October 1.

Remember me very kindly to everybody in the office and tell them that I look forward to a visit to Atlanta in November.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:jc

September 19, 1947

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

May I thank you in behalf of the staff for your letter of September 14. This does not mean that they will not be writing you personally, for I am sure they will.

The views of the campus indicated a great deal of charm, so it should be a most pleasant place. We enjoyed also, your description of the trip home.

We are all most appreciative of the fact that you took time to write us, and by hand, at a time when you must have been exceedingly busy. Everyone is looking forward to seeing you in November.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:EE

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

9-14-'47

Dear Staff:

Mr. Fleming has told you all about his visit here, and I am following up with this personal note to tell you how much I miss you.

My '41 Chrysler came up out of Georgia like a mule coming home to the evening "feed bag" — through Monroe, across the river called Apalachee, then to Hartwell and into South Carolina. Honestly, when I crossed into North Ca'lina the old bus took new courage and started to run away.

We open Tuesday with a probable enrolment of 400. The football players have already arrived. I am inclosing some views of the campus. You must come and see the rest of it. Some of the

buildings are very old, and some of the thinking is very traditional, but everybody wants to do something new. Most of my time is spent helping set up machinery for implementing new ideas.

I will miss all of you very much this winter. Hope to see you in November.

Sincerely,
Harold S. Tingq.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE

RALEIGH, N. C.

THE CHAPEL

NEW BENSON LIBRARY

AIRPLANE VIEW OF

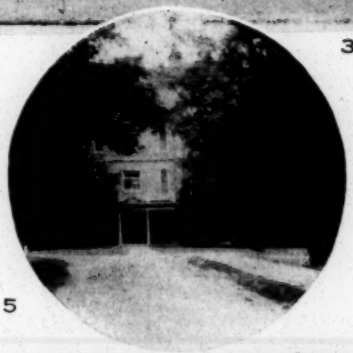
St. Augustine's Campus

1

2

3

4



5

6

7

CAMPUS VIEWS

1. *Bishop Tuttle Building*
2. *Cheshire Building (Dining Hall)*
3. *Corner of Quadrangle*
4. *St. Agnes Nurses' Home*
5. *Lyman Building (Men's Dormitory)*
6. *Thomas Building (Girls' Dormitory)*
7. *Delany Building (Girls' Dormitory)*

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

September 22, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1947
Southern Regional Council

HLT

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

Your letter of September 15 with check enclosed came just in time to be re-routed to Fisk University for my daughter. I am very grateful to you.

I am making my plans to attend the November meeting of the Council--assuming that it will take place on the 11th and 12th of the month.

Remember me very kindly to all of the staff and tell them that I am in favor of moving SRC Headquarters to Raleigh so that I may see them oftener.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLTrigc

Trigg, Harold L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

October 7, 1947

OCT 9 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I am enclosing herewith a report to the Council for the period November 15, 1946 to September 1, 1947. It is not a detailed summary of actual events, because these have already been filed with Dr. Mitchell; and I thought he would like to include specific matters in his report. If he should prefer a definite form, please let me know.

You will see by the enclosed form that I plan to attend the meeting of the Board on the 11th and the meeting of membership on the 12th.

I look forward with pleasure to seeing you and the other members of the staff.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:jc
Enclosure

Trigg

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

October 25, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 27 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I was out of town when your letter of October 20 came, and I am just finding the opportunity to reply.

I already have an engagement for November 6 which would make my coming to Atlanta for the 4th and 5th highly improbable. I have been away frequently since coming here and must necessarily hold to a pretty rigid schedule until after December 1. I have set aside November 11 and 12 for the Annual Meeting of the Council.

I saw Dr. Calkins in New York a few days ago and had an opportunity to speak favorably concerning the work of the Council.

You may expect me on the morning of the 11th of November. Please remember me kindly to everybody in the office.

Very sincerely yours,

Harold

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:jc

INTO THE MAIN STREAM by Charles S. Johnson and Associates. The University of North Carolina Press. 1947. 355 pages. $3.50.

Reviewed by Harold L. Trigg

In the United States as a whole the period from April, 1943, to July, 1944, saw no fewer than 224 national, regional, and local committees established to deal with problems of racial minorities. The number and wide distribution of these committees, the majority of which are concerned with Negro-white relations, is one indication that Negroes are moving "into the main stream" of American life. Their place in our democracy is of national concern.

This book was written by a noted sociologist, author, and a disciplined student of race relations. His associates will also be known to many who seek an understanding of the problems involved in human relations in the "main stream", and the best means for integrating the maximal positive contribution of the Negro into the composite welfare of the whole.

There is a wholesome absence of fantastic theory, name-calling, blame-fixing, and overtones found in current literature on race. There is the frank admission that the "items (activities, events) are set on the credit side of the ledgar" for the fundamental purpose of presenting a sampling of the programs which show "better practices" in race relations.

The ten-page introduction by the author must be read with understanding before the eleven chapters of "better practices" in the South may have meaning. In these few pages he discusses a controversial issue with clarity and realistic courage.

The South is no different from the country as a whole in her basic philosophies of living. There has been difficulty in finding ways to implement these common convictions; and the wide spread concern for improved human relations is the best possible indication that no satisfying final formula has been found.

The official recognition of the principle of "equalization" in educational opportunity, later extended to health, welfare, transportation and recreation, and now being extended to employment, suffrage and the courts, is certainly a tremendous advance over previous years. It is the parallel principle of "separation" which has become more rigid, accompanied by the demand that the Negro openly accept segregation. According to the author, the Negro cannot make a public acceptance of race segregation as the final solution of the problems of race relations in a democratic society, without accepting for "all time a definition of himself as something less than his fellow man".

In actuality Negro leaders have worked within the framework of segregation, presseing persistently for equality of services and of opportunity, not social contact. "They will not and cannot say that they will never disturb the present policy of segregation", therefore a stalemate occurs in regional progress.

The suggested new basis for accomodation is that both groups cease to demand "what is for the present impossible" and undertake together programs of action in those areas where there is agreement. Negroes have already shown themselves capable of such functional cooperation.

Some favorable elements in the situation are migration, advances in education, industrialization and unionization, cooperation between white and Negro leaders, establishment of courses and field projects by southern colleges and universities, and the tendency on the part of progressive southern political leaders to consider problems of the South not racial but economic, geographic, and social.

According to the author, the biggest single development in the field of citizenship and race relations in the South within recent years was the organization of the Southern Regional Council in 1944. Other indications of

progress are the addition of Negroes to post-war planning boards; hospitals and clinics with white and Negro staffs; wider employment opportunities.

There is a growing number of white leaders in southern communities small and large, rural and urban, who have the desire and courage to direct constructive change. They want to know what is being done successfully in the field of human relations. They should study the movement "into the main stream", so that they may be able to establish and direct trends, not merely wait for them.

This book is positive, realistic, and constructive. It pierces the veil of emotional reaction into a new era of interracial progress which submits itself to intelligent cooperative planning.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

January 7, 1948

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JAN 9 1948

Dear Miss Price:

As usual, I was glad to get the note which you wrote on your Xmas card. I am sure you had a good holiday, and I trust that the light, which you mentioned, increased in intensity and tangibility. You deserve all the good things of life.

Would you send me the full name and address of the persons listed below:

- Mr. Marion Wright, of South Carolina, who now lives in North Carolina
- Mr. Theo McGee, of Columbus, Georgia
- Mr. R. P. Daniel, of Jacksonville, Florida
- Mr. Virginius Dabney, of Richmond, Virginia
- Mrs. Francis O. Clarkson, of Charlotte, N.C.
- Judge Fabrow, of Baton Rouge
- Colonel Doughan, of Atlanta

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:jc

Trigg, Harold L.

January 9, 1948

President Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Here are the names and addresses you asked for in your letter of January 7:

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.
Mr. Theo McGee, Murrah Building, Columbus, Georgia
Mr. R. P. Daniel, 1100 Florida National Bank Building, Jacksonville, Florida
Mr. Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia
Mrs. Francis O. Clarkson, 227 Cherokee Road, Charlotte 4, N. C.
Mr. Leo M. Favrot, 805 Lake Park, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Col. Frank A. Doughman, 416 Hurt Building, Atlanta

Your letter listed "Judge Fabrow, of Baton Rouge" and "Colonel Doughan, of Atlanta". I assume you mean the last two listed above.

Thank you for the St. Augustine's calendar. It's awfully handy to keep on my desk. There are so many Fast days listed, thought It was thoughtful of you to remember all of us. I forwarded those undeliverable here.

I shall look forward to seeing you at the Executive Committee meeting.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

P.S. Mrs. Tilly says to tell you she is planning a Civil Rights Conference here in Atlanta for February 27—to be sponsored by SRC, Anti-Defamation League, and others. More details later. She wants you to be sure to held that date open and attend the Conference.

Trigg, Harold L.

January 28, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Yesterday a statement was mailed out to you showing withholding tax deductions by the Council for 1947. Please use this statement in making your income tax returns, disregarding and destroying that previously given you, which has been discovered to be in error. We regret very much that this should be the case.

It was good to get your acceptance for the meeting of the Executive Committee, February 25, and we all are looking forward to seeing you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

January 28, 1948

RECEIVED FEB 2 1948 Southern Regional Council

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

I am grateful to you for your letter of January 9, containing the list of names and addresses of certain persons requested by you.

I believe that Mr. Leo M. Favrot is the former General Educational Board Director. Please see if you can find the name and address of his nephew or cousin, the judge. – [illegible]

I look forward to seeing you on February 25, when our Executive Committee meets. I shall leave February 27 open for Mrs. Tilly and her Civil Rights Conference.

With kindest good wishes, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:jhf

Just came from New York. Are still frozen.

Trigg, Harold L.
Lynching

February 2, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I believe the man you want must be Judge J. St. Clair Favrot, of Baton Rouge. I'm sorry that I cannot find his address. We seem to have no correspondence with him--I found him listed as a speaker at one of the Baton Rouge Interracial Committee meetings.

And now I've a favor to ask of you. Last week we had a request for information from a man who said there was practically no such thing as sex violence of white men toward Negro women. I told him he was wrong and promised to dig up the dope for him. I had in mind the column you wrote on the subject once, but I have been unable to find a copy of it. Do you have a copy, and if so can you send us a carbon of it? I don't remember the date; you listed case after case of such aggression and noted that in most such cases the aggressor went unpunished. The man wanted information on sex violence of Negro men toward white women--he felt there were far too many such cases--to use in his testimony against a federal anti-lynching bill before a Congressional Committee. I gave him information, but not the kind he wanted. He said federal interference was unnecessary; the South could solve its problems in its own way.

We are looking forward to seeing you again this month.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Trigg, H.L.

February 5, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

In the course of reorganizing the files, we ran across this application to you for a teaching position at St. Augustine's.

Doubtless the matter of the application has now been disposed of, but we are sending you the attached in case you would like to have it for your personnel files.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

February 10, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which will explain itself. Please return it to me.

I trust that Independent Aid, Incorporated, acted favorably on your request.

Hoping to see you on February 25, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:jc
Enclosure

Trigg, Dr. Harold

February 19, 1948

Mr. Harold Trigg, President
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

Very many thanks for sending us Dr. Davison's letter to Mr. Spaulding. I have asked Dr. Will to go and see Spaulding again.

From what I can gather the Foundation met, but, as they already were contributing to the Committee of The South, they withheld final action until a meeting a couple of months hence.

Great pleasure to see you at your home, and many thanks for your several kindnesses. Your taxi man came came obediently and promptly and helped me very much.

I had a grand interview with Governor Broughton that night. He will be helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Enclosure
: cy ltr to
Mr. C. C. Spaulding from
Wilburt C. Davison,
dtd 16Jan48

Trigg, H.L.
2/24/48 Article Address (Copy in file corner)

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Notes on sex crimes in the South

The wave of rape hysteria which engulfs the southeast is an example of the emotional reaction to the problems involved in regional human inter-relations when the sex factor is uppermost.

Men apply the processes of critical thinking to cotton, cane, and rice production, but in some affairs involving the races thinking is limited to the printed page and the book is closed with a bang.

In these periods of tension the strangest distorted conceptions come forth from persons of all classes

The editor of an old and established southern newspaper says that the "abolition of slavery halted amalgamation . . . in the South . . . Almost it has come to an end insofar as Southern white people are concerned."

Another commentator thinks that "the victim of a lynch mob is usually guilty of a capital crime while his victims are as a rule, innocent white girls, women and men," and that so long as the Negro is guilty of such acts of violence lynching will continue.

Still another reaction is stated in the words of a person close to a "trouble spot," "Until the Negroes are educated to the fact that they were brought here as servants and are not to be placed on a basis of equality with whites, I fear we shall have trouble in this country."

A chief of police in an area of tension thinks 19 alleged sex crimes in his immediate vicinity are due to Negro soldiers mixing with white women in the European war theatre, and to lewd pictures of white women which seem to have received wide distribution.

One unique contribution to the general comment comes from a man who has studied alleged Negro rapists two years and finds that they come from homes without father, have low I Q's, are non-church goers, did not belong to boys' clubs, have had up to five grades of schooling, and are of low economic status.

A substantial proportion of southerners are of the same belief expressed in the first four comments. These reactions are old and unmodified. They come to the surface whenever there is a crime of violence in which the Negro is the alleged criminal and a white person the victim.

Emotionized attitudes and stock reactions are the problem of race relations. They stem from personality conflicts. To eliminate the conflicts one must begin with the cause. This is a slow process, and, at the present time, there is little understanding of the problem and no organized effort to solve it.

The picture which is so tragic on the surface has one bright spot which deserves the consistent attention of those who watch for signs of change, and who would give some intelligent direction to evolving trends.

It is the changing conception of applied justice, the struggle to elevate the administration of justice to a level that is a closer to the

ideal in which race, creed, color, sex and socio-economic status are not factors in the due process of rendering to the individual what is due or deserved in the form of reward or punishment.

This struggle to a higher level of justice in the South is spearheaded by top jurists when free from the restrictions of the "twelve peers".

Sacredness of personality, inviolability of the person, freedom from violence to the body is a fundamental concept of democracy. It is withingrecent years, however, that Negro women were included in the category of inviolability. Formerly the woman of color could not be raped. The act was always by consent. Evidences of widening the principle to include all women are accumulation. The following instances come from press reports.

Two white police officers of Richmond, Virginia, who raped a colored woman in October, 1946, were convicted and sentenced to 7 years each.

A white man who raped a 5 year old girl, daughter of a Negro minister at Laurel, Mississippi, in March, 1947, received a life sentence.

A white man who raped a pregnant Negro woman in November, 1946, near Baltimore, Maryland, was convicted by an all-white jury.

A white man who raped a Negro woman at Apex, North Carolina, in 1945 was convicted and sentenced to 10-15 years.

In Florida a white man who raped a Negro woman in 1938 was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

In August, 1947, three white men posing as police officers entered the home of a Negro preacher during his absence at Collins, Mississippi, and, while one held a gun on an aunt, the other two took the two daughters out. The minister returned shortly and prevented the rape. The men were fined $10 each.

There were also two cases in South Carolina in the past five years in which white rapists of Negro women were convicted.

It need not be said that punishment meted in many cases was light. Nor have all such cases involved convictions and punishment.

A white taxi driver raped an 80 year old woman at Jackson, Tennessee, on a cold night in February, 1947. He was indicted and held without bodd. The cab company published an apology in a local Negro newspaper. A local jury's verdict was "not guilty."

A wealthy landowner took a Negro veteran's wife from him (according to the statement of the veteran) in February, 1947, and had the husband driven out of the community.

In March, 1947, a white youth of Collins, Mississippi vied with a young Negro for the affections of a Negro girl, and the white youth won out by having his rival

young Negro for the affections of a Negro girl, and (the white youth) won out by having his friends assist him in castrating the colored boy.

In Williamsburg County, South Carolina, a white storekeeper raped a 13 year old Negro girl in April, 1947. The magistrate to whome the offense was reported upbraided the father of the girl and refused to issue a warrant.

At Burlington, North Carolina, on June 2, 1947, a 12 year old Negro girl was raped by a white man. No arrests had been made at the last report.

The important fact is that the courts have finally recognized the broad principle of personal inviolability in some southern states. It is probable that a very small percentage of the cases involving Negro women subjected to violence by white men are even reported because of the conviction on the part of colored people that nothing will be done, or because of the ignorance of what constitutes rape. The North Carolina Supreme Court ruled on December 11, 1946 that "force necessary to constitute rape need not be actual physical force. Fear, fright, or coercion may take the place of force."

A further advance in the concept of justice which is about to become evident is that sex violence is not racial but emotional immaturity. Many people are certain that rape and race (Negro male) are synonomous. The facts show that there is no connection between the two. Emotional control on the infant level provides the same results regardless of the skin color. "Our innocent women and children" is an expression which could well come from any many in America if the discussion involved the wolves of all colors who cruise the highways and byways, day and night. Those who are yet unaware of this fact are naive, blind, or conscious self-deceivers.

So long as the public conceives of every male (Negro only) as a potential rapist, crimes of sex violence will continue in North, East, West, and South.

Community functions which provide for maturing the personality--physically, mentally, socially, and emotionally are the only sure preventives of crime of this type.

Progress in broadening the principle of inviolability to inclue all women should be recognized and encouraged. Rape is the most revolting of all crimes. It is the surpeme instance of disregard for the sacredness of personality. It should be punished summarily. It is rape if the skin of the victim is white and that of the perpetrator black. It is equally rape if the skin of the victim is black or brown, and that of the perpetrator white. The recognition of this principle is essential to the effective treatment of the problem.

Mass rape hysteria stems from some traditional causes which can be eliminated by the cooperative thinking and action of white and Negro leaders.

* * * * * ** * * * * * ** * * * *

(A second set of notes.)

1. Amalgamation halted with abolition. Naive. e.g.
   a. Two white police officers of Richmond, Va. convicted of raping Negro woman. Sentenced to 7 years each. Crime: Oct. 20, 1946. Defender, 1/25/47.

   b. Three white men posing as officers entered Negro preacher's home at Collins, Miss. One held gun on 40 year old aunt while other two took preacher's two daughters out, attempted to rape them. Fined $10 each. August 16, 1947. Guide 8/31/46; Defender 8/31/46.

   c. Jackson, Tenn. White taxi driver raped 80 year old colored woman. Arrested and held without bond. Jackson Citizen printed apology. 2/15/47. (Alleged crime--2/15/47/.

   d. Wealthy white land owner took Negro vet's wife and had him run out of community. Windy Hill, Miss, Feb. '47. Afro-American 2/22/47

   e. White youth competed with Negro youth for Negro girl. Sheriff refused to do anything. Collins, Miss., March '47. Defender 3/8/47.

   f. White man raped 5 year old Negro girl, daughter of minister. Sentenced to life. Laurell, Miss. March '47. Defender 3/29/47.

   g. Kingstree, S.C. White storekeeper attempted to rape 13 year old Negro girl. Magistrate refused to issue warrant and upbraided father for reporting it. Williamsburg County. Lighthouse and Informer 4/6/47.
   h. White man raped pregnant Negro woman Nov. 13, '46 nea Baltimore, Md. Conviction was first in Marylad in such a case. Atlanta World 3/21/47.

   i. White man raped Negro woman, Apex, N.C. Aug. 20 '45. Sentence 10-15 years.

   (j. 1938 Florida case)

Trigg, Harold L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

March 20, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am grateful for your letter of March 3 and for the report on the Civil Rights Conference.

I am sure that the recommendations of the Conference are strong enough to withstand criticism from any form. We need to do more of this type of thinking in the world.

With kindest good wishes, I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:jhf

Trigg, H. L. — Personal

May 21, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

We all greatly appreciate the handsome invitation to be present at the College's eighty-first and your first annual commencement.

I wish the whole Council could be there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Events of the Eighty-first Annual Commencement
of
St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.
May 22-26, 1948

Saturday,	May 22	DuBignon-Satterwhite Dramatic Reading Contest—8 p.m.—Taylor Hall.
Sunday,	May 23	Corporate Communion of Seniors—7 a.m.—Chapel
		Senior Class Flag Raising—7:30 a.m.—Quadrangle
		BACCALAUREATE SERVICE—5 p.m.—Chapel
Monday,	May 24	Class Day Exercises—10:30 a.m.—Taylor Hall
		Choral Club Concert—8:30 p.m.—Taylor Hall
Tuesday,	May 25	ALUMNI DAY
		Executive Committee Meeting—10 a.m.—Cheshire Building
		Luncheon—12:30 p.m.—Cheshire Building
		Reception—9 p.m.—Taylor Hall
		PRESIDENT AND MRS. HAROLD L. TRIGG, AT HOME TO SENIORS, ALUMNI, AND FRIENDS—7 to 9 p.m.
Wednesday,	May 26	Commencement Exercises—10:30 a.m.—Taylor Hall
		DR. CLYDE A. ERWIN, North Carolina State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Speaker

The Trustees, Faculty and Students

of

St. Augustine's College

request the honour of your presence

at the

Commencement Exercises

May twenty-second to twenty-sixth

nineteen hundred and forty-eight

Raleigh, North Carolina

36 - Trigg, H. L.

July 29, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

Fleming photostated some recent publicity. We are tolerably proud of it. I didn't try to stick in everything, but to show that we are getting good coverage.

A roll containing a set of the photostats is going up to you separately.

We thought if you kept a set handy, you might use it in lectures or in some of your intensive fund-raising activities on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. We made up ten sets and will circulate two or three to various people who can help.

Our new Advisory Committee is expected to meet early in August—Habrit, Cureton and Nelson Jackson. They all accepted.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

36 - Trigg, H. L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

8-10-48

Dear George:

Thanks for the photostats. They help a lot.

I'm speaking at Augusta early in October, and course some of this material.

I'm sure the new advisory committee will render valuable service. They are good men.

Will see you at Tuskegee.

Sincerely,
Harold

36 - Trigg, H. L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

September 8, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I thank you for your le tter of August 16 and for the copy of the New South with the report on the feeble minded, which you sent under separate cover. This is the information that I needed.

It was a pleasure to see you at Tuskegee on the 27th of August. We had a good time down there and I think we completed some tangible results.

I am quite pleased with your desire to follow through with the community planning idea. I feel sure that this offers something tangible for every southern state. If I can be of any service, please let me know. In the meanwhile, I shall be looking forward to seeing you within the next few days.

With kindest regards to you and other members of the staff, I remain

Yours very sincerely

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:TLC

36 - Trugg, Harold L.

Sep. 22, '48

Dear Harold,

We really swept in the publicity on the statement.

Here's a useful editorial from the NY Times. Twenty-five or more of the leading Southern dailies carried good stories, and Chattanooga and Birmingham printed it in full.

Sincerely,

GEM

36 Trigg, H. L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

September 23, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have read with keen interest the statement from the Executive Committee and indorse it wholeheartedly.

My only objection to it is that it is pitched on such a high level that it would not be understood by many of the people who would read it.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg

HLT/tlc

Mrs. Tilly delivered a masterpiece here Tuesday. I was proud.
H

Mrs. Tilly -

36 - Trigg, H. L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

October 6, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am very grateful to you for the copy of the Editorial in the New York Times. SRC certainly made a strategic move in that statement.

I think I have told you that Mrs. Tilly did a wonderful job here in her address before the North Carolina Council on Churches.

Will we have an annual meeting here? If so, when?

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT/tlc

Mrs Tilly has seen.
MET

36- Trigg, H. L. -

November 2, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

I have sent a copy of the attached letter to Dr. Will Alexander with a note saying "I am relying on you to get Dr. Davison at Duke persuaded".

It is a good deal to ask, but will you again get in touch with Mr. Spaulding and see what he can do?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36 - Trigg, H. L.

November 26, 1946

Secretary
American Association of University Women
Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar, Virginia

Dear Madam:

It has come to my attention that the Sweet Briar College Branch of the American Association of University Women has made a study of conditions among Negroes in Amherst County, Virginia. Would you be kind enough to send me the report of this study if it is available and enclose bill for any costs incident thereto.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours very cordially,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive
Director

HLT:ms

Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar, Va.
December 7, 1946.

Dear Mr. Trigg:

According to your request I am sending you a copy of the studies made last year by the Sweet Briar branch of the American Association of University Women on "The Status of the Negro in Amherst County." (Va.) I am very glad to send you this copy; there is no charge. Much work and interest went into these studies and we are following this year with some practical efforts as giving a negro boy a scholarship to Va. State College.

Yours sincerely,
Mrs. Mary D. Lee Landis

36-Trigg, H.L.

December 14, 1948

Inauguration Committee
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

I greatly appreciate the invitation to be present for the inauguration of President Trigg on January 14. It is a pleasure to accept. I will represent the Southern Regional Council, with which Mr. Trigg was associated before he went to St. Augustine's.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36 - Trigg, H. L.

December 28, 1948

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

My apologies at the tardiness with which this check comes to you. With our membership growing and our staff shrinking, and with the deluge from the annual meeting, you can see what is happening to us here in the office.

It was a great pleasure to have you with us at the time of the meeting, and we look forward to these occasions which bring you back to Atlanta.

With every good wish for you at Christmas and during the coming year, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:m

Dictated, but not enclosed with check sent December 24.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

December 8, 1948

Mrs. Agnes McCoy
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 13 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mrs. McCoy:

I am enclosing herewith a requisition for travel reimbursement to cover two meetings.

The first one is for the meeting of the Executive Committee on February 24, 1948; and the second is for the meeting of the Board of Directors on November 10 and 11.

Wishing you and the Southern Regional Council Staff a Joyous Holiday Season, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT/tlc

GUEST CARD

LUNCHEON

CHESHIRE BUILDING

JANUARY 14, 1949 5 P.M.

The Trustees and Faculty

of

St. Augustine's College

request the honor of your presence

at the Inauguration of

Harold Leonard Trigg

as President of the College, and

Celebration of its Eighty-first Anniversary

Friday, the Fourteenth of January

nineteen hundred and forty-nine

at Three P. M. in Taylor Hall

Raleigh, North Carolina

36-Trigg, H. L.

THE INAUGURATION

OF

HAROLD LEONARD TRIGG

AS PRESIDENT OF

ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE

and Celebration of the Eighty-First Anniversary

of the Opening of the College

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

January Fourteenth

Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Nine

Program

RT. REV. EDWIN A. PENICK, D.D.
President of the Board of Trustees, Presiding

The Inaugural Procession
Processional—"War March of the Priests" ("Athalia") ..... *Mendelssohn*
Invocation—VEN. ODELL G. HARRIS, '39, Warden, Bishop Payne Divinity School
Petersburg, Va.
Music: "Land of Hope and Glory" ..... *Elgar*
THE CHORAL CLUB
Induction of the President by the Right Reverend Edwin A. Penick,
Chairman of the Board of Trustees
Greetings:
On Behalf of the State Universities and Colleges
Dr. Alphonse Elder, President, North Carolina College
On Behalf of the Private Universities and Colleges
Dr. L. S. Cozart, President, Barber Scotia College
Presentation of Representatives of Educational Institutions and Bodies
Inaugural Address ..... President Harold Leonard Trigg
Music: "Ain'a That Good News" ..... Arr. by *Dawson*
THE CHORAL CLUB
Anniversary Address—RT. REV. M. GEORGE HENRY, D.D.,
Bishop of Western North Carolina
Music: "College Hymn" ..... *William Augustine Perry*, 1902
CHORAL CLUB AND AUDIENCE
Benediction ..... BISHOP PENICK
The Academic Procession
Recessional—"War March of the Priests"

College Hymn

1

God of every nation,
Every race and creed;
Lord of every creature,
Every budding seed;
Friend of every right and
Foe of every wrong;
Father, Son, Great Spirit,
Listen to our song.
We acknowledge, worship,
Love and e'er adore Thee,
Father, Son, Great Spirit,
Holy Trinity.

2

All good things of Thee come
Through Thine agencies,
Christian lives, the Church, friends
Service, Charities,
Blessing all Thy children
Through eternity.
St. Augustine's College
Thus has come from Thee.
So with thankful hearts, we
Worship and adore Thee,
Father, Son, Great Spirit,
Holy Trinity.

3

For Thy missionaries,
Laboring early here,
Building firmly for our
Alma Mater dear;
For their self-denials,
Joys and sorrows blest,
We give praise as now in
Paradise they rest.
So, with thankful hearts, we
Worship and adore Thee,
Father, Son, Great Spirit,
Holy Trinity.

4

For those friends and Churchmen
Living everywhere,
Giving of their means to
Build our College rare;
For all those in service
Using every power
That we may enjoy this
Blessed, happy hour;
We give thanks to Thee, we
Worship and adore Thee,
Father, Son, Great Spirit,
Holy Trinity.

5

Ye alumni loyal
Who have passed and gone,
Of your Christian lives this
Day for us was born.
Grant, O God, that we may
Live as worthily,
Passing onward greater
Opportunity.
So with thankful hearts, we
Worship and adore Thee
Father, Son, Great Spirit,
Holy Trinity. Amen.

Delegates of Colleges and Universities

Listed By Year of Founding

1636	HARVARD UNIVERSITY	Hugo Giduz, A.B., Alumnus
1746	PRINCETON UNIVERSITY	Preston W. Edsall, M.A., Ph.D., Alumnus
1754	COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY	Jonathan W. Daniels, M.A., Alumnus
1787	FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE	Bruce A. Wentz, A.B., B.D., Ph.D., Alumnus
1801	UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA	Jefferson F. Meares, B.S., M.S., Alumnus
1819	CENTRE COLLEGE	Leslie Randolph Boyd, B.A., Alumnus
1819	UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA	John F. Hobb, LL.B., Alumnus
1820	INDIANA UNIVERSITY	Merle F. Showalter, A.B., Alumnus
1821	AMHERST COLLEGE	Robert Sidney Smith, M.A., Ph.D., Alumnus
1823	PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN VA.	Rt. Rev. Edwin A. Penick, D.D., Alumnus
1823	TRINITY COLLEGE	Colonel Arthur E. Burnap, U.S.A. (retired), Alumnus
1831	DENISON UNIVERSITY	Theodore Sedgwick Johnson, B.S., M.S., C.E., Alumnus
1831	NEW YORK UNIVERSITY	Leo W. Jenkins, Ph.D., Alumnus
1833	OBERLIN COLLEGE	Theodore Curtis Mayo, Mus.B., Mus.M., Alumnus
1833	MERCER UNIVERSITY	Rev. Broadus E. Jones, Ph.D., Alumnus
1834	WAKE FOREST COLLEGE	Daniel B. Bryan, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Dean of the College
1834	TULANE UNIVERSITY	Sidney Smith, M.D., Alumnus
1839	BOSTON UNIVERSITY	Earl W. Phillips, B.A., M.B.A., Alumnus
1839	UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI	Eugene A. Wilkening, B.S., M.A., Alumnus
1841	FORDHAM UNIVERSITY	Rev. Francis J. Murphy, B.A., S.T.D., Alumnus
1841	OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY	Willa B. Player, A.B., M.A., Ed.D., Alumna
1842	ST. MARY'S SCHOOL AND JUNIOR COLLEGE	Richard G. Stone, Ph.D., President
1846	BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY	Francis L. Walker, A.B., LL.B., Alumnus
1846	UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO	Charles F. Strobel, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Alumnus
1847	STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA	Joel W. Wallace, A.M., Alumnus
1848	MUHLENBERG COLLEGE	L. W. Seegers, A.B., A.M., Alumnus
1851	MINER TEACHERS COLLEGE	Sadie Daniel St. Clair, Ph.D., Faculty Member
1851	UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA	Harlan Craig Brown, B.A., B.S., Alumnus
1853	WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY	Mildred W. S. Schram, M.D., Alumna
1854	BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL	Rev. Harry S. Cobey, B.S., Alumnus
1854	LINCOLN UNIVERSITY	William Edward Farrison, B.A., Ph.D., Alumnus
1855	PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE	Reginald L. Lynch, M.A., Alumnus
1857	DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.	Rev. Othello D. Stanley, A.B., Th.B., Alumnus
1857	UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH	Rev. J. McDowell Dick, A.B., B.D., Alumnus
1857	PEACE COLLEGE	William C. Pressly, A.B., M.S., President
1861	VASSAR COLLEGE	Mrs. Charles E. Rush, A.B., Alumna
1864	BATES COLLEGE	Anne Helen Martikainen, B.A., Alumna
1864	UNIVERSITY OF DENVER	Roy N. Anderson, Ph.D., Alumnus
1864	SWARTHMORE COLLEGE	George B. Hoadley, B.Sc., M.Sc., D.Sc., Alumnus
1865	ATLANTA UNIVERSITY	Ethlynne H. Thomas, B.A., M.A., Alumna
1865	CORNELL UNIVERSITY	Wallace E. Caldwell, A.B., Ph.D., Alumnus
1865	SHAW UNIVERSITY	Foster P. Payne, M.A., Dean of the College
1866	UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE	Carl A. Hyldburg, Jr., A.B., LL.B., Alumnus
1866	EDWARD WATERS COLLEGE	Amos J. White, A.M., LL.D., President
1867	BARBER-SCOTIA COLLEGE	L. S. Cozart, M.A., Ped.D., President
1867	EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL	Rev. I. Harding Hughes, A.B., B.D., Alumnus
1867	MOREHOUSE COLLEGE	Rev. Moses N. DeLaney, A.B., B.D., Alumnus
1867	MORGAN STATE COLLEGE	Edward N. Wilson, A.B., Registrar
1867	JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY	T. E. McKinney, A.M., Dean of the College
1867	TALLADEGA COLLEGE	J. W. Eaton, A.B., M.A., Alumnus
1868	UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	Emmett B. Morrow, B.S., Alumnus
1869	UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA	Carl W. Mengel, B.Sc.C.E., Alumnus
1869	PURDUE UNIVERSITY	J. H. Hilton, D.Sc., Alumnus
1870	STEVENS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY	Frederick J. Reed, M.E., M.S., Alumnus
1870	SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY	James W. Fitzgibbon, B.F.A., Alumnus
1870	WELLESLEY COLLEGE	Mrs. H. K. McIntyre, B.A., Alumna
1873	BENNETT COLLEGE	Walter J. Hughes, M.D., Faculty Member
1876	UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO	C. C. Kistler, B.S. in C.E., M.D., Alumnus
1876	JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY	J. Harold Lampe, B.S., M.E.E., D.E., Alumnus
1877	SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH	Rev. J. McDowell Dick, B.D., Alumnus
1877	FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE	J. W. Seabrook, A.M., Ped.D., President
1879	LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE	Marlowe F. Shute, B.S., M.S., Acting Dean
1880	SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY	Verdie Ann Broussard, B.S., Alumna
1881	TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE	Daniel W. Andrews, Alumnus
1882	PAINE COLLEGE	John E. Venson, B.A., Director Public Relations
1882	VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE	Preston C. Johnson, Ed.D., Faculty Member
1884	BISHOP PAYNE DIVINITY SCHHOOL	Ven. Odell G. Harris, M.A., B.D., Warden
1887	CAMPBELL COLLEGE	Leslie Hartwell Campbell, M.A., President
1888	ST. PAUL'S POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE	J. L. Whitehead, Treasurer
1888	PEMBROKE STATE COLLEGE	R. D. Wellons, Ph.D., President
1889	NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING,	John W. Harrelson, M.E., LL.D., Chancellor
1890	UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO	Gregory L. Paine, A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Alumnus
1890	GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE	James A. Colston, B.S., M.A., President
1890	UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA	John C. Knight, B.Arch., B.S. in A.E., Alumnus
1891	A.&T. COLLEGE	F. D. Bluford, A.B., B.Ped., D.Ped., President
1892	WOMAN'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA	Glenn R. Johnson, M.A., Faculty Member
1891	MEREDITH COLLEGE	Carlyle Campbell, A.M., LL.D., President
1891	ELIZABETH CITY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE	Velma M. Turnage, B.S., M.S., Alumna
1892	WINSTON-SALEM STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE	Frank L. Atkins, A.B., A.M., LL.D., President
1896	FLORA MACDONALD COLLEGE	William G. Coxhead, A.B., Acting Vice-President
1896	ST. AGNES TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NURSES	E. Rose Moncrieffe, R.N., B.S., M.A., Director
1897	VOORHEES SCHOOL AND JUNIOR COLLEGE	Earl H. McClenney, B.S., M.S., President
1898	ST. PHILIP'S JUNIOR COLLEGE	Artemisia Bowden, '35, B.A., M.A., Dean
1899	SIMMONS COLLEGE	Mrs. L. E. M. Freeman, B.S., Alumna
1902	ATLANTIC CHRISTIAN COLLEGE	Selz C. Mayo, Ph.D., Alumnus
1907	EAST CAROLINA TEACHERS COLLEGE	J. D. Messick, Ph.B., Ph.D., Litt.D., President
1910	NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE	Alfonso Elder, Ed.D., President
1921	GRADUATE SCHOOL, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE	Vance E. Swift, B.S., Delegate
1926	SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE	Mrs. Clifford Richter, B.A., Alumna
1929	PRESBYTERIAN JUNIOR COLLEGE	Louis LaMotte, M.A., Th.D., D.D., President — here?
1932	BENNINGTON COLLEGE	Sydney Louise vom Lehn, B.A., Alumna

OTHER DELEGATES

AMERICAN CHURCH INSTITUTE FOR NEGROES	M. M. Millikan, Director
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION	Russell M. Grumman, B.H., of the Executive Committee
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES	Carlyle Campbell, LL.D.
NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION	Hugh V. Brown, M.A., President
NORTH CAROLINA COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION	Cyrus M. Johnson, M.A., Director
RALEIGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS	Jesse O. Sanderson, A.M., Superintendent
ST. AGNES HOSPITAL	Charles S. Templeton, M.A., Administrator
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL	George S. Mitchell, Ph.D., Executive Director

The Inaugural Committee

Of the Board of Trustees

THE RT. REV. EDWIN A. PENICK, D.D., *ex officio*

THE REV. JOHN W. HERRITAGE, D.D., THE REV. ROBERT J. JOHNSON, D.D.
MR. SAMUEL THAGGART

Of the Faculty and Staff

Rev. Lloyd M. Alexander
Nina W. Anthony
Russell E. Blunt
Mrs. Catherine Burgess
Arthur P. Chippey
Hazel V. Clarke
T. Lorraine Cumbo
Mrs. Julia Delany
Cecil D. Halliburton
Mrs. Mabel M. Latham
T. Curtis Mayo
Mrs. Roy D. Moore
Mrs. B. Constance O'Dell
Tinsley L. Spraggins
B. Bryant Taylor

Former Faculty Members

Lawrence A. Oxley
P. B. Young, Sr.

Of the Alumni

Dr. Edson E. Blackman
Mrs. Bessie Blue
Mrs. Cora D. Blunt
Mrs. Bertha A. Butler
Dr. Eric R. Clarke
Cecil N. Coble
Mrs. Mary D. Hamilton
Leonidas Haywood
Mrs. Marie S. Lane
Mrs. Clinton B. Ligon
Edna R. Miller
Mrs. Roxanna L. Rich
Rev. Othello D. Stanley

Of the Student Council

Claudius A. Blackett
Robert E. DuBose
Cornelia L. Perry
Herlene Nancy Smith
William Van Croft

DEAN CECIL D. HALLIBURTON, *Chairman*
General Inaugural Committee

TINSLEY L. SPRAGGINS, *Chief Marshal*

DR. EDSON E. BLACKMAN, '13, *President's Marshal*

MRS. B. CONSTANCE O'DELL
Director, the Choral Club

CORNELIA L. PERRY
VIRGINIA K. CARTER
Instrumentalists

St. Augustine's was chartered as a "Normal School and Collegiate Institute" on July 19, 1867, the Rev. J. Brinton Smith, D.D., secretary of the Freedman's Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Rt. Rev. Thomas Atkinson, D.D., bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina, being the prime movers among a group of Churchmen who became the incorporators. Bishop Atkinson became the first president of the Board of Trustees, and Dr. Smith the first principal.

The new school opened its doors for instruction on January 13, 1868.

The first bachelor's degrees were granted May 22, 1931, under the presidency of the Rev. Edgar H. Goold.

St. Augustine's College was granted A rating as a degree awarding institution by the State Department of Public Instruction in 1930, was accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1933, and awarded the A rating by that body in 1942.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg is the sixth president of St. Augustine's. He was preceded in this position by:

The Rev. J. Brinton Smith, D.D., 1867-1872
The Rev. J. E. C. Smedes, D.D., 1872-1884
The Rev. Robert B. Sutton, D.D., 1884-1891
The Rev. Aaron B. Hunter, D.D., 1891-1916
The Rev. Edgar H. Goold, M.A., B.D., 1916-1947

36-Trigg, H. L.

January 18, 1949

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We will indeed send you ten copies of the Home Town Self-Survey just as soon as they are available. I do not yet know just what they will be, probably no more than 25 cents.

Since writing you about a February meeting date for the Executive Committee meeting, it has been suggested that a March date would be greatly preferable, as we should have by then a much better idea of what our financial campaign is likely to turn up. A number of plans are pending which would make all the difference if they should work out as hoped. In view of these considerations, what would you say to the 9th, 16th, or 23rd of March? Please let me know whether you have any preference among them. Just as soon as I can clear a date with all concerned, I will let you hear from me again. Meanwhile, I am

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary- Treasurer

P.S. Dr. Mitchell has told us about the inauguration and how well you looked. All our felicitations on this very grand occasion!!
A. McK.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

January 8, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I thank you for your letter of January 6, 1949.

Would you be kind enough to send me ten (10) copies of the Outline for Community Survey, I shall be glad to pay whatever charge is required.

At the present time February 23, 1949, seems to be the most convenient date for me to come to an Executive Committee Meeting.

Kindest regards to all of the Staff.

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

36 - Trigg, Harold

January 19, 1949

President Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

Marion Wright sent me this from the Asheville Citizen. You have probably seen it otherwise, but I wanted to make sure.

That was a fine occasion, and you will find it rewarding to the College down through the years.

Incidentally, we have someone to thank for a delicious dinner that was called a luncheon!

If you will make ten great young men and young women each year, you will deserve a place among that number whom the Prayer Book calls "the lights of the world in their several generations."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

File with letter I wrote

36-Trigg, H. L.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

February 14, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I thank you for your letter of February 8th, informing me that March 16th is the date for the Executive Committee Meeting.

We are anxious to get the 62 copies of the Survey Outline as soon as possible in view of the fact that they are to be used in one of our classes. Would you be kind enough to see that these are sent in the very near future.

Kindest regards to all of the Staff, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

36-Trigg, H. L.

February 21, 1949

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Our expectations now are that the manual will be ready to ship by Wednesday and we will certainly rush your 70 copies to you just as fast as we can. In fact, you are going to be our first customer as far as filling your order is concerned.

We are so interested in the course you are giving in this field and shall want to hear about it when you come. We are all looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

36 - Trigg, H.L.

4/22/49

April 22, 1949

President Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

So faithful a co-propagandist as yourself will, I know, be willing to help us get twenty extra copies of the new punch pamphlet into places where they can be helpful. They are coming to you separately.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36.- Trigg, H. L

April 25, 1949

President Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Trigg:

We are all delighted to know of your deserved distinction in the appointment to membership on the North Carolina State School Board.

It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to us here in the Council to recall your hard work here with us and to know that we may share with you the usefulness of your expanding career of service in the South.

Sincerely,

Southern Regional Council Staff

36 - Trigg, Harold

May 5, 1949
Dict. May 4

President Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

Good enough. We will settle for June 28, 29, and 30 for me to be at your service in Raleigh.

I look forward to the occasion.

I had to make literally a three-minute talk before the South Carolina Division yesterday. I told them two things the Council stood for: downing the Ku Klux, and up-ing guys like Harold Trigg.

Mr. Spaulding (alone) is very kindly sending out the $250 letters from Durham, today or tomorrow.

We have had about 227 contributors under the ten-dollar campaign, which is ten percent of our households—which is blessed good. We are still slowly starving, but we are doing. Howsomever, I will draw on my South Carolina links: Dum spiro, spero!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

April 22, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am grateful for your letter of March 30, 1949, informing me that you would be available for our Workshop on either June 13, 14, and 15 or June 28, 29, and 30. I have an idea that the second group of dates would be better for us, if this is alright with you. Either would fit into our scheme of things and whichever is more convenient to you would be acceptable to us. I look forward with great pleasure to having you with us on either dates.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

Note: 15th is out - Exec Com. Mtg. here.
MET

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

April 11, 1949

President Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

It looks like our Executive Committee is going to meet June 15. Please, therefore, refer to my letter to you of March 30 and cross off June 15 from available dates.

I do hope we can in some way get you down here that day.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

March 30, 1949

President Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

The good gospel gets called by a new name every few years. To tell the honest truth, I have not found out what they mean by "resource-use education", but if you want me to come and give them some George Mitchell gospel, I will be glad to do so.

List me as a consultant and as part of any workshop you want.

I can pay most of my way up there and back, anyway.

I have written down on my calendar as available to you June 13, 14, and 15 or June 28, 29, and 30. The last part of your time I am supposed to be at Fisk.

Take your pick and, if neither period suits you, I will find another.

No greater pleasure than to be part of your effort.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

March 25, 1949

RECEIVED
MAR 28 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

We are planning a Workshop on Resource-Use Education here June 9-July 16, 1949.

I am writing to ask if I could list you as a Consultant and also to ask if it might be possible to have you here during the Workshop for two or three days in order to have conferences in many of the fields in which you qualify as an expert.

This is the first venture of this kind and the funds are limited. I am, therefore, sorry that I can not offer you a big honorarium. It is possible, however, that we might share in your expenses and of course your stay on the campus would cost you nothing.

I am hoping to have some person on the permanent Staff from the University and there will be many Consultants from the State Departments and the Universities in this vicinity.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

If you can come, please suggest the possible dates.
Dard

36 Trigg, Harold

May 18, 1949

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

You will see our esteem of the honor North Carolina did the South by its appointment of you. Page 6.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

STAFF ROUTING

STAFF _____

READING FILE _____

HCF ✓

JPS ✓

NH ✓

MS ✓

CAC ✓

AMCK ✓

MET ✓

GSM ✓

36 - Trigg, Dr. Harold

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

May 25, 1949

The Staff of the Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear S.R.C. Staff:

I am grateful to you for your kind letter of April 25, 1949, expressing your satisfaction at my appointment to membership on the North Carolina State Board of Education. I also had a letter from Mrs. Margaret Price Mullins. This made the vote unanimous.

I am happy to be the first Negro to have membership on this important Board. I am more happy over the fact that a program of Education which is now thirty years old has made it possible for a Governor of the State to show his courage and for a legislature and great people to back him up.

I trust that I shall merit the continued good will and support of the many splendid citizens like you who are working for a better day.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

June 6, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

I had set aside June 15, 1949 for the meeting of the Executive Committee and had made other engagements to conform to this one.

I find now that it will be impossible for me to be there on the 8th because this is an organizational date for a workshop in Resource-Use Education which we are holding here this Summer for the first time. I regret this very much.

Please tell Dr. Mitchell that we shall be expecting him June 28, 29 and 30 as per his promise.

I am getting in touch with Mr. John Larkin who is to visit the three "suspects" for contributions of $250.00 each and we will get to them as soon as possible.

With regret that I can not attend the meeting, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mlb

36 - Trigg, Harold

June 7, 1949

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, President
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

We will miss you a lot at the meeting tomorrow.

It is on my calendar to be at your service at Raleigh June 28, 29, and 30.

Do please go after the "suspects". We certainly could use those three $250's.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36 - Trigg, Harold

July 1, 1949

President Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

I had a nice time and enjoyed the meetings and the college and your and Mrs. Trigg's company very much. Nice of you to find the forty dollars.

Do please keep after Larkin. You and Mr. Larkin could round up three good fat $250.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

36 - Trigg, Harold

August 12, 1949

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We shall pretty soon be needing the list of influential ministers about whom I wrote you under date of June 23.

Do send it in as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

36 - Trigg, Harold

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

August 26, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am writing this word of special gratitude to you for coming to our Workshop in Resource-Use Education during the 1949 Summer Session, and for the unique contribution which you made.

All of the persons who participated in the Workshop spoke enthusiastically of the discussion with you and felt stimulated to follow some of the many leads which developed.

With every good wish, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
Director

HLT:mlb

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
AUG 30
Southern Regional Council

36-Trigg, Harold

August 30, 1949

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We will miss you a lot at the meeting tomorrow.

Meanwhile, thanks for the list of church people, and thanks for kind words about the institute.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Trigg

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

July 28, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It was a pleasure to have the brief call from you a few days ago and also to receive your letter of July 24.

I have called Mr. Hood and he informs me that Guy Johnson heads a committee to call a meeting in September. I am going to keep in constant touch with both of them in order to get some results.

I feel that Dr. Johnson will get things going. August is not a good time to call a meeting.

I am writing Dr. Johnson in this same mail and urging that we get busy on something early in September.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mbw

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

Fre 19

November 21, 1950

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
St. Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Harold:

We are all of us crunching Royster's Candy and with every crunch remembering our pleasure in your visit.

Do keep pushing those North Carolina folks and arrange a meeting.

We are begging Doris Duke's outfit for five thousand dollars and the Coca Cola kings hereabouts for another five thousand. If we got them both we would be in fair shape.

Sincerely, and with many thanks,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Dr. J. H. Blanton, Principal
Voorhees N. & I. School
Denmark, South Carolina

WILL ARRIVE FROM ATLANTA 4:16 WEDNESDAY MORNING.

Harold L. Trigg

GEORGIA'S GOVERNOR?

By
Harold L. Trigg

If the turbulent Georgia political scene with its world wide audience is adequately described in headlines and pictures distributed from Atlanta to all parts of the globe, the opponents and proponents of the "democratic way" must be happy and sad.

It would not be fair to give final evaluation until the lower court renders a decision after the hearing scheduled for February 7, and the subsequent decision of the State Supreme Court in case of appeal which is highly probable.

The rapidly moving drama bears semblance to a combination of a reconstruction legislature (no Negroes in this one) and a political upheaval in one of the South American republics.

In the Democratic primary on July 17 Eugene Talmadge had received the majority of the county-unit votes and the party nomination for governor following a torrid campaign in which "white supremacy" had been the major issue. He did not receive the highest number of popular votes.

The Democratic Convention on October 9 at Macon wrote the Talmadge "planks" into the party platform although the governor-nominate was too ill to attend the convention or even address it by radio.

The general election on November 4 found Eugene Talmadge the only qualified candidate for governor, but some of his adherents fearing for his failing physical strength passed the word along on election day to write the name of his 33 year old son into the ballot.

The elder Talmadge died December 21. His followers, ostensibly fearing that the "white primary" plank of Talmadge's platform would be endangered, laid claim to succession for his son Herman on the basis of a constitutional

provision that requires the General Assembly to elect a governor from the two high candidates, in life, in case no candidate is found to have received a majority vote in the election when the returns are canvassed at the opening of the General Assembly.

The State's Attorney General, when asked for an opinion by Governor Arnall, ruled that this clause did not apply in this instance since the elder Talmadge did receive the majority in the November election, and that the incumbent, Governor Ellis Arnall, should hold office until his successor should be chosen and qualified. Governor Arnall then resigned to take effect when the Lieutenant Governor (a new office created by the State Constitution of 1944) could be sworn in and qualified to become Acting-Governor until the next general election.

There followed claims and counter claims based on varying interpretations of the Constitution.

The General Assembly convened on the 13th of the present month. A canvass of the November 4 election returns, impossible on the morning of January 14 because the presiding officer was unable to obtain order in the Assembly, was finally completed in a hectic all afternoon and night session and "write-in" votes gave Herman Talmadge 675, James V. Carmichael 669, Talmadge Bowers (Republican) 637, Kilroy, Mickey Mouse, et al, an unspecified number. Young Talmadge was elected Governor of Georgia by a vote of 161 - 87 in the General Assembly early on the morning of the 15th.

The uncontrollable confusion in the Assembly on the morning of the 14th, the all afternoon and night session in which the galleries showed a substantial number of shirt sleeves and red suspenders ("wool hat boys"), the mass of debris in the meeting hall including empty bottles of many varieties, fainting women, fist fights in the corridors and before Governor's inner office, the taking over of the Governor's office suite on the nights of

January 15 and 16 by Herman Talmadge and adherents, the barring of Governor Arnall from the Executive Mansion by uniformed officers on the 16th, the swearing in of M.E. Thompson (elected in November) as Lieutenant Governor before the General Assembly on the 18th and again before the State Senate as Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor on the 20th, the march of hundreds of Georgia's white college students on the Capitol January 21, the growing wave of protest on the part of prominent church and lay persons are all symptoms of the political muddle which found Georgia with two Governors from January 15 to 20, and one Governor and one Acting Governor from January 20 to the present.

The "white primary" bill was introduced in both houses of the Assembly on January 20 and received lengthy comment in the message of Governor Talmadge on the 21st.

This is the Georgia political scene with its grim foreboding for Negro suffrage as well as for American democracy and world peace.

HLT
Book review?

In the United States as a whole the period from April, 1943 to July 1944 saw no fewer than 224 national, regional, and local committees established to deal with problems of racial minorities. The number and wide distribution of these committees, the majority of which are concerned with Negro-white relations, is one indication that Negroes are moving "into the main stream" of American life. Their place in our democracy is of national concern.

This book was written by a noted sociologist, author, and a disciplined student of race relations. His associates will also be known to many who seek an understanding of the problems involved in human relations in the "main stream", and the best means for integrating the maximal positive contribution of the Negro in to the composite welfare of the whole.

There is a wholesome absence of fantastic theory, name-calling, blame-fixing, and overtones found in current literature on race. There is the frank admission that the "items (activities, events) are set on the credit side of the ledger" for the fundamental purpose of presenting a sampling of the programs which show "better practices" in race relations.

The ten-page introduction by the author must be read with understanding before the eleven chapters of "better practices" in the South may have meaning. In these few pages he discusses a controversial issue with clarity and realistic courage.

The South is no different from the country as a whole in her basic philosophies of living. There has been difficulty in finding ways to implement these common convictions; and the wide spread concern for improved human relations is the best possible indication that no satisfying final formula has been found.

The official recognition of the principle of "equalization" in educational opportunity, later extended to health, welfare, transportation and

recreation, and now being extended to employment, suffrage and the courts, is certainly a tremendous advance over previous years. It is the parallel principle of "separation" which has become more rigid, accompanied by the demand that the Negro openly accept segregation. According to the author, the Negro cannot make a public acceptance of ~~the~~ race segregation as the final solution of the problems of racerelations in a democratic society, without accepting for "all time a definition of himself as something less than his fellow man."

In actuality Negro leaders have worked within the framework of segregation, pressing persistently for equality of services and of opportunity, not social contact. "They will not and cannot say that they will never disturb the present policy of segregation", therefore a stalemate occurs in regional progrsss.

The suggested new basis for accomodation is that both groups cease to demand "what is for the present impossible" and <u>undertake together programs of action in those areas where there is agreement</u>. Negroes have already shown themselves capable of such functional cooperation.

Some favorable elements in the situation are migration, advances in education, industrialization and unionization, cooperation between white and Negro leaders, establishment of courses and field projects by southern colleges and universities, and the tendency on the part of progressive southern political leaders to consider problems of the South not racial but economic, geographic, and social.

According to the author

The biggest single development in the field of citizenship and race relations in the South within recent years was the organization of the Southern Regional Council in 1944. Other indications of progress are the addition of Negroes to post-war planning boards; hospitals and clinics with white and Negro staffs; wider employment opportunities.

There is a growing number of white leaders in southern communities small and large, rural and urban, who have the desire and courage to direct constructive change. They want to know what is being done successfully in the field of human relations. They should study the movement "into the main stream", so that they may be able to establish and direct trends, not merely wait for them.

This book is positive, realistic, and constructive. It pierces the veil of emotional reaction into a new era ~~of interracial reaction into a new era~~ of interracial progress which submits itself to intelligent cooperative planning.

provided a vehicle for concerted effort and for the distribution of significant information.

2. The second reason is the group cooperation of the Division of Vocational Education in the State Department of Public Instructions, and the Regional Veterans Administration. The whole program has been aidmensely by the fact that North Carolina already had a large number of secondary schools in which vocational courses we e offered prior to the War.

Many states of the South have been handicapped in their efforts to provide training and industrial educationafor Negro veterans because there were very few schools of this type prior tothe War.

On May 4, I visited the Veterans Administration office and also the offices of the State Board of Education at Richmond and the Veterans Guidance Center at Virginia State College in Petersburg, Virginia. It was difficult to secure information concerning the set-up in Virginia, outside of the institutions of higher learning at Hampton, Petersburg, and Norfolk. I think it is safe to conclude that secondary schools in smaller cities and rural centers are doing little or nothing in this line.

It was the opinion of many officials that the small progress in developing a program in the smaller schools, was due to the fact that teachers in trade and industries are not available. The trade school connected with the Virginia State College at Petersburg is an example of what might be done for veterans, in its variety of courses and thoroughness with which they are taught.

On July 7, I had a conference with Mr. J. C. Holb rook at the Veterans Administration office for the 5th Area, which is located at Marietta, Georgia.

PAGE (s) MISSING

Mr. Holbrook was kind enough to offer me the coope ation of his office in making visits in the five states (South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and Alabama) which this office serves.

With a letter of introduction from Mr. Holbrook, I visited the Regional Veterans Administration Office, at Pass-a-Grille. The attitude toward vocational education for B Negroes, on the part of Mr. M. M. Green (Chief Director of the RVA Office) is excellent. Mr. A. T. Worley, the training officer, showed me through the vocational school at St. Petersburg. This is a part of the local Gibbs High School. The equipment for cometology, tailoring, auto repair machine shops, is new and complete.

On July 31, I had the opportunity for making brief remarks before the National Negro Business League in Convention at Tampa. I emphasized three points:

1. The necessity of helping veterans to organize and join the most powerful of the Regional Veterans Organizations in their respective states.

2. The need of veterans for initial capital to start small businesses which would enable them to use the skill acquired during or since the War.

3. The opportunity to continue veteran schools already begun and to convert
and to convert them into Regional Schools.

On June 19, I had the opportunity to call at the office of Mr. Arthur Schiffley, who directs the Vocational Education Program for veterans in South Carolina. He informed me that two Regional Vocational Schools were being established, one for white and another for Negroes.

11

PROMOTION OF GENERAL FUNCTIONS OF THE SRC

My visits in promoting the general functions of the Southern Regional Council have been as follows:

April 28----Asheville, North Carolina. Conference for Social Workers.

I explained the purposes and functions of the SRC.

May 8,--- Atlanta, Georgia.

A conference on Civil Rights was held in the Lutherian Church of the Redeemer. I was a member of one of the Sub-Committees.

May 21,---Petersburg, Virginia

I was the speaker for the commencement exercises at Bishop Penn's Divinity School.

May 24--A--Atlanta, Georgia.

The Advisory on Reources in Veterans Education met at Atlanta University. I represented the SRC.

May 28---Denmark, South Carolina.

I was speaker of commencement exercises at the Vorhees Normal and Industrial School.

June 9.

In company with Doctors George S. Mitchell and Guy B. Johnson, I attended a meeting of the Executives of the North Carolina Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation.

June 13-14----Wilmington, North Carolina.

On June 13, I explained the purposes, functions, and approaches of

August 11-15---Atlanta, Georgia.

The Regional Office of the B oy Scouts of America held a School for Scout Leaders at Morris Brown College, which was attended by 160 Scout Leaders from eleven states. I was one of the directors of this School.

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:EE

SRC Board Membership

November 20, 1945

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

It is my pleasure to inform you that at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council on November 14, you were elected to membership on the Board for a term of four years. I sincerely hope that you will accept this election and that you will give the Council the benefit of your wisdom as a member of its Board of Directors.

For your information the Board holds two regular meetings annually. One of these is held on the day preceding the annual meeting of members and the other is held immediately on the adjournment of the annual meeting. The time of the annual meeting is the second Wednesday in November. Special meetings of the Board may be called from time to time. The Council bears expenses of Board members when they attend meetings.

Again let me say that we hope that you will accept service on the Board of Directors. May we hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

WALTER K. BELKNAP, PRESIDENT
CHAS. W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. MARK ETHRIDGE, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHAS. E. STOLL, SECRETARY
T. C. GAINES, TREASURER

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR
J. MANSIR TYDINGS, BUSINESS MANAGER

LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF KENTUCKY

LINCOLN RIDGE, KY.

TRUSTEES

CHAS. W. ALLEN
RUFUS B. ATWOOD
WALTER K. BELKNAP
MRS. MARK ETHRIDGE
T. CARLTON GAINES
FRANCIS A. HUTCHINS
HARRY R. KENDALL
J. F. LAINE
JOHN LITTLE
THRUSTON MORTON
STANLEY NEWHALL
MISS JULIET POYNTER
MRS. WILLIAM M. REED
G. WILLIAM SAFFELL
L. GRANT SMITH
WILLIAM A. STARK
CHAS. E. STOLL
C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

November 26, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your invitation to become a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council is appreciated and accepted.

The work of the Council has an important place in the future of the South, and I accept the responsibilities involved because I appreciate such an opportunity to serve the South, particularly in the promotion of better relations between all of its citizens.

With the same sort of cooperation between the Southern Regional Council and the Kentucky group for every southern state, I am sure that there are great days ahead.

Sincerely,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:mb

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

WALTER K. BELKNAP, PRESIDENT
CHAS. W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. MARK ETHRIDGE, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHAS. E. STOLL, SECRETARY
T. C. GAINES, TREASURER

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR
J. MANSIR TYDINGS, BUSINESS MANAGER

LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF KENTUCKY

LINCOLN RIDGE, KY.

TRUSTEES

CHAS. W. ALLEN
RUFUS B. ATWOOD
WALTER K. BELKNAP
MRS. MARK ETHRIDGE
T. CARLTON GAINES
FRANCIS A. HUTCHINS
HARRY R. KENDALL
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COLEMAN WRIGHT

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1947
Southern Regional Council

January 28, 1947

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

We are going to have our annual meeting of the Kentucky Council for Interracial Cooperation on Saturday, February 8, 2:30 p.m. at the Y. M. C. A. in Louisville.

During a meeting of the Executive Committee sometime ago, a new constitution was approved subject to adoption at this annual meeting which in effect will make the Council a Kentucky Chapter of the Southern Regional Council.

It would be a good idea to have about 250 of the membership leaflets (sample enclosed) and as many copies of "New South". We would also be grateful for any suggestion you might have for the program.

250 S.?
100 Jan. New So.

Send

I would also appreciate a copy of the list of members of the Southern Regional Council in Kentucky. EKH.

Best regards to everybody.

Sincerely,

J. M. Tydings

J. M. Tydings
Executive Director
Ky. Interracial Council

G.W.
1/7/47

JMT:mb
1 Encl.

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

February 7, 1947

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Literature delayed through oversight. On way to you at Y.M.C.A. air mail special.

Guy B. Johnson

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(22)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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LC = Deferred Cable
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Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

QA40 1947 FEB 20 PM 4 37

Q VEA547PD=TDSE SIMPSONVILLE KY 20 315P

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ATTN DR GUY B JOHNSON= ATLANTA

63 AUBURN NORTHEAST ATLA=

PLEASE ADVISE AS PER MY LETTER FEBRUARY 11TH IN TIME FOR DIRECTOR MEETING FEBRUARY 24TH=

J M TYDINGS=

2-20-47

11 24=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

March 13, 1947

Mr J.M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr Tydings: At last the letterheads for the Kentucky Division are being shipped to you. Sorry I was so late.

After some figuring, Dr. Johnson and I agreed that the best thing was to have printed simply our basic letterhead, leaving space for you to have the rest over-printed as you see fit.

I enclose a rough suggested layout for the over-printing, marked the way we consider would be most effective. Also enclosed is a copy of President Paul Williams' personal letterhead, which will give you an idea of how the Kentucky one will look.

We decided not to print the whole thing, so that you would be free to bring it as up-to-date as possible, with names of state officers and headquarters address. Any printer can over-print the rest of it for you in short order.

I hope you like the suggested layout and -- while I'm hoping -- I hope too that we may see you here again soon.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick

September 23, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Louis Wirth, President
American Council on Race Relations
32 West Randolph Street
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Wirth:

The conference of agencies and organizations concerned with race relations which you have scheduled to be held in Chicago on November 14, 15, and 16 might be in conflict with the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council which is also to be held in November in Atlanta. It is suggested that you clear this matter up with them.

The program as outlined in your letter of September 18 seems very interesting, and I hope you will have a large attendance . Unless there is some confliction, I will plan to be there.

I would further suggest that you send invitations to Mr. Harry W. Schacter, President of the Committee for Kentucky, and to the Directors of the Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council.

If I can be of any assistance, please advise.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings
Chairman

JMT:mb
CC: Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director, SRC

September 25, 1947

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

It was thoughtful of you to send me the copy of your letter of September 23 to Louis Wirth.

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council is on Wednesday, November 12, and the Board Meeting is on Tuesday, November 11. Formal [illegible] will be out in a day or two.

We are very anxious for you to come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

36-T-Misc. - Tydings, J.M.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

KENTUCKY DIVISION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

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August 16, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of August 9 enclosing a copy of "To Secure These Rights' in Your Community", just published by the American Council on Race Relations.

I have passed this copy to Mr. Whitney M. Young, President of the K. N. E. A., with the suggestion that he send copies to his regional directors, and I will send same suggestion to other groups who are well organized on a State wide basis.

Sincerely yours,

J. Mansir Tydings

JMT:ms

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AUG 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

36

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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

FOR VICTORY BUY WAR BONDS TODAY

September 13, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

RESERVATION ATLANTAN HOTEL FOR SEPTEMBER 14 - 15. EXPECTING YOU.

Mrs. Agnes McKoy

Tydings

COPY

September 21, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Barry Bingham, Publisher
THE COURIER-JOURNAL
Sixth & Broadway Streets
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Bingham:

Thank you very much for a very courteous interview yesterday morning.

I hope that your talk with Mr. Ethridge was favorable to the Southern Regional Council and that you like the statement issued by the Executive Committee entitled, "An Honest Answer in the Civil Rights Controversy."

We shall be most grateful for the encouragement, leadership, and support you can so ably give, as a member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council, to those of us who are working in Kentucky, and in the South, for equal opportunities for all people.

Very sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings
Chairman

JMT/mvt
cc Mr. Ethridge
Dr. George S. Mitchell

36 — Tydings

October 26, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I do thank you for writing October 18 to the Jacob Schmidtlapp Foundation about the police project.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36 Tydings, J M

November 1, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Paul Williams and I are most anxious to have you take on the job of leading for the annual membership meeting on November 10, here in Atlanta, the discussion on a budget for 1949. I know that Paul is the chairman of the finance committee, but he has to appear so much in the earlier part of the program that he wants to put that job on you.

I guess it is another part of the penalty of being a good egg, but I do hope you will do it. After all, it only means being earnest and businesslike with the membership about how we are going to live next year, and thereafter.

Here is a copy of the program, which you will see lists you for that duty.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

36 - Tydings, J M

LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF KENTUCKY

Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

November 1, 1948

C
O
P
Y

Mr. Harold A. Lett
State of New Jersey
Dept. of Education
Div. Against Discrimination
1060 Broad Street
Newark 2, N. J.

Dear Mr. Lett:

In reply to your letter of October 20, The Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs was a study group and is no longer functioning. However, The Kentucky Division of S.R.C. is the follow-up organization which has been implementing the ideas developed by the Commission. Therefore, may I suggest that you write to Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Director of S.R.C., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga., who, by the way, plans to attend the forth-coming Chicago Conference of NAIRO, and he may be of some help to you.

You are welcome to the enclosed booklet which may be helpful to explain to you just how the Kentucky Commission operated.

With best wishes,

Very cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings,

JMT/lb

36 - Tydings, J. M

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

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Southern Regional Council

November 2, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 4 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Ex. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is a program for the N. C. O. I. R. which you may already have and which I am forwarding to you as the Representative of the Southern Group.

As it stands now, I do not plan to attend.

The enclosed correspondence and check for Dr. Lattimore is self-explanatory.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings, L.B.

J. M. Tydings,
Chairman

JMT/lb
Enclosures

LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF KENTUCKY

Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

November 2, 1948

C
O
P
Y

Dr. J. A. C. Lattimore
1502 West Walnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Lattimore:

Thank you for your very generous check for the S. R. C. I have forwarded it to the Atlanta Office.

I am very grateful for your thoughtfullness in sending me your speech before the National Medical Association, which I shall read carefully.

The next time I am to be in Louisville I will call you for an appointment so that we can talk over the next steps on the Nurse Training Program.

Very cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings

J. M. Tydings,
Chairman

JMT/lb

36 - Tydings, JM

November 16, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Here is a rough draft of a letter asking each of our members for a minimum of $10. My guess is it should be for the signature jointly of Paul Williams and Charles Johnson.

Will you please take time to blue-pencil (or completely rewrite!) the letter.

When I get back the five or six amended letters I am asking for, I will do a composite and have it sent out.

This has already had the benefit of advice from our Advisory Committee here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

36 - Tydings, JM

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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KENTUCKY DIVISION

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December 1, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am returning your letter and enclosures of Nov. 23 with the suggestion that you address the same request to Dr. McDowell who is a member of the Board of Southern Regional Council and a professor at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. You might suggest that Dr. Brimm help him.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings,
Chairman

JMT/lb

Enclos.

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RECEIVED
DEC 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

December 1, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N. E.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The rough draft of the letter to the membership as forwarded with your letter of November 16 is a very good letter and for which I have no suggested changes. I hope it will produce the desired results.

In the matter of approaching Mr. Barry Bingham please advise if I should follow up Paul Williams letter. Was he notified of his election as a member of the board? How about Mark Ethridge?

Will you please send me a copy of the letter you sent to the Fellows so that I can follow up with a meeting especially for them.

Many thanks for the Kentucky Membership list.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings,
Chairman

JMT/lb

36 - Tydings, J.M.

December 10, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I wrote Bingham and Mark Ethridge today the formal invitations for them to come on the Board.

Here are copies of the letters. If you could visit or telephone each of them promptly, that would help to get a favorable reply from both.

The formal letter of invitation is being reproduced. We will send you one in a few days. The official list of all the Fellows (including, of course, the Kentucky ones) herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36 - Tydings, J.M.

December 23, 1948

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Here is the letter on Fellows.

To our sorrow, we had the attached letter from Mark Ethridge. I suppose no chance of getting him to reverse.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36 Tydings, JM

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January 10, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me your letter to the Fellows and the list of those elected from Kentucky. I thought I might follow up by inviting them to a meeting to discuss the work of S.R.C. in Kentucky.

I went to see Mark Ethridge the day after you called and found him to be out of the city. The following Monday I had a very pleasant time with him and he advised that he had already written to you that he could not serve. He gave me very much the same reasons as given in his letter of December 16th. to you, particularly with regard to the State Department Advisory Commission on Information.

There is still some hope that he might accept later, possibly in February after the report of his Commission has been completed and sent to Congress, after which time he invited me to come see him again.

My letter of December 1 and your reply are enclosed to be returned to your files.

Very truly yours,

J. M. Tydings, Chairman
Executive Committee

JMT/mvt
Encl.

reg 9-001
WA GSM's
p 1

36-Tydings, J. M.

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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COLEMAN WRIGHT

January 31, 1949

RECEIVED
FEB 2 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. G. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.

GSM

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You have probably heard that Mark Ethridge is taking another important government assignment. Under the circumstances we should probably give up the idea of having him on the Board this year.

You will be interested to know that we have obtained the consent of four new people to serve on the Board of the Kentucky Division. They are: Dr. Irving T. Sanders, Head, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky; Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, Executive Secretary, Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention; Sidney Baer, Member of the State of House of Representative, and Bishop William R. Moody, Bishop of Lexington (Episcopalian). We are now looking for a business man to take my place as chairman and a Catholic leader.

A tentative outline of the program for the February 12, annual meeting of the Kentucky Division is as follows:

1. Report of activities by the Chairman
2. Minutes, Mrs. Hortense Young, Secretary Treasurer
3. Introduction of speaker, Dr. C. H. Parrish
4. Speaker, Dr. George S. Mitchell
5. Recognition of Fellows
6. Business Session
   - Financial Report
   - Memberships
   - Election of Officers
7. Introduction of New Officers

The above program is to be preceeded by a meeting of Board Members and Fellows at 10:00 A.M. when you will have a chance to talk finances, and tell the Fellows what they are expected to do.

Altogether about 200 people have been invited to attend, some of whom will be new people. Would it not be a good idea to have a supply of membership cards on hand?

Very truly yours,

J. M. Tydings

J. M. Tydings

200 copies of revised Fleming pamphlet mailed 2/7/49.
MEJ

36 - Tydings, J. M.

April 25, 1949

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I undertook some time back to talk to a meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South at Lexington, Kentucky May 10. The meeting is May 10, 11, and 12.

I am trying to wedge in a visit to Berea somewhere in those three days.

My stated Lexington appearance is on Tuesday evening, the 10th. I presume the meetings will be at the Lafayette Hotel, but don't know.

I have no plans for going over to Louisville. However, I don't want to be as close to you as Lexington without letting you know. If there is any reason why we should confer, I will be happy to get myself over to the Anchorage territory.

I am writing Mr. Atwood that I am going to be up in that neck, and I may be able to drum up a speech-making occasion at his college. I like to do what I can in getting around to college folks.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36 - Tydings, J. M.

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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DR. ALICE CHENOWETH PATE, SECRETARY
CHARLES E. STOLL, TREASURER
C. L. THOMAS, MEMBER

J. MANSIR TYDINGS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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G. WILLIAM SAFFELL
WILLIAM A. STARK
CHAS. E. STOLL
C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

May 5, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

When you are in Lexington, Kentucky, May 10, please call me collect either at Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky (Simpsonville 2431) or at my home in Anchorage.

I am going to try to arrange to drive up and have a visit with you while you are in Lexington.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:oh

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

STANLEY NEWHALL, PRESIDENT
CHARLES W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
DR. ALICE CHENOWETH PATE, SECRETARY
CHARLES E. STOLL, TREASURER
C. L. THOMAS, MEMBER

J. MANSIR TYDINGS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

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THRUSTON B. MORTON
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MISS JULIET POYNTER
G. WILLIAM SAFFELL
WILLIAM A. STARK
CHAS. E. STOLL
C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

May 16, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed you will find a check from S. T. Marcus Company in the amount of $25.00 payable to the Kentucky Division of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Atwood also tells me you received a contribution of $125.00 from Mr. Leslie Perkins of Frankfort.

It is very encouraging to have this kind of support and I hope we will have further response from the letters we are sending out today with the signatures of Mr. Frank L. Stanley and Mr. J. VanDyke Norman, Jr.

Enclosed is a copy of the letter for your file. Under separate cover I have sent the card, as per your request.

In reply to your letter of May 16, I will pass on your suggestion to the members of the Board of Directors of the Kentucky Division with the suggestion that each send to me a list of ten prospective members to whom we will send the new "punch pamphlet" with an invitation to become a member of the Southern Regional Council on the basis of the recommendation of the Director.

I enjoyed very much our little visit in Lexington. It is good to see you in top form and enthusiastic about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Cordially,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:oh
cc: Dr. R. B. Atwood

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

cc: Mrs. McKoy

36 - Tydings, J. M.

May 18, 1949

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Thanks a lot for your letter of May 16, and for the copy of the excellent letter which you sent out, with the post card.

Here is the check back again for your endorsement. I don't suppose we could cash it here, as it is made payable to the Kentucky Division. If you will endorse it on behalf of the Kentucky Division and mail it to us, we will cash it and make the usual return to the Division. I trust Mr. Atwood explained this.

That's a fine deal about getting out copies of the punch pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P.S. Your letter requesting 200 punch pamphlets has just come in. We are mailing them to you today.
G.S.M.

JP requested to mail MET

96 - Tydings, J. M.

July 14, 1949

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

For the files, I would like to have a list of the persons to whom you were kind enough to send the Collier's article.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

36-Tydings, J. M.

August 12, 1949

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

We shall pretty soon be needing the list of influential ministers about whom I wrote you under date of July 23.

Do send it in as soon as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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CHARLES W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
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COLEMAN WRIGHT

November 3, 1949

RECEIVED
NOV 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. G. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Since I have the duty of a citizen to vote on Tuesday, November 8, it will be impossible for me to arrive in Atlanta in time for the 11:00 A. M. meeting of the Board. The best I can do is to take a plane here Tuesday morning which arrives in Atlanta at 1:09 P. M. I will come directly to Atlanta University from the airport.

Under the circumstances, I will not need hotel reservations for the night of November 7th as planned, but will need one for the 8th. Please tell Mrs. McKoy of the change in my plans. I believe she is making hotel reservations.

As to the report of the work in Kentucky which you advised that Paul William wanted me to make, I will be glad to cooperate in any way I can. However, the New South has already reported our activities for the past year.

We are now in the midst of our preparation for Legislature in January, 1950.

I believe Dr. Parrish might have something to report in connection with how the Lyman Johnson vs University of Kentucky case was handled, if you think that might be of interest to the members.

I have been giving all of my attention to the forthcoming session of Legislature and a program for better human relations as may be taught in the state public schools.

I am full of apologies for what I have not done as chairman of the Southern Regional Council in Kentucky.

Best wishes for a successful meeting.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings

co contributor

H.B.
$10.00

P. S. Please give Mrs. McKoy the enclosed check.

Placed on her desk, with dues form letter.
MEJ

a me TS

Tydings

November 5, 1949

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Your letter of November 3 reached the office today in the absence of both Dr. Mitchell and Mrs. McKoy.

We are glad that you are making arrangements to get here as quickly as possible after performing your duty as a citizen. The Piedmont Hotel is being notified of your arrival November 8, rather than the 7th.

Thank you for the welcome ten-dollar check.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Taylor

Tydings

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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CHARLES W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
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W. H. PERRY, JR.
MISS JULIET POYNTER
WILLIAM A. STARK
CHARLES E. STOLL
C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

November 10, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am returning to you the outline of the report which Mrs. Hortense Young sent you and that you were good enough to lend me during the Annual Meeting.

I am also enclosing two envelopes addressed to me from your office which indicates that my name might be duplicated on the mailing list. By way of small, but important economy you might check your list.

I want you to know how much everyone appreciates the fine services you are rendering to the cause of the Southern Regional Council and if I failed to say so personally to you, I want to take this opportunity to do so.

I hope you realize the importance of what you are doing should you loose courage.

Be not affrightened, MEJ

Very cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:oh

RECEIVED
NOV 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

~~February 14, 1950.~~

Here is what I did on this!

ABD

January 18, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

As Dr. Mitchell is out of the city this week, I have been trying to secure the information regarding the date of the meeting of the Louisville Council of Church Women from Mrs. Tilly which you requested of Dr. Mitchell in your letter of Jan. 5.

Mrs. Tilly has been in Palestine and just returned the first of the week. After wiring for information, she was at last able to give me the letter to you which I enclose. I am sorry to be so late with this information and hope you still will have plenty of time to notify your directors.

If we can be of any further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Winona Dawkins, Secretary
(Mrs.) W. R. Dawkins)

January 18, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

The dates of the class for the Church Women of Louisville will be the mornings of February 14, 15, 16, and 17.

My suggestion is that if you could set your executive committee on s y the 16th or 17th, preferably the 17th, and have some one from the executive committee present to the class the Kentucky Division of the S uthern Regional Council, I believe you could get members.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly

MET:wgd

Tydings

Paid

Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E. - Wa. 7963

TELEGRAM

11:30 A.M. - May 9, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Shall be Louisville tomorrow care Urban League 10 A.M., care

Parrish P.M.

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council

TELEGRAM - PREPAID

Tydings

May 13, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

How very good that was of you to give all of yesterday to the things we did.

Mrs. Huff was overjoyed to have all that flock of checks and particularly delighted that you had already thanked the kind givers. Thank you notes run out of our ears these days. Which, however, is cause for rejoicing.

I had a pleasant visit with Priscilla, which I owe entirely to your kindness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

Dict. May 12.

Tydings

X

collect

The Survey
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Address J. Mansir Tydings is Lincoln Foundation, Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky.

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

TELEGRAM - COLLECT

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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1950 MAY 31 PM 3 03

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TU ATLANTA

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

RM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

:PLEASE WIRE COLLECT ADDRESS J. MANSIR TYDINGS YOUR KENTUCKY DIVISION CHAIRMAN=

THE SURVEY 112 EAST 19 NEW YORK CITY=

5-31-50

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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R. B. ATWOOD, VICE CHAIRMAN
DR. HUGH A. BRIMM, 2ND. VICE CHAIRMAN
MRS. HORTENSE YOUNG, SECRETARY
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MISS JULIET J. POYNTER
DR. IRWIN T. SANDERS
WHITNEY M. YOUNG

Southern R[redacted]C.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted]CIA
KENTUC[redacted]DIVISION
LINCOLN [redacted]SE, KENTUCKY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 7, 1951

RECEIVED
FEB 9 1951
Southern Regional Counc

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sorry to have overlooked replying to your letter of December 14, 1950. I apologize.

There are 267 county and city school superintendents in Kentucky so you had better send about 300 copies of "Representation for all": so as to include State Department of Education officials.

We will need SRC stationery and envelopes, but will be glad to send out a letter with the leaflet. Your suggestion as to what we ought to say would be appreciated.

I am sorry to report that Mrs. Hortense Young was not elected to the Louisville School Board.

Cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:gh

Tydings

February 21, 1951

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Thank you for your letter of February 7. I am sorry for this delay in replying, but it was filed by accident and I have just come across it again.

We are so very low on both letterhead and envelopes that we are conserving our supply as much as possible. Therefore, with your permission, I am waiting until our new stock comes from the printer before sending you the paper and envelopes. The new supply should be here in another week.

To simplify things, I shall also wait to send you the 300 copies of "Representation for All" when I send you the paper and envelopes.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter used by another Division as a suggestion.

Many thanks for your willingness to do this mailing. In some of the other states we have had requests from school people for additional copies of "Representation" as a result of the mailing that was done. We hope the same thing will happen from Kentucky's mailing.

Dr. Mitchell is over in Alabama this week making talks.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

GSM:er

The INFORMER Newspapers

P. O. BOX 3086 • HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

FAIRFAX 8347

The Market:

- 2,800,000 People
- Plenty Money
- Willing to Buy
- Awaiting Invitation

The Means:

- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER
- FORT WORTH MIND
- THE INFORMER

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 1, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In answer to your telegram of this week, I am afraid I won't be able to get there for the 4th. I have been half sick since I came home and this week was in bed a day and ahalf, and feel like I would be better in bed today. I wired you my approval of the movie's being made.

Incidentally, what has happened on the program that was to be projected throughout the states? I am being asked on every hand how one can become a member of the Southern Regional, and what is the immediate program. I find that the laymen, white and black, expected definite and concrete announcements and programs from us and they seem let-down when I tell them that we are at present intending to work on human relations.

I wonder if the Executive Committee could not take a little time to work out something definite that the people can be doing, or some definite thing that we can rally the organizations out this way behind? The previous publicity has made people ready for action and really willing, and I think some of them are restive at not having anything to get behind or to take part in. I know you are busy organizing the office and plans there, but I think that it is necessary that something be done toward keeping the interest of the field workers lest we lose the good will that is current now. I am sincerely sorry that I cannot come to the meeting on the 4th, but I am with it and hope I will be able to come the next time there is a call out.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley
/d

April 7, 1944

Mr. Carter Wesley, President
The Informer Newspapers
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Thanks for your letter of April 1. I am sorry that you have been ill and that you were not able to come up to the meeting which was held for March of Time's purposes. The meeting was in some respects a pain in the neck, because it was entirely for the purpose of making movies and it took from 2 to 7 P.M. to get the job done.

The March of Time crew is still around making various shots in Atlanta. I hope that the net effect of their reel on race relations throughout the United States is going to be good. We had some hesitancy in letting them come in when we were so young and had so little to show for our efforts, but all of the Executive Committee members except one heartily endorsed the idea.

I quite understand the feeling of restiveness which you mentioned in your letter. I have had much of the same feeling myself. In fact I have been considerably worried during the interval which has elapsed since the charter meeting in February. I suppose that many people do not realize that the Council did not exist as an organized body until February 17, and that the by-laws which were adopted at the charter meeting set up such a democratic structure that the Executive Directors are in the position of having to wait for further actions by the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors before they can proceed with some of the steps which should be taken. For example, we should have put on a membership drive before now, but we were up against the fact that the by-laws provide that members are elected by the membership or by the Board of Directors under such conditions as the Board may prescribe. You may recall that when the Board met just after the charter member meeting, I urged them to take time to consider a number of things so that the Council could function more efficiently, and that the Board members were so worn out with a two-day meeting and so anxious to catch trains home that they did not want to stay very long. Dr. Reid and I were completely smothered with details for several weeks, and it was not until March 22 that we could get a date for a meeting of the Executive Committee on which we would be assured of a quorum. The Committee elected Dr. Odum president to fill the place of Bishop Moore, who had decided that he could not give time to the presidency, and it helped with various other actions, but there were still some important matters which can be settled only by the Board. For some time we

have been trying to arrange a date for a meeting of the Executive Committee and of the Board, and I believe that in a few days we can send out a call for these meetings to be held some time during the first week of May. The Executive Committee will have certain definite recommendations to make to the Board, and after these recommendations are acted upon I am sure that we can proceed more effectively.

In the meantime we have been on the go constantly, taking care of an exceedingly heavy office schedule, preparing the March issue of Southern Frontier, looking for new personnel, and speaking at meetings of numerous organizations which are interested in cooperating with us. We have tried to lay the ground-work for constructive efforts which will bear fruit. For example, we are trying to get a large number of influential white people in Alabama and Mississippi to come out with forceful statements rebuking the people who have been rabble-rousing in those states of late. There is frustration and headache everyday, but there is also much to cause us to feel optimistic. We will carry on!

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The INFORMER Newspapers

P. O. BOX 3086 • HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

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- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER
- FORT WORTH MIND
- THE INFORMER

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 13, 1944

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In answer to your telegram requesting, "Brief statements on poll tax and on primary and peonage decisions as bases for resolutions to be submitted to the Council Board Meeting on May 5," I am inclosing herewith my story on the primary in Texas, which I wrote after the Supreme Court's decision, and under the subhead, "The Beginning," you will find the history of the primary suits and their effect. You are of course authorized to use any of the material for your purpose, as I am not quite sure just what you want. The cases referred to in the sub-section are: Nixon vs. Herndon, 1927; Nixon vs. Condon, 1932; Grovey vs. Townsend, 1935; and Smith vs. Allwright et al April 4, 1944. There was one previous case of Love vs. ~~Wilcox~~ about 1920, which was not decided because the question was moot by the Supreme Court got around to it.

I have also asked my editor to give me some material on peonage and the poll tax. I am inclosing that material, too, so that it may serve your purpose as I am not quite sure just what you wanted. There are some decisions on peonage but I don't have them in mind, and of course don't have time to look them up. I don't know of any directly on the poll tax issue that is up now, although there are numerous ones sustaining the poll tax in certain categories in the Southern States.

Trusting that this serves your purpose, and that you can make from it a brief to submit to the committee on May 5, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

Inclosures

August 4, 1944

Dear Carter:

First, let me tell you that your letter to Lillian Smith was a masterpiece. I do wish that you would permit the Council to use it in connection with such material as it is pulling together to summarize its half years work.

Just not we are interested in recruiting a larger number of persons in several states to help us work out our program. You have rightly stated that the Council has not yet gotten under way in its program. We are planning to do so. We are dedicating ourselves to do three things almost immediately. First, we are going to work on this whole question of post war adjustment, by constructing and effectuating programs for the adjustment of the return military and civilian personnel to the local community. Second, we are going to work on the whole question of public safety. The approaches that have been made to various problems of the police and the community will be adjusted for permitting the development of a program in the southern section of the United States. We have already had conferences in this connection. Third, we are going to work on the question of household employment, since it represents one of the most difficult of the employment situations in the South, and, since it employs many more Negro people than any other occupational group. Here is a chance then to reach more people on a common interest than in almost any other field.

In this connection we want to broaden the base of our membership; to include larger numbers of persons who will willingly devote some of their time, interest, and perhaps fund, to the fostering of this program. We would like for you to submit to us the names of approximately twenty-five persons, white and colored in the state of Texas, to whom we might address a letter asking that they become members. Since the earlier meetings of the Council, there has been much talk of widening its sphere of influence. This is one way, we believe, in which it can be done.

I do trust that you will be able to let us have this list of persons before the summer is done. It will permit us to start out on a fall program with a larger nucleus of persons to whom

we might address the program, which will certainly be a definitive and exacting one.

My congratulations to you upon having made the primary vote in Texas a significant one. I was not at all in favor of the so-called token vote in Georgia, but the will of the majority prevailed. I continue of the opinion after taking of a forthright stand, unequivocable, honest, and dynamic, is one way in which we can achieve solid victory. I am quite certain that your efforts in this connection has helped to point the way to a number of other southern communities.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR/rha

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

38 - Wesley, Carter B.

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The Informer Group Of Papers

2418 LEELAND AVE. P. O. BOX 3086 HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

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- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

September 17, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 435
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
SEP 20 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sir:

This letter is to confirm my two wires authorizing the use of my name in your release on the answer to the civil rights controversy. I thought it was an excellent document, and a very well-worded statement of the whole issue.

I was genuinely sorry not to have gotten to the meeting Wednesday, but, brother, I wouldn't have missed that meeting in Fort Worth for a thousand dollars. We not only saw history in the making, but we participated in it.

I had intended to make some comments upon the letter of September 3 in which you gave a resume of the work, and also discussed the budget. However, since they have undoubtedly made decisions in the meeting Wednesday, I see no point in laboring it now and will wait until I attend another Directors' meeting, if I am invited to discuss anything that remains open.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

September 21, '48

Mr. Carter Wesley
P O Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley,

Thank you warmly for your ready agreement to be part of the statement, and for your letter of Sep. 17.

The story got wonderful play. The N. Y. Times carried a good account, and ran an editorial in yesterday's (Monday, Sep. 20) edition, and a sweet editorial, we thought. I hear the Dallas News gave the story front-page. Chattanooga Times and Birmingham News-Age-Herald ran the statement in full, notwithstanding how scarce newsprint is. And everybody ran something.

Now we are hoping that this week's Negro papers will be sympathetic with the statement.

You folks did a good job at Fort Worth. Must have been a struggle. In spots we do gain, don't we?

Sincerely,

Dan'l Tillard

We missed you greatly at the meeting, and hope you can be here for the Board meeting, Nov. 10 and 11.

38 - Wesley, Carter

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PUBLISHERS OF

The Informer Group Of Papers

2418 LEELAND AVE. **P. O. BOX 3086** **HOUSTON 1, TEXAS**

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- THE DALLAS EXPRESS
- NEW ORLEANS INFORMER
- THE HOUSTON INFORMER

September 24, 1948

RECEIVED
SEP 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks for yours of September 21, which I appreciate very much.

I saw a copy of the Dallas Morning News' comment upon the SRC Statement. I have begun to run the Statement in full, in continued articles, until it is all published.

I think it is a very fine statement, and I think that it is one that will be calculated to have effect on the thinking of the South generally, and also on the thinking and understanding of people outside of the South.

Best wishes, and I hope to be with you next time.

Sincerely yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

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The Means:
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October 20, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Income Tax Department has come back on me for additional payment of income taxes for 1946. One of the items that they are throwing out is the contribution of $100.00 to the Southern Regional Council. I am writing to ask if the Southern Regional Council is on the exempt list as a non-taxable institution, making contributions to it exempt?

It is my impression that at the very meeting in 1946, and which my contribution followed, the question came up about our President, Dr. Williams, testifying on some matter in Washington. I think I remember that our lawyer, Mr. Haas, who was present, said that it would not be wise for us to authorize his appearance, because the matter was political and it might knock out our exemption as a non-taxable institution, subject to getting contributions free of taxes.

Would you check this matter with Lawyer Haas? Would you also check the records and see if our organization is one to which contributions can be made under the exemption to charitable institutions? The problem is that the list that the Income Tax Department has put out does not include the Southern Regional as an organization exempt. But if as a matter of fact such exemption has been granted, it will be valid though not included in the list which has been published. I have the burden of getting the facts of the exemption to present, and I am asking your help. If the Southern Regional is not exempt, I will appreciate getting that information as it will save my lawyer and accountant from bothering with it further. If it is exempt, then we want the facts and the evidence so that we can demand that this one be taken off the items charged against me.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley
/d

cc: Mr. T. B. Trotter

P. S. I plan to attend the meeting, November 10.

CWW

October 22, 1948

Mr. Carter Wesley
Freedmen's Publishing Company
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

In Dr. Mitchell's absence, please let me answer your letter to him of October 20.

The Council is indeed tax-exempt, and is so recorded by the Treasury Department. For your convenience I am attaching a copy of the letter exempting us, which is signed by the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and which carries a file reference of:

IT:P:T:1
FJB

If copy of this letter is not sufficient for your purposes, please let us know what other documents you may need, and we shall be glad to send them.

We are delighted to know that you plan to attend the meeting on November 10, and are looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:t
Enclosure

C
O
P
Y

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Washington 25

Office of
Commissioner of Internal Revenue

Address reply to
Commissioner of Internal Revenue
and refer to
IT:P:T:1
FJB

Gentlemen:

It is the opinion of this office, based upon the evidence presented, that you are exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts, as it is shown that you are organized and operated exclusively for educational purposes.

Accordingly, you will not be required to file income tax returns unless you change the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized, or your method of operation. Any such changes should be reported immediately to the collector of internal revenue for your district in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

Furthermore, under substantially identical authority contained in sections 1426 and 1607 of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of the Social Security Act, the employment taxes imposed by such statutes are not applicable to remuneration for services performed in your employ so long as you meet the conditions prescribed above for retention of an exempt status for income tax purposes.

You will be required, however, to file annually, beginning with your current accounting period, an information return on Form 990 with the collector of internal revenue for your district so long as this exemption remains in effect. This form may be obtained from the collector and is required to be filed on or before the 15th day of the fifth month following the close of your annual accounting period.

Southern Regional Council, Inc. -

Contributions made to you are deductible by the donors in arriving at their taxable net income in the manner and to the extent provided by section 23 (o) and (q) of the Internal Revenue Code, as amended, and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

Bequests, legacies, devises or transfers, to or for your use are deductible in arriving at the value of the net estate of a decedent for estate tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided by sections 812 (d) and 861 (a) (3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts. Gifts of property to you are deductible in computing net gifts for gift tax purposes in the manner and to the extent provided in section 1004 (a) (2) (B) and 1004 (b) (2) and (3) of the Code and/or corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

The collector of internal revenue for your district is being advised of this action.

By direction of the Commissioner.

Respectfully,

(signature undecipherable; possibly "McLarney"

Deputy Commissioner

NF

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November 17, 1948

RECEIVED
NOV 22 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Do you have any information on the number of cities in the South that have Negro fire stations or Negro firemen? If you have this information or any information on it, I'd appreciate your letting me have the data. Some of the cities in Texas are trying to get Negro firemen--Port Arthur is one--and I promised Mr. Mack Hannah there that I would see if I could find out how many other cities had Negro firemen.

Hope everything is going well with you, and I hope to be able to attend the next time there is a meeting of the Southern Regional Council.

With every good wish, and many thanks, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

38- Wesley, Carter

November 30, 1948

Mr. Carter Wesley, Editor
The Houston Informer
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I am answering your letter of November 17 in Dr. Mitchell's absence from the city. The reason we delayed so long is that we had hoped to get hold of up-to-date figures on employment of Negro firemen. As it turns out, the latest we have are figures obtained by a survey in 1943. The Southern and border cities listed were:

Charleston, S. C.	12	(including one capt., one lt.)
Louisville, Ky.	20	(including two capts., two lts.)
Mobile, Ala.	7	(including one capt., one lt.)
Nashville, Tenn.	13	(" " " ")
St. Louis, Mo.	20	(" two capts., two lts.)
Washington, D. C.	24	(" one capt., one lt.)

Mrs. Jane Simpson of our staff is soon to undertake a survey of the present use of Negro firemen in the South. As soon as she has completed it, we will send you the results, which will be of more use to you than these older figures. I am sorry we can't help more at this time.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

38 - Wesley, Carter

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December 3, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks so much for yours of November 30, giving me the information about Negro firemen in Southern cities. I shall certainly be happy to receive the results of the survey yet to be made in this field.

Again thanking you, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

COPY

RECEIVED
APR 7
Southern Regional Council

April 5, 1949

Dr. Paul D. Williams
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have from the office in Atlanta a copy of the minutes of the Executive Committee which met March 16, with a note of transmittal from Dr. George S. Mitchell, calling attention to the embarrassment caused by members of the Executive Committee who have not been able to attend. I agree that people who serve on committees should attend and take part in meetings. The fact that I have not been able to attend the Executive Committee meeting of the Southern Regional Council in a year, or better, has been embarrassing to me, and I am sure it is an annoyance to the committee itself. Because of the seeming inability to get to meetings, I am herewith tendering my resignation as a member of your Executive Committee, and from any other official position that I may hold in the Southern Regional Council.

I assure you that whenever it is possible for me to make one of the general or annual meetings, I shall come. I am genuinely sorry that I have been this long sending in my resignation, but I have sort of hated to pull out, and yet I have not seemed to have had the strength and the will to make the meetings. I still will be pulling for the organization, and will be at your service for anything that needs to be done in this community, with which I can help.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d cc: Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dr. George S. Mitchell

April 7, 1949

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

The copy of your letter to Mr. Paul Williams has just been received, and in Dr. Mitchell's absence I am writing you to express my great distress that you should have made personal application, either of the passage in the minutes themselves, or of Dr. Mitchell's letter. Actually, Dr. Mitchell's letter was sparked by the fact that he so esteems and values our present committee that he wants NONE of them to be lost to us, and this certainly includes yourself.

Perhaps it would be well to explain to you how the whole matter came about. At the 1947 Board meeting, the Board, in setting up standing committees to bring in nominations to fill vacancies on the Board, also named a committee to bring in nominations for the executive committee. In all probability the latter committee was set up through pure inadvertence, since I doubt that any board member present could have recalled what provisions the by-laws made for the setting up and functioning of the Executive Committee. Thus, no specifications were given the committee, and no indication as to how it should perform its duty. At that time, the by-laws stated only that the Executive Committee is the creature of the Board, to be set up or abolished at its pleasure, and that vacancies should be filled by the Board. So, when the 1948 Board meeting was held, there were no vacancies in the Executive Committee, and the nominating committee met its dilemma by recommending that the present committee be reelected, but did ask the Board for clarification, and for some statement of its intentions and wishes in setting the nominating committee up as a committee. The question was referred to the Executive Committee for consideration at its next meeting. That was the one just held. The Executive Committee, recognizing that the Board might possibly have felt that there should be some rotation of membership on the

Executive Committee, other than that provided by the outside limitation of eight years (two successive terms) for Board members, sought earnestly to find some equitable method by which vacancies might be opened from time to time, and thus provide a degree of rotation as indicated. This was not too easy a task but finally the device outlined in the minutes was agreed upon.

Practically every one has been absent from time to time, and others besides yourself more than once in succession. And NO ONE has so far to come as you do. I well remember the miserable weather everywhere that grounded your plane on one occasion, and certainly this last time I know no one who would not have had to do exactly what you did under similar circumstances.

So, if we have blundered, please know we did not mean it, and forgive us. Dr. Mitchell will want to write you I know when he returns.

All our esteem and good wishes.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:e

P.S. I am enclosing the attached letter which was ready to go out to you when yours arrived.

cc: to Dr. Mitchell
Mr. Paul Williams

Wesley, Carter

April 15, 1949

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I warmly agree with Mrs. McKoy's letter of April 7. Truly you are the last person we would want to lose! We need you greatly on the Executive Committee and, of course, on the Board too.

We all understand that you have tried mighty hard to get here. We need the strength you give us in all your area.

I do hope you can write me that I can consider your letter of April 5 to Mr. Williams as inoperable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

cc: Paul D. Williams

Carter Wesley

COPY

RECEIVED
APR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

April 21, 1949

Mrs. Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. McKoy:

There wasn't the least particle of resentment on my part of the passage in the minutes, nor of any statement in Dr. Mitchell's letter. I have been to enough of those meetings to know that there is no ill-will on the part of anybody there toward me individually.

The passage in the minutes only served to make me aware of the fact that in staying on the Board I had been violating one of my own tenets. I have always felt that a person ought to serve when he gets on committees or boards, or he ought to get off and let somebody else get in.

There have been some extenuating circumstances in '48, but the truth is that they were not that severe that I should not have been able to have made a meeting within a 12-month period. When I say that I let the problems and the meetings of '48 overwhelm me, it indicates that I have not been able to handle all of the things that I have committed myself to.

The catch is that though my business is picking up again, I am still short of competent executive assistance, and that means that I am still tied in here more than I need to be with all of the outside commitments that I have let myself drift into. To complicate the matter, the Eastern has pulled off a lot of its flights, and it is really difficult now to get a decent flight to Atlanta without wasting 12 hours one way or the other. On the other hand, the train is practically impossible. These latter only complicate a situation that is not good at the best.

If I could say now, and be sure that I could live up to it, that I would attend the next Board meeting, I would withdraw my resignation on the

suggestion of Dr. Mitchell. But the truth is that I am just likely to get caught flat-footed by some other commitment or something to keep me from coming. That's why I think the resignation had better stand. I am not withdrawing from the Southern Regional Council, I shall remain a member, and I shall be planning to attend the next general meeting for the membership.

With many thanks to all of you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

cc: Dr. Paul D. Williams
Dr. George S. Mitchell

Wesley

May 11, 1949

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I do so appreciate your nice letter of the 21st and perhaps the reason I am not convinced is because I do not really wish to be.

Too, there are other angles which have since occurred to me and which none of us had apparently thought of before. Had you forgotten that you are really a vice President of the Council, and therefore an ex-officio member both of the Board and of the Executive Committee, not subject either to the term of Board membership set up for the former, or to any rules of tenure proposed for the latter ?

At any rate, no decision need be final at this point anyway, since action would not be taken until the time of the annual meeting.

I am enclosing your copy of the letter which is going out to all members of the Executive Committee.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

cc: Mr. Williams and Dr. Mitchell

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

June 9, 1949

RE THIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH CARTER WESLEY:

Mr. Wesley attended the Executive Committee meeting June 8. In the course of the day he made the remark that if for a future period he found it impossible to attend meetings, he would resign. I take it, therefore, that the potential resignation indicated in this file is now of no effect.

Sager - G.S.M.

gsm.

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June 17, 1949

RECEIVED JUN 20 1949 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In accordance with my promise, and the reminder in your letter of June 10, I inclose herewith a list of people in Texas and Oklahoma whom you might contact. I have forgotten the addresses of most of the people I know in Oklahoma.

I suggest that you send them, along with the invitation, some of the key pamphlets from our organization.

I am rushing to leave today but will probably think of other names in the future and send them.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

Incl. 1

(Dictated June 14, 1949)

List for Southern Regional Council

TEXAS PROSPECTS

Mr. and Mrs. H. T. Taylor
2011 Dowling Street
Houston, Texas

Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Dupree
3411 Nalle Street
Houston, Texas

Attorney and Mrs. J. Edwin Smith
16 Floor Sterling Building
Houston, Texas

President and Mrs. R. O'Hara Lanier
Texas State University
3201 Wheeler Street
Houston, Texas

Mr. and Mrs. Beauford Stewart
2809 Nagle Street
Houston, Texas

Rev. and Mrs. L. Vester Bolton
4519 Sumpter Street
Houston, Texas

Mr. C. W. Rice
419½ Milam Street
Houston, Texas

Mr. A. Maceo Smith
2011 N. Washington Avenue
Dallas, Texas

Prof..J. H. Morton
1153 San Bernard Street
Austin, Texas

Dr. E. H. Givens
421½ East 6th Street
Austin, Texas

Dr. L. M. Mitchell
1193 San Bernard Street
Austin, Texas

Mr. Arthur DeWitty
1106 E. 10th Street'
Austin, Texas

Bishop Coadjutor John E. Hines
2616 University
Austin, Texas

Bishop and Mrs. Clinton S. Quin
5309 Mandell
Houston, Texas

OKLAHOMA PROSPECTS

President G. L. Harrison
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

Mrs. Pearl Wickham
606 West Delaware Street
McAlester, Oklahoma

Add to Texas list

Allen Early, Jr., 601 Barfield Building, Amarillo, Texas

read the HC article, liked it, and wrote us for dope.

GSM:

Re Texas-Okla.-Ark.-La. meeting.

At the Executive Committee meeting, Charles Johnson said there was a good nucleus at University of Oklahoma. Dr. Duncan would be a good spearhead, he said.

Carter Wesley emphasized placing responsibility for "laying the groundwork" locally. Josephine agreed that that was psychologically sound -- in that way, they would be reaching out to the Southwide agency.

Mrs. Havens said she would be coming through that section after October 12, at church expense. Believe you said to me later that it might be well to send her out there in August.

Dallas would be the place, Wesley says.

met

Wesley

February 16, 1950

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I have asked Harold Fleming, who is, as you know, a part of our staff and who is one of the plaintiffs in the county unit system suit to write you as to the basis of the suit.

He tells me he hasn't got copies of the brief, which in any case is undergoing some change; but the argument is forthright and he will set it out for you.

Mr. Byrd sent us your most kind check for one hundred dollars. That is mighty nice of you, and it came at such an opportune time just when we were short of enough to complete the payroll.

I envy Mr. Byrd the opportunity to talk with you.

We are going to pull through I thinkbut things will be tight until we do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Carter Wesley

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Eaglock
Fidelity Onion Skin
MADE IN USA

COPY

March 1, 1950

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I want first to thank you for your letter of February 15, which I laid aside until I could have another gander at the Constitution. Unfortunately, I had loaned my volume of the United States Constitution out, and had to wait until I could get it back again.

Once or twice I had discussed this unit question of Georgia with people in Georgia, the last time was during the Talmadge election when I happened to be out there. The tough job is to get it away from that part of Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, which says:

> "And the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numberous branch of the State Legislature."

That provision keeps tending to pull one into a circle, back to what the State of Georgia sets up as the qualifications of Electors for the State Legislature.

It leaves you struggling to make applicable Article XIV and Article XVII of the Constitution against "abridged privileges," as the weapon by which you hope to upset the unit system.

What you have got to watch all the way through is to keep the defendants from effectively appealing to that part of Article I quoted above. If you can fend them off that, you have a chance to get in your proof of clear abridgment of the privileges

of the citizens of Fulton County, as against the rights and liberties given to citizens in smaller counties.

I am horse-backing, but it seems to me that you ought to also develop some law or argument to in fact show that one man representing 65,000 does not give to any one of the 65,000 the same rights, privileges and protections as one man representing 1400. This is another angle of the privilege argument, but it is one that you ought to have some facts and material on.

It may be a difficult job to establish your point clearly, but I think, on the other hand, the general sentiment of the courts is such now that they would be more inclined to try to see your point of view and to recognize the losses, particularly if you are in a federal court. I would not have much faith in a state court down there as much as politics are involved. I am afraid I am making very little contribution, but this is the best thing that I can muster up after poring for half an hour or so over the Constitutional provisions.

With every good wish, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

Wesley

February 15, 1950

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you about the suit against Georgia's county unit system, in which I am one of two plaintiffs.

As citizens of Fulton County, we are asking that an injunction be issued restraining the enforcement of the county unit system of tabulating votes cast in the Democratic primary. Our grounds are the 14th and 17th Amendments which provide, respectively, that no citizen shall be denied by the state equal protection of the laws, and that U. S. senators shall be elected by the people of their states.

The law, as now constituted, provides that unit votes shall be distributed as follows: To the eight largest counties, six unit votes; to the thirty counties having the next largest population, four unit votes; and to the remaining 121 counties, two unit votes. That means that a resident of a smaller county has infinitely more voting power than a resident of one of the larger counties. For examples Echols County has one unit vote for each 1,489 inhabitants, whereas Fulton County has one unit vote for reach 65,481. Put another way, that means that one vote in Echols is 44 times as powerful as one in Fulton.

We adduce these factsa, along with evidence that rural-to-urban migration is increasing the discrimination steadily year after year. Our case differs from those brought earlier in that it is filed in ample time for a decision to be handed down before the primary is held this summer; thus the courts are not being asked to reverse the effects of an election already held. Our suit applies only to statewide elections -- for U. S. senator, governor, and other state officers. It does not directly attack Congressional races, which are limited to Congressional Districts -- though the county unit system is employed in some of those.

If I can give you any further information, let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming

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February 6, 1950

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wonder if I might have a copy of the petition filed against the unit rule in Georgia? I read in my Christian Science Monitor the things that Talmadge said and some of the answers made by Mr. Abrams, etc., but I have not gotten any idea of the counts in the petition.

Hope I'll be seeing you at your next meeting.

Best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

Wesley

X

Paid

Southern Regi nal Council, 63 Auburn
Avenue N.E. - WA 7063

May 5, 1950

Day Letter

Mr. Carter Wesley
Houston Informer
Houston, Texas

Executive Committee meeting SRC set for Saturday June 10, 10 A.M. here.

George S. Mitchell

Day Letter - Paid

Wesley

April 18, 1952

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

I thought your "Quo Vadis" was extremely good. Thank you for letting me see it.

You are quite right. In this country, as in South Africa, white leadership took the wrong turn.

The first Southern white person of stature who will stand up and acknowledge the error will have a pretty good chance of becoming President.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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JAN 9
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Southern Regional Council

January 7, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

There isn't too much I can tell you about Jubal Parten, except that he is an oil man and rich, lives in the River Oaks section.

I am pretty certain he is the same Mr. Parten that I had some experience with when Rainey was running for Governor down here. I can't remember exactly how I got the impression, but I got the impression that he was not particularly liberal where Negroes were concerned, although I don't recall any hostile act. I do remember that I ascribed to him and to Ex-Governor Allred the policy of expediency that they worked out for Rainey, in which he practically repudiated having Negroes vote in the same boxes with whites, which they do all over the South, and suggested that separate boxes be set up for them at the polls. I broke with Rainey on that, holding that any man who would voluntarily propose separation and further segregation could not be expected to give us much when he got in.

With every good wish for a prosperous 1953, I am

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

April 14, 1953

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

You delight me with the half promise to get here for the Board meeting May 13 and the membership the 14th. Press on, and come. We need you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

SRC

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HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

RECEIVED
APR 10
Southern Regional Council

April 8, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I want to give you a lot of thanks for sending me that note March 23, telling me of the gift from Ford Foundation. It relieved my mind a lot, I had begun to wonder if the people were not appreciative of the type of thing the Southern Regional is doing sufficiently to support it and to give it a chance to serve the whole of the South.

Recently I notice that Communists are getting out a pamphlet under the name of "Southern Regional Committee," have you seen it? Their home address seems to be in New York, but still they call themselves the Southern Regional Committee.

Hoping that now we are safe financially and will be able to go on, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carter Wesley

Carter Wesley

/d

P. S. I am not going to promise, but off the record, I am really going to try to come to the very next board meeting you have.

CWW

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

Ed Crumbs

December 18, 1951

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

Our hopes went up with the early morning wire and down again with the noon wire. We were mighty sorry to miss you. Good of you to send word, and as kind as could be of you to send those twenty-five most helpful dollars.

'Tis some measure of everyone's appreciation of you that in a clean sweep of all the officers, you survived. Paul Williams asked for a rest after six hard years. And they put in Marion Wright as president. For vice-presidents they gave themselves three new men--Gordon Hancock, A. W. Dent, and Alfred Mynders! And they kept you.

Here is the new Executive Committee:

Charles Johnson, chairman
Mrs. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie
Rev. V. J. O'Connell
Rufus Clement
Paul Christopher
John Griffin
Harry V. Richardson

I am sure you will have seen the new statement, though perhaps not in full. We think it is excellent and are delighted that the Council is thus on record.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

December 3, 1947

Mr. Carter Wesley
P. O. Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

We are indeed glad to advise you of your unanimous re-election as Vice President of the Southern Regional Council at the annual membership meeting of November 12th.

The year 1948 holds much promise, and we look forward to it with confidence, strengthened as we feel ourselves to be by the ability and excellence of our officers.

With kindest good wishes for the coming year, I am

Most sincerely,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AMzee

June 8, 1953

Mr. Carter Wesley
Box 3086
Houston 1, Texas

Dear Mr. Wesley:

We had an excellent Board meeting May 13 and a good, if thinly attended, membership meeting May 14. The membership adopted new by-laws which would (when, at the discretion of the Executive Committee, they come into effect) convert the Council into a sort of federation of active State organizations. Under the new by-laws, the Southern Regional Council would really become a single, self-perpetuating Board with fifty elected members, plus two from each State Division, plus the officers of the Council.

I am happy to say that the Board meeting following the membership meeting re-elected you as a vice-president. Indeed, they re-elected all the officers and the present Executive Committee, except that in Charles Johnson's place (regretfully not re-elected to the Executive Committee solely because he has been too busy to get here much) they put a Methodist parson named Turnipseed from Montgomery. And we substituted Rev. Maurice Shean of Rock Hill for the Rev. V. J. O'Connell of New Orleans.

We are most anxious to keep you on as a vice-president, and unless I hear from you to the contrary, I will take it that you accept the continuance of that duty.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

SEP 22
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

September 19, 1953

Dear George:

I seem to be getting a little behind with my correspondence.

Belatedly I express satisfaction that Morris Abram seemed to have an arrangement to talk with the Ford people about the middle of the month. I hope he may bring encouraging news for the next meeting of the executive committee.

Thanks for the comprehensive report covering activities since the Ford grant. Of course, I had in mind submitting something like this to Mr. Chester Davis. Since his retirement there is a question in my mind as to the wisdom of propriety of such course. Remind me to talk this over with you on the 25th. I am disposed to go ahead and correspond with Mr. Davis upon a quasi-personal basis in the hope that what is said to him may do us some good with his former associates.

Having had my fingers burned by writing him sometime ago without consultation with you, I think it well to get our heads together on the next Davis move.

There is nothing of sufficient importance on my mind that it cannot keep until September 25 when we shall confront each other within the sacred precincts of Wesley Memorial Chapel.

Sorry we have lost little Emily Calhoun, but, of course, we bow to the divine will.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

raj

ELECTION - AS OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL

December 3, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

It is with especial pleasure that I perform my task of formally announcing your unanimous reelection as President of the Southern Regional Council by the membership body at its annual meeting on November 12th.

It has been good to have your leadership and we have treasured that, as well as the personal associations which grew out of it! Its continuance, therefore, becomes a matter for self-congratulation. We are indeed most sensible of our own good fortune, and are looking forward to the progress which we feel sure 1948 will bring.

With every good wish from us all, I am

Most sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:ee

November 10, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I am not writing Louis Strauss any letter, formal or informal, about his election to the Board. I leave that to you. If you can negotiate his agreement, well and good. If he turns it down, would you then like to have me write to Webster Rhoads, or would you prefer to talk to him first?

I have written to Congressman Mitchell and to Mrs. E. V. Robinson, telling them they are officially on the Board.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:er Signed in his absence

Dictated 11/9/50

W ms

December 21, 1950

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

On the whole, the meeting was a good one. Trigg failed to show up, so we did not have a quorum, but we went ahead and discussed each item and passed several provisional motions. These will be circulated with the minutes for a confirming or rejecting vote of all the members of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Wright did not name the special committee. The various names you have suggested were read and were all liked, but those present thought that the committee ought really to be named by you. I would think that your list would be helped by the addition of one name, such as Dabbs, of somebody who would fully understand (though he is of course unsympathetic with) the reluctances. Any nine of those you thought of would be agreeable to those of the committee who were present, and of course to us of the staff. Will you make your choice and write us who they are? If you can also do a single copy of a letter for those who are to be on the committee, we will type out all the original letters to them on Presidential stationery and send them up to you to send out.

I enclose a draft of an appointing letter, which may or may not accord with your recollection of what the Board meeting and the membership meeting wished and with your wishes.

We clean forgot to bring before the meeting an item about social security coverage. You will see that I have circulated that to the Executive Committee members. It does not have to be decided now, but the staff people would lose some coverage if we do not go into it January 1.

Our money is a little better than it looks in the minutes. A small family fund connected with the Eastmans sent us yesterday $250.00 (through Fred

Brownlee's kindness) and the bookkeeper discovered several hundred more that could now properly be transferred from project accounts to the general account. We took all we could lay hands on yesterday and paid off every single bill and all the State Divisions right up to date, and everybody's travel, including that of members of the Board. We now have as outstanding indebtedness only the bill to the printer of some $600.00 and the old debt to Byrd and to me, plus two pay periods owing to me. That gives us a current debt of twelve or thirteen hundred, with prospects that as of December 31 it will have grown to seventeen or eighteen hundred.

The printer's bill we do not greatly worry about, because we have the money to pay him currently from now on out, though we haven't got any pre-Field money for paying that six hundred.

When you consider that within this year we liquidated that $3,000.00 obligation to carry the self-survey project, I think we are ending the year pretty well.

I had some indication today that the steelworkers would renew their grant next year, and perhaps enlarge it.

I talked by phone with Stuart Meacham. The Sidney Hillman Fund Board had not yet met (largely because Potofsky has been so engaged in Washington matters), but no news is good news. I am quite hopeful that when they do meet they will make us a goodly grant.

No news as yet from the ILG. If you have a channel to them, it would be well to see if they can be stirred to action.

We are all terribly sorry that you have been under the weather. It is so blooming much travel that gets you, I am sure.

Use the holiday for a real rest. Best to you all.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

----- Date -----

Dear Mr. _____:

Both the meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council on November 7 and the membership meeting on November 8 expressed a strong desire to have the policy and program of the Southern Regional Council carefully reviewed in hope that agreed long-range policy could be worked out. There was strong suggestion also that the committee to take on this task should obtain advice from persons qualified in special branches of modern social studies.

Additionally, the Council faces just now the need for developing most carefully one or two major foundation appeals, and the advice of the special committee will be sought in shaping proposals of this kind.

I have chosen as suitable persons to be on the committee the following:

Marion Wright
Dr. Harry V. Richardson
Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell
Dr. Howard W. Odum
John A. Griffin
Morris Abram
Dr. A. W. Dent
James M. Dabbs

I do greatly hope that you will be willing to accept this duty. The pr
project-proposal material could be distributed by mail, but it will be necessary for the committee to meet once or twice -- maybe more -- in the early spring. The Council will expect to pay the expenses of committee members.

I do hope that you can write me that you will be willing to lend your thought in this way toward working out the most statesmanlike policy for the Council and the South.

Sincerely,

Paul D. Williams
President

Wms

February 9, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

We sent you off the letters to the committee people. I didn't substitute Mynders for Griffin simply because Griffin is a sociologist locally available, much interested in this very matter of getting human relations taught in the schools, and answers neatly the opinion expressed at the membership meeting that we ought to get the advice of the sociology people. Maybe we can get Mynders on in lieu of somebody who refuses.

All is arranged at Spring Hill College. Simultaneously, Msgr. Byrnes, for the schools of the Diocese of Mobile, asked me to come to the schools of Birmingham and Mobile. Will do Birmingham February 19 and Mobile February 21. I have written Father Rhein at Spring Hill and specified blackboard and loudspeaker if a large hall.

We have done well enough on money to stay afloat. Edgar Stern sent us $400. A covenanted $250 came in from the Methodists. Mrs. Ascoli sent $500, but it is sterilized for the moment as part of the uncompleted matching of the anonymous grant for the home town self-survey project. The William C. Whitney Fund promised $1,000 and has sent $500 of it. For some odd reason people responded in an unprecedented way to January bills and dues came in well. Our friends in the Atlanta chapter of the American Jewish Committee repeated last year's emergency deed and rounded up $500 for us. They were also instrumental in getting us a one time grant of $500 from another foundation which cloaked itself in deep anonymity. Our same friends are having a luncheon meeting next week to see what they can do to raise more.

In New York I was permitted to be at a good many sessions of the convention of the American Jewish Committee and met leaders of many of their chapters over the country. A plan is being unrolled to steer

me about from chapter meeting to chapter meeting to make my speechlet to collect new members, new friends, and, let us hope, occasionally a goodish contribution. No word as yet from Potofsky (though he has been quite adequately poked, I think), nor from Dubinsky. I have some grounds for hope that I will get access to Mr. Harry Straus at last in February or March. I still hope that he can do a lot to clear our path.

Do follow through with Cardinal Spellman.

With what came in, we have cleared out all the debt except what is owed to Byrd and to me. We have paid the printer clean, and all the State Divisions for December. And all the little bills. And you remember that we did get $500 paid de profundis to Byrd. So for the meeting of the Executive Committee, we will have no current debt, and Byrd plus me not to exceed eight thousand three. If we could just collect a few thousand ahead, I would feel some confidence.

I am to see two prospects in Chicago this weekend, but the sums involved are small.

We have the Ford Foundation thing in a rough draft and will send it to you in a very few days. Do you suppose it will be right to send out the draft to the members of the special committee, ahead of time?

It looks as though we will have a pretty good attendance at the March 3 meeting. Msgr. McNamara said he couldn't come, and Charles Johnson said it was his best date, and I remember you said you could come. And a good many others will be there.

I am sending Harold Fleming to the civil rights gathering in Washington.

The man who runs the Community Chest in Greenville, South Carolina, has been asked to arrange the opening session of the Southern Conference of Community Chests and Councils at Edgewater Park, Mississippi, March 8 -- subject, community self-surveys. An hour and a half. He and Jane Fleming have been working on the program. Harold will go to the meeting. That is fine recognition of the Greenville survey and will get it the very best of notoriety among people in all the Southern cities who can do something about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

Elsewhere

O. G. CLEMENTS
MANAGER

THE EMERSON
A MEYER HOTEL
BALTIMORE & CALVERT STS.
BALTIMORE 3, MD.

RECEIVED
FEB 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

Thurs.

Dear George,

I think we ought to let the committee on policy and program stand at 11, instead of trying to share it down to 9.

The committee is a sound one but a little heavy on education. I am suggesting, therefore, that we add Alfred Mynders instead of Griffin. But I hate to lose John. Perhaps you will see a reason why Griffin should be kept and if so its okay with me. It would be good, however, to have a newspaper editor on our committee — and Mynders has been loyal to the cause. Perhaps there will be one or two refusals in which (one)

MEYER HOTELS

GOVERNOR CLINTON, NEW YORK • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C. • THE HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. • THE FARRAGUT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
THE WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE, FLA. • THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

case we can make room for John.

I suggest we delete "maybe more" as indicated on the margin. If we ask for more than two meetings some may find it difficult to accept.

I strongly urge that the appraisal you read at one of our ex. com. meetings be enclosed in the letter with a paragraph like I am suggesting. Or, if you prefer, the appraisal could be sent after the persons accept membership on the committee.

If you know the time of our executive meeting in March, I suggest the policy committee meet at the same time in Atlanta. This date should be included in the letter, if you think well of the idea.

Please answer the letter from Springhill College. You will be paid all expenses for your lecture. I suggest you give your same famous Map of the South talk. When you go there introduce yourself to Father

O. G. CLEMENTS
MANAGER

THE EMERSON

A MEYER HOTEL

BALTIMORE & CALVERT STS.
BALTIMORE 3, MD.

Andrew Smith, an important member of the faculty whom I've known intimately for many years. If you have time go by to see Monsignor Leo W. Byrnes, Supt. of Cath. Schs. 400 Government Street — another good friend of mine. Msgr. Byrnes wants you to speak for him one of these days.

I'll be in Pittsburgh next Tues. and Wed. at the William Penn Hotel; Thurs. & Fri. I'll probably be at the Statler Hotel, Cleveland — in case you want to reach me.

I can't make the ex. meeting March 10. I think March 3 would be okay. March 17 would be better still. Please tell me the selected date as soon as possible.

(See over)

Sincerely,
Paul (over)

MEYER HOTELS

GOVERNOR CLINTON, NEW YORK • THE EMERSON, BALTIMORE, MD. • THE PATRICK HENRY, ROANOKE, VA.
THE SIR WALTER, RALEIGH, N. C. • THE HERMITAGE, NASHVILLE, TENN. • THE FARRAGUT, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
THE WINDSOR, JACKSONVILLE, FLA. • THE ROOSEVELT, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

P.S. See enclosures — return them at your convenience

P.S.

If we want to breakdown the committee by way of officers I suggest the following:

Dr. Chas. Johnson Chairman
Marion Wright Vice "
Mrs. Hamilton Secretary

Paul

P.S. 2

Springhill College is about 6 or 7 miles outside Mobile. When you write, giving general dates, mention that you need 45 - 50 minutes to give your talk and ask for a blackboard & a loud speaker.

Paul

W mes

April 16, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I know you have from time ti time thought we ought to squeeze some juice out of the idea of an award.

I got a notion the other day that might fit.

Suppose the Council annually made an award to the Southern town, city, or county which in the past year had done the most to improve race relations?

All I've got is the idea, but it seems to me to be useful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Cons

May 10, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Yesterday the Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (which is the Southern Presbyterian Church) notified us that they had made a grant to the Council of $200, and sent the check. It isn't a lot of money, but it will help us with friendships.

And today Independent Aid sent a check for $1,000 for the Fellowship of the Concerned. We had asked them for $15,000 for a two-year program for the Fellowship. We knew they weren't going to give anything like $15,000, and are grateful for the $1,000. It will assure the success of a September meeting of church women from all over which Mrs. Tilly has been planning.

And we are working on the idea of a police manual like the Race in the News one. Tie that and the church women together, and things could really happen.

I had dinner the other night in New Orleans with Father Vincent O'Connell and greatly enjoyed it.

Bishop Waters has kindly written and asked whether I would be free this summer to speak at motherhouses of a number of orders, when the teachers will be back for summer schools. I of course told him I would be delighted.

Sincerely,

GSM:er

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Dabbs

AIRMAIL May 25, 1951

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
Route 1
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

This by way of keeping everybody informed.

Mrs. Tilly is going with a small group of church leaders representing the Fellowship of the Concerned to sit in the court in Charleston during the case coming up next week involving segregation.

The women besides herself will be Mrs. A. A. Hardy, President of the Georgia Council of Church Women, Mrs. John Parkes, of Atlanta, who is an Associate Secretary of the Board of Women's Work of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Mrs. Charles Robison, representing the women of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, probably another such Methodist leader, and they hope a leading woman from the Episcopal Church. They don't want public notice, but will simply be present in the court to show a concern for the issues involved in the case.

They will stay at the Ft. Sumter Hotel, arriving for the most part this coming Sunday, May 27.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl: "Fellowship of the Concerned" leaflet

CC: Miss Rebecca Reid

Sept. 6, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Your most welcome special delivery letter came in this morning with its whole shining thousand dollars. A thousand thanks and more to you and, through you, to Cardinal Spellman. We depend entirely on you to do the official thank-you. We have entered the contribution exactly as you directed. And there was no occasion to make the contribution widely known.

The Steel Workers' check came in an envelope unaccompanied by anything. Though, of course, the check had on it Dave McDonald's signature.

I send you, separately, two more copies of the police manuscript.

We have paid up all debts except:

Byrd	$4,005
Life insurance	1,500
George Mitchell, back salary	1,200
Total	$6,705

And we have six or seven hundred in the bank still.

For the little meeting yesterday we calculated that it would take $10,000 to run us for the four remaining months of this year and that we have nearly $9,000 in sight, as follows:

Through the Quakers	$3,000
The two Cardinals	2,000
Dues and sale of literature	2,000
Auto Workers	1,000
Smaller contributions	1,000
Total	$9,000

We invited forty people to the meeting. All answered and fourteen were present. Quite a good meeting, at which Harry Richardson presided excellently. Channing Tobias was there, as was also Mr. Ellison from Richmond (who spoke cordially of you). The meeting pledged themselves and the absent ones to give $100 apiece. Three hundred dollars was pledged by one man, to be paid within a week, and others turned in seventy-five or a hundred. Mr. Ellison, by the way, undertook to send $100 that he would receive in Richmond. The whole enterprise might net $1,500 or even $2,000. And Tobias threw out a hint that if by the end of September we could report really satisfactory collections resulting from the gathering, he might have New York sources from which he could prize loose additional help for the Council.

I begin to have a star of hope that at the end of this year we can have no current debts and can have substantially reduced the overhanging $6,000.

As to Mr. Byrd and what we are going to be up against there at the end of the year, I have only this: Though not based on any conversation with him, I rather think that if we could show him by one or two more goodish payments before December 31 of this year that we regard the debt to him as a live debt on which we are actively paying, he would be agreeable to accepting at the end of the year a renewal of the note for the balance still due him. I don't know that at all, but it sounds reasonable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
TEXT BOOK PUBLISHERS
2210 SOUTH PARK WAY, CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

CATHOLIC DEPARTMENT

EMMITT M. O'CONNOR
VICE PRESIDENT

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
VICE PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

Richmond, Va.
Sept 4, 1951

Dear George,

Good talking with you over long distance today. Glad to know that things are looking "up" for us.

Good luck on the meeting tomorrow. Please express my regrets at my inability to attend, especially to Mr. Tobias.

Enclosed is the check from Cardinal Spellman. I will acknowledge it. Please put this contribution on our books as a contribution from Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. But give it no publicity except within the S.R.C. family.

It is okay to mention Card Spellman's contribution at the meeting tomorrow if in your judgment it will help our cause.

Please ask Hal Fleming to send me another copy of his fine article. Better

MENTZER, BUSH & COMPANY
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CATHOLIC DEPARTMENT

EMMITT M. O'CONNOR
VICE PRESIDENT

PAUL D. WILLIAMS
VICE PRESIDENT

make it 2 copies.

Glad to know about Dave McDonald. I'll write him. Please send me a copy of his letter.

Best always.

Sincerely
Paul

P.S. Please return Card. Spellman's letter*.
P.

* Will send it later.
P.

Sept. 28, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

Our friends the Friends did send us a week or so ago their remaining three thousand. So we are quite debt-free, except for the long overhanging amounts. And Katherine Stoney will have somewhere around $2,000 in the treasury, even after meeting today's payroll.

Our new survey assistant and miscellaneous researcher came on in mid-September. She is named Anna Holden. Comes from Ocala, Florida. Went to college at Florida State (Tallahassee) and then on to Chapel Hill for a year or so toward a masters. She worked closely with Guy Johnson there. Seems to be diligent about her research work. How well she will do in the field on survey things is not yet proven.

Still another staff change. Mrs. Bertha Johnson, who had been handling membership records, has had to move to Cleveland to accompany her husband. Instead, we have engaged the half-time services of a Mrs. Shields, now studying for a master's degree in sociology at Atlanta University. We think the job can be kept going with her half-time work, largely because she is really competent in business matters and knows what she's doing. She ran some sort of business office at Tuskegee for a while.

We have had quite a scramble with New South this time because we had planned the police thing for it. The Marshall Field Foundation wanted the manuscript checked by alleged experts. The experts differed. Gordon Allport at Harvard praised it as was, and Louis Wirth at Chicago panned it as being ill-aimed at policemen. So when poor Harold came back from a vacation, he had to scratch together what he could of an August-September New South. 'Tis in proof and will be out in a week or so. He will rewrite the police pamphlet, aiming it for our constituency rather than straight at the police people. We still think it mighty good and hope to get it out and hope to get Marshall Field help on it. We were asking them for $2,5000for it.

Total receipts from our Atlanta Negro effort thus far: a shade above $500. But the next few days are the critical ones. We hope it will go past a thousand.

Practically the whole of the Executive Committee approved having the annual meeting date Wednesday, December 12. So that is locked. 'Twill be at Atlanta University.

Now the next question is the Board meeting or meetings. It seems to me the thing to do is to convene the existing Board Tuesday, the 11th. It contains only about fifty people. If we elect December 12 a Board expanded to the full 72, plus twelve or fifteen ex-officios, few of the newly-elected people would be on hand for a policy-making Board meeting late December 12 or 13. If we shifted to a seventeen-man Executive Board, advised by the Advisory Committee, then the Advisory Committee would hardly be on hand to give any advice. The Board meeting is of importance for many reasons, but partly because, by its own request last year, it is to have a policy statement before it. (We are working on it.) It seems to me we are back on the old track of a Board meeting Tuesday, the 11th, the membership meeting Wednesday, the 12th, and a post-membership-meeting Board meeting late on the 12th to elect an Executive Committee. Proviso, However, that if there has been at the membership meeting sharp constitutional revision, then the late afternoon meeting would, of course, accord with the new constitution.

Unless you write me otherwise, I will pretty soon set things up for a regular Board meeting Tuesday, December 11.

A letter from Dr. Will yesterday said he had seen Tolley again and that Tolley continued to be quite encouraging over our prospects with the Ford Foundation. I heard also the other day, from people in the AFSC, that the Ford Foundation is now moving to establish machinery to screen proposals in the field of race relations. So that fits in.

We look for you here for the Executive Committee meeting October 26.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

November 5, 1951

Mr. Paul D. Williams
8320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

I owe you some account of our plans for the use of the $500 that the NCCJ very kindly put up.

Our survey assistant is Miss Anna Holden, from Ocala, Florida. She was trained at Florida State University at Tallahassee, and had a year or more of work toward a Master's at Chapel Hill, where she was closely associated with Dr. Guy Johnson of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. She came to work with the Council September 16 of this year.

We have now taught her enough about the Council and the survey program to feel secure in sending her out for her field travel.

She will go about November 14 to Louisville, Kentucky, to be with the annual meeting of the Kentucky Division of SRC, and in the next few days will confer with the sociology people at the University of Kentucky and will go out to two or three smaller Kentucky towns where there has been some planning done for surveys.

December 3-7 she will go to Louisiana. Her first stop will be Ruston, where we have several friends who would like to get a survey going, and then to Shreveport, where an excellent self-survey, Greenville style, is well along to completion. On the same trip she will stop at Texarkana and at Lafayette and Baton Rouge.

December 10-17 she will go to Alabama. A partial survey is being done in Birmingham, and she will look in on that.

Other places of call will be the University at Tuscaloosa, Montevallo, Montgomery, Talladega, and Tuskegee.

After the holidays we expect to send her into North and South Carolina.

This travel would be out of the question for us if we did not have the generous grant from the NCCJ. On each of the trips planned she will be in touch with the NCCJ's field person, as, for instance, at Louisville and Birmingham, and

will get their advice as to towns and people that might be interested in making surveys.

At the meeting here last week of NCCJ people from the Southwest, Dr. Sterling Brown promised that he would remind those present of this aid to the Council and request their help in steering our survey assistant on her visits.

You will be interested to know that the Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey has already sold approximately 750 copies, going very widely to people in social work agencies over the South. Another several hundred copies have been distributed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith from their Atlanta office. The manual is being listed by McCalls Magazine as part of the follow-up on its recent article about the survey in Minneapolis, and we expect a stepped up distribution from that source.

I send a couple of copies of the recently printed report of the survey at Dallas, conducted by a group of people working with the Chamber of Commerce there. They used our manual and were in touch with us at various points as they developed their survey.

Please express to your friends in the NCCJ's Commission on Community Organizations our cordial appreciation of their aid. I think the forthcoming travel by Miss Holden will turn up some smaller towns that will put through surveys.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

PW

October 1, 1952

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va

Dear Paul:

You are familiar of old with the routine of miracles every two weeks when we are at a low point on funds. All enacted again when this morning at 9:00 a. m., being pay day, we had a balance of $54, and the Shreveport oil operator's check for a thousand, which Father Vince had arranged, came drifting in at 9:15. So there is a crisis lifted from us.

Next crisis October 15. I bespeak your efforts by then if you can.

I had a long conference with David Freeman of the Ford Foundation.a couple of weeks ago. There are numerous reasons, after the conference, to feel encouraged and none for the reverse. The Board of the to-be Fund for the Republic has been selected, and those approached have agreed to serve. I was not told who they are. The F for R should publicly under way in a matter of weeks. We can expect an answer from the F for R by early January, '53—possibly sooner. They have been much impressed with the quality of the letters sent on our behalf—more so, I was told, than as to any other application long before them. It was suggested that we not attempt again for '53 the device of indirect aid through the American Friends Service Committee—which I take to be an encouraging suggestion. After the formal conference they consulted me closely about a quite similar application before them from the South African Institute of Race Relations —for research and field personnel. And if they are serious about South Africa—as I judge they are—that clearly bolsters our application.

So, as before, we are up against holding through until the end of the year. I think I see my way through if your devices will find us, in one way or another, from $1,500 up.

The Executive Committee meeting last Saturday postponed the annual meeting for '52 until February, '53. That was a novel idea to me, but clearly wise, as we would have nothing really to tell the membership meeting in November of this year. And the postponement saves $700 in expense of getting, also.

Mr. Paul D. Williams, Oct. 1, 1952

I have thanked Father Vince most warmly and his friend in Shreveport.

With continuing appreciation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM;ec

PW

October 21, 1952

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond, Va.

Dear Paul:

A point that may be helpful to you in your prospective interview with William Green.

The AF of L adopted at Lakeland, Florida, October 12-17 this year its first hoped-to-be-annual Southern Labor School. They fetched there their head people out of State Federations of Labor and city and town central labor unions from the whole of the South--Virginia through Texas, clear out to Arizona. They were really the head guys. Presidents of the State Federations of Labor in Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and others. Vice-presidents where the presidents were lacking. Heads and secretaries of many central labor unions. Lew Rhodes, the head man for the whole AF of L in Atlanta, took over George Googe's job.

They asked me to teach for the group a five-day course in social and economic problems of the South. A most delicate assignment. I must say, I was fearful at the beginning as to how it would all go, but it came out a good deal to my satisfaction. Of the sixty-odd students, perhaps a third left the five-day meeting little improved in their appraisal of their proper link with the Negro part of the labor movement. But I think I really made a dent with the other two-thirds. We opened all the tough questions. FEPC, segregation in education, every-day courtesy toward members of the other race, health, housing, agriculture, and so on.

The fact that the AF of L turned to the Southern Regional Council for an instructor in this field is significant. I must say, I don't honestly know where else they could have gone for what they wanted.

It would be up to the AF of L to decide whether I did them a useful job or not, but the statements of those who led the school were, at least, encouraging.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

PW

March 12, 1953

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Rd.
Richmond 22, Va.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Dr. Mitchell asked me to send this on to you.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Encl.

TEXT OF LETTER FROM REV. JAMES A. PIKE TO DR. EDWARD N. MCCRADY

The concurrence of two steps taken by the administration of your university—namely, the decision not to hold a meeting of the trustees before June, and the announcement of a new faculty of theology—make it necessary for me to cancel my plans to be with you this June to preach the baccalaureate sermon.

I cannot but see in these two events, taken along with certain of your own recent statements, a determination to avoid a reversal or modification of the policy adopted last June. By deferring consideration of the matter until this June and proceeding first to the procurement of a set of instructors who were willing to fill ranks without any change in the race policy against which the present faculty witnessed by their resignations, you have—for the time being—neatly relieved yourself of the necessity of facing the issue.

As I told you last spring, I would have been more than pleased to become a member of the university because of my long-standing interest in it and because of my respect for, and desire to cooperate in any way I could in the further development of it, the fine seminary and college department of religion. It was for this reason that, in spite of the fact that I have feared for some time that events were taking a turn which would require me to withdraw, yet I waited as long as there was any reasonable hope of a sound solution. That hope was pinned principally upon a February trustees' meeting as asked for by the meeting of bishops called by Bishop Penick this fall, as I indicated in a letter to Dean Harrison in November.

Though I do not deny the academic qualifications of some of the new men, nor do I impugn their motives (God knows the secrets of their hearts), yet because the issue on which the present faculty witnessed is so fundamental—not only in our own church, but in the world as a whole—I could not in conscience receive a doctorate in the white divinity which Sewanee apparently is prepared to offer the church hereafter; nor could I enroll as a loyal alumnus of the university, in the light of the outspoken criticism which could be expected from one who, as you know, has been quite close to the present faculty, both personally and in their endeavors on this particular issue.

As for the baccalaureate address, I am sure that you will be relieved by my decision, as I am. Preaching is supposed to have some relevance to what is in people's minds and hence I doubt if my words at the baccalaureate service would have contributed to the greatest harmony of the week-end. I am writing now so that you may have time to arrange for a preacher who can be relied on to be more congenial to the situation.

I do not intend in this letter to go into the issues which have already been quite elaborately discussed. But since you and your colleagues might quite plausibly feel that, as a northerner, I have no right to take sides in this matter, I would be taking sides, namely, the side of the administration. Second, if my not coming is interpreted as taking sides it is simply the side taken by the synod of the Sewanee Province of the Episcopal Church, by the resigned members of the faculty who are southerners, and by a majority of the southern seminarians, not to mention a good number of southern bishops and priests. Third, I am hardly a "carpet-bagger" or "abolitionist"; All

my family are Kentuckians and, as you may know, at the general convention I had the privilege of introducing the resolution which brought Bishop Quin into the house of deputies to speak, enabling us to reverse the previous action of both houses that had rejected Houston as the place for the next general convention.

Before closing, there is one aspect of the merits of the controversy on which I will comment briefly: The legal phase. I take the liberty of doing so because to date it has apparently not received sufficiantly careful analysis by either side, and because the question falls within a field in which I am especially interested and in which as priest and lawyer I share in the teaching at Columbia Law School (church-state relations).

Whatever other considerations may be entitled to weight, the administration cannot hide behind the Tennessee law. The attempt to do so is dubious on both legal and ethical grounds. The Christian reaction to a law which prevents the exercise of serious ethical responsibilities should, I am sure, be as follows:

1. Challenge the constitutionality of the law--as I understand that Vanderbilt University's seminary (in the same state) is prepared to do when it recently decided, with advise of counsel, to open its doors to Negro students. There is in fact very little chance that the United States Supreme Court would today sustain such a limitation on a private institution.

2. Seek the repeal of the law.

3. Failing these two--when an important Christian principle is at stake--disobey the law. The church has never regarded the civil law as the final form for the Christian conscience: "We must obey God rather than men." (Acts 5:29) The church has often been healthiest when it was illegal; we got our start that way, as a matter of fact. To follow the apostles and martyrs in this way would be very appropriate for a church which makes much of apostolic succession. There is really very little danger that the administration and faculty would find itself in prison; but the picture of the theological faculty behind bars, instructing the students gathered on the lawn around the county jail, is one which could inspire us to realize that the church is not meant to "conform to this world," and could attract many now indifferent people to a church which often all too easily blends with its surroundings.

I am sorry that matters have so developed that I will be unable to be with you; and especially so because of our recent but promising friendship. I shall pray that it may not be impaired by the honest differences which have brought me to this decision. And I shall pray too that God's judgment and grace may some day bring Sewanee back to a place of moral leadership in the church.

I know that the issue is complicated and that there are no easy solutions; and I have great sympathy for all of those involved in the crisis. But it is clear that the present faculty's stand is "on the side of the angels" and I feel that I must stand with them.

1 Tribute to Dr. George S. Mitchell PW

By Paul D. Williams

It has been said that one man of courage is a majority. Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell comes by the virtue of courage gracefully, through a kindly inheritance. His mother was a brave, gracious, blithe spirit. His father, the late Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell was built along heroic lines. He became knew during his lifetime an institution in the city of Richmond, Va. Formerly, the President of the University of Delaware and President of the College of Charleston, the elder Dr. Mitchell chose to spend his last fruitful years as Professor of History at the University of Richmond. Dr. Mitchell's students still breathe his name in hushed reverence whenever they meet because of his challenge, his original thinking, his ability to make them stir themselves to higher strivings than they thought possible. Freedom was in the blood of Dr. Samuel Chiles Mitchell and freedom was in his very breathing. He had no tolerance for what some people call a respectable mediocrity. He strove to have every man under his tutelage raise himself up to his highest possible level of achievement as a

precious person — as, indeed, a man of God.

Dr. George Mitchell is a native of Richmond. He graduated from the University of Richmond with honors, being elected in his senior year to Φ B K. From thence he went to Johns Hopkins University where he received his Ph.D. in economics. Then he was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship, spending three years at Oxford University in England. On his return to America Dr. Mitchell taught at Columbia University until drafted into government service.

It was in his capacity as Assistant Director of the Farm Security Administration that Dr. Mitchell evidenced a keen concern for the plain people on the land and strove to remove from them the shackles of poverty and bring them to the independence that becomes a man who wants most of all to be free.

Six years ago Dr. Mitchell became executive director of the S. R.C. In this office Dr. Mitchell's greatest asset has been his

devotion to duty. General Robert E. Lee once said "To me the most sublime word in the English dictionary is the word – Duty."

The three things that shine forth in Dr. M's life, at least in my estimation, are his courage, his deep concern for the plain people of the South, and his devotion to duty.

Emerson has said, "Gold and silver are not gifts, they are only excuses for gifts. The only true gift is to give a portion of yourself." In all of his undertakings Dr. M. has humbly given a liberal portion of himself. That is why the Cath. Com. of the So., representing the Bishops, priests and laity of the Catholic Faith, signals out Dr. M. for special recognition in this year of 1953. Since he has given so generously of himself for the advancement of the So., it is only fitting that ~~the~~ we in Cath. Com. of the So. should in return give a portion of ourselves to him in the scroll that soon shall be presented by Bishop Russell of Charleston.

Let it be remembered that the Cath. Com. of the So. Award has been extended only after the most careful consideration. Among the past recepients have been such personages as the late Dr. George Washington Carver, Dr. Howard W. Odum, Mr. David E. Lilienthal, Mother Katherine Drexel, Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara and Dr. Guy B. Johnson.

Words are only words. They cannot possibly bespeak the deep, hidden meaning of the human spirit. What the scroll states is admittedly only feeble. What is left unsaid ~~is~~, ~~perhaps~~, represents the ~~real~~ imperishable meaning of friendship, admiration, and appreciation that all of us in the Cath. Com. of the So. feel for a truly superlative gentleman, Dr. Groge Mitchell — an appreciation expressed perhaps most appropriately in the words of Keats, "Heard Melodies

are sweet, those unheard are sweeter".

In the homely but manly virtues of courage, deep regard for plain people, devotion to duty are to be found Dr. M's real stature and in these virtues he arrives at his high estate of success.

For, after all, what is success? Wealth, fame — these are fleeting. They come and they go like the winds. But true success lies much deeper in the innermost spirit of man. Ruskin has the answer, and in his definition ~~answer~~ Dr. M. is exemplified: "Mighty of mind, mighty of heart, magnanimous — to be this is to be great in life. To be this increasingly is to advance in life. For he only is advancing in life whose blood is growing warmer, whose mind quicker, and whose spirit is entering into living peace — that peace which surpasses all understanding."

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Due to liquidation of Rosenwald Fund, Southern Regional Council, generally regarded as surest and strongest influence for better race relations in South, is faced with necessity of suspending work unless financial support immediately received. Twenty five thousand needed for operation until end of year. Decision on suspension will be made by directors on April 22. As member of board

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have been asked to solicit your contribution. Time does not permit interview or diplomatic approach but feel you reached with one of your knowledge of situation and philanthropic impulses. Contribution deductible for income tax purposes. Won't you mail check to Council, 63 Auburn Ave, N.E., Atlanta.

M. A. Wright

Sender's name and address (For reference) *Sender's telephone number*

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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

HF

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
NOV 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 10, 1952

George:

I enclose the brief referred to in the enclosed copy of letter. I think that you and Fleming will argee that it is an excellent piece of work. Whether or not it is suitable for our purposes is a question which gives me some concern.

You will remember that we tried to get three law schools to prepare three papers dealing with decisions of southern courts and federal decisions on the constitutionality of three different aspects of the segregation problem. The Loyola people sent in a copy of their journal containing an article which is, in my opinion, not quite as good as the enclosed. I understand that the Emory people are at work on theirs.

The idea was that we would get the three articles published in the three law journals and New South would then run one article analysing and quoting from the three journals.

It would seem to be advisable to hold the Kentucky article until the Emory article has come in. We could then in New South run our own analysis and summary of the three contributions.

What do you think?

M.A.W.

MAW

raj

bc: George Mitchell

November 10, 1952

Mr. F. W. Whitesides, Jr.
College of Law
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Whitesides:

I have read twice and with great admiration the article enclosed with your letter of November 5. Please accept our thanks for the trouble to which you have gone and the scholarship reflected in this treatise.

I believe that it was originally suggested that the article be published in your Law Journal with a copy available for our use. Will you be good enough to advise if it has been or will be so published, giving us the name of the Journal and the date of publication in order that proper credit may be given.

Is Mr. Kostas, the author, a student or a member of the faculty? We have in mind that it would be proper to run some editorial note in recognition of his work.

You will note that the correspondence should be addressed to me at Linville Falls, North Carolina, rather than to Atlanta.

Again thanking you, I am

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright
President

MAW:raj

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CONSTITUTIONALITY OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION ORDINANCES

Shortly after the turn of the century when mass migration from rural to urban centers began, many of the large cities, especially those in the South, found it desirable to pass special ordinances segregating the races. The aim of these ordinances was to check the further infiltration of negro elements of the population into the then existing white sections. The purpose of this article will be to trace the course and development of these residential segregation ordinances in the seventeen southern states in which segregation in education is decreed by state law.[1]

The state and federal courts will normally hold that if a statute or ordinance involves a reasonable exercise of the police power, it does not constitute a deprivation of property without due process of law merely because it limits or restricts the use which the owner may make of his property. This type of reasoning is employed in sustaining the constitutional validity of the customary residential and commercial type zoning ordinances for the public health, safety and welfare. Accordingly, the framers of residential segregation ordinances have contended that, since their purpose is to promote the public peace and safety by preventing race conflicts, they are not an unconstitutional exercise of the inherent governmental power of the state.

Apparently one of the first cities to enact a residential segregation ordinance was Baltimore, Maryland, in 1911. Within a few years many other cities had followed suit. The Baltimore ordinance prohibited white persons from residing in a block in which the buildings therein were occupied exclusively by negroes, and likewise restricted negroes from moving into a building in any block occupied exclusively by white persons. This ordinance was the first to be attacked in the courts. In State of Maryland v. Gurry[2] it was contended that the ordinance was violative of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The Maryland Court of Appeals held that there was no unconstitutional discrimination between races in an ordinance which prohibited white and colored persons from moving into blocks occupied exclusively by members of the other race, since what was denied one race was denied the other. However, the ordinance was declared void on the ground that it unreasonably interfered with vested rights in property, because the owner of a house whose rights therein accrued prior to passage of the ordinance was prohibited by it from occupying his own house. The court indicated that it would have sustained a segregation ordinance properly framed to allow those who owned residences at the time the ordinance became effective to move into and occupy them.

About this time a lower court decision in Virginia[3] held that a segregation ordinance more drastic in its practical effect than the one in Baltimore was constitutional.

This ordinance prohibited the establishment, in the future, of residences by either race in any block except wherein the race was in a majority.[4] In its opinion the court said that it would take judicial notice that the close association of persons of the white and colored races results, or tends to result, in breaches of the peace, immorality, and danger to health, in view of state legislation providing for separate coaches on railroads and separate schools. In upholding the validity of the ordinance the court argued that since the ordinance applied to both white and colored it was not discriminatory, and further, that if the statutes providing for segregation in schools and transportation were constitutional then segregation-zoning ordinances must on the the same basis be constitutional also.

The same question as that decided by the Virginia court above was presented to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia in Hopkins v. City of Richmond.[5] The ordinance involved was the customary type except that it, like the Baltimore ordinance, (as in State of Maryland v. Gurry, supra) would also prohibit an owner of a house at the time the ordinance was enacted from occupying it if it was in a block occupied by members of the other race. The court held this ordinance constitutional in so far as it applied to persons whose rights as owners or tenants had accrued subsequent to passage of the ordinance, and unconstitutional only as it restricted the right of any white or colored

person to move into and occupy property of which he was the owner on the effective date of the ordinance.

In Georgia a segregation ordinance passed by the city of Atlanta was contested in Carey v. City of Atlanta[6] in 1915. The Georgia Supreme Court held that that ordinance prohibiting white and colored persons from residing in the same block, and making no exception in the case of those with vested property rights at the time of passage of the ordinance, denied the inherent right of a person to acquire, enjoy and dispose of property, and for that reason was violative of the due process clause of the state and Federal constitutions. The city of Atlanta then passed an ordinance identical with the one enacted by Louisville, Kentucky, which had just been held constitutional by the Kentucky Court of Appeals. The Georgia Supreme Court aligned itself with the Kentucky court.[7] Both held that these ordinances were a valid exercise of the police power of the state in attempting to promote the public welfare and to preserve friendly relations between the races.

On the basis of the foregoing cases it would appear that the controlling factor was not a consideration of the drastic effect of any ordinance in the sense that it referred to blocks exclusively occupied or only partially occupied by one race, but rather was conditioned by the effect of the ordinance on existing property rights at the time the ordinance was enacted. Thus, those ordinances which were intended to apply only to property subsequently acquired were held valid, while those failing to make that distinction were held unconstitutional.

The only case holding a prospective residential segregation ordinance unconstitutional was State v. Darnell,[8] a North Carolina case, but that case was based upon an interpretation of the city charter. The ordinance was substantially the same as that involved in Hardin v. City of Atlanta.[9] The court held that Winston Salem was without authority to adopt the ordinance since it had not been expressly granted the power to pass such an ordinance, nor could that power be inferred in view of the general policy of the state, "there being no similar state laws, the legislature having enacted statutes tending to keep the negroes from emigrating." This ordinance, the court said, attempted to forbid the owner of property to sell or lease to whomever he saw fit, but the "right of disposing of property, the jus disponendi, has always been held one of the inalienable rights incident to the ownership of property which no statute will be construed as having power to take away." The North Carolina court declined to decide whether a state statute directly authorizing town commissioners to make such an ordinance would be constitutional. It did, however, imply that had the legislature intended to establish such a policy as to negroes it would certainly have made provision for selecting districts and would not have conferred such unlimited powers on the commissioners.

Although other southern cities by this time had enacted similar segregation ordinances, there do not appear to be any more decisions by courts of record in those states prior to

1917 other than the ones reviewed.

The Supreme Court of the United States was faced with the question of the constitutionality of a residential segregation ordinance for the first time in the case of Buchanan v. Warley.[10] The case involved the segregation ordinance adopted by Louisville, Kentucky. The ordinance was entitled:

> "An ordinance to prevent conflict and ill feeling between the white and colored races in the city of Louisville, and to preserve the public peace and promote the general welfare by making reasonable provisions requiring, as far as practicable, the use of separate blocks for residences, places of abode and places of assembly by white and colored people respectively."[11]

The ordinance declared it unlawful for any colored person to move into and occupy in the future any house on any block upon which a greater number of houses were occupied by white people than by colored people. Likewise, white people were forbidden from moving into any block where there were more colored persons' residences than white. The plaintiff Buchanan was a white man who sued defendant negro to secure specific performance of a contract to purchase real estate owned by plaintiff. The defendant contended that since he was a colored person it would be unlawful for him to occupy the property he had contracted to purchase. The plaintiff contended the ordinance was unconstitutional in that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by abridging the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States to acquire and enjoy property, taking property without due process of law and denying equal protection of the laws. The Kentucky Court of Appeals, in the companion

cases of Harris v. City of Louisville and Buchanan v. Warley,[12] had sustained the constitutionality of the Louisville ordinance, holding that it was neither a deprivation of property without due process of law nor a violation of the right of alienation since the ordinance did not deprive any person of the right to acquire property anywhere in the city--the only restraint being on occupancy. On ~~appeal~~ APPEAL to the Supreme Court of the United States the plaintiff contended that although the ordinance did not expressly prohibit a white person from selling to a colored person, and vice versa, the practical effect of the ordinance was to deny such right of alienation. This is true, plaintiff's counsel contended, for if "he cannot sell to a colored person, he cannot sell at all, for the lot is so situated with reference to other colored men's residences that no white man would buy it."[13] The Supreme Court of the United States, in reversing the decision of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, stated that although the police power of the states was very extensive it could not validly be employed to pass a residential segregation ordinance discriminating on the basis of color. The decision was based entirely on due process and did not involve plaintiff's other contentions in regard to privileges and immunities and equal protection of the laws. The court distinguished the point involved herein from its earlier decisions upholding segregation statutes as to trains and schools, by asserting that in the latter cases a person was not denied the right to acquire, use, control and dispose of his property as in the Buchanan case. In those cases, of course, the railroad owners were deprived of the right to control their property, but they had never complained of that deprivation. The complaint passenger could show at best a mere regulation of a privilege.

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The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Buchanan case had the practical effect of overruling all the State court decisions upholding such ordinances. Subsequent to that decision, the Court of Appeals of Maryland considered an ordinance which differed from the Louisville ordinance in that the former related to blocks where all the occupants were of one race and prohibited one not of that race from occupying a residence of that block, while the latter related to blocks in which the white or colored inhabitants were in the majority, and thus involved one of the less-drastic types of segregation ordinances. The court, however, on the authority of the Buchanan case held the Baltimore ordinance unconstitutional.[14] The Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia[15] and the Georgia Supreme Court[16] both relying on the Buchanan case held segregation ordinances substantially the same as Louisville's unconstitutional.

In searching for means of avoiding the Supreme Court's decision in the Buchanan case the city of New Orleans seized upon the distinction drawn by the Court between segregation zoning ordinances and segregation statutes relating to transportation and education and conceived the idea that if there were no direct state interference with a person's right freely to dispose of his property a segregation ordinance might be constitutional. Accordingly, the city adopted an ordinance making it unlawful for a white or colored person to occupy a residence in a community or portion of the city occupied by those of the other race without written consent of a majority of the

residents of that community or section. The Louisiana court of last resort held the ordinance constitutional[17] on the theory that it was not actually a racial discrimination in civil or political rights, but merely a social distinction, and came within the exercise of the police power. In distinguishing the Buchanan case the court said that there the Supreme Court of the United States had found in fact that white persons were restrained by the ordinance from selling to colored persons, and vice versa, which was an interference with the freedom of contract; here there was nothing in the ordinance forbidding the sale by one to the other. The ordinance did not forbid a negro owner of property in a negro block from selling to a white person who intended to move into the house, and vice versa, but merely said that that person must get the written consent of a majority of residents of that block before carrying out his intent. It is difficult to see how the court arrived at this distinction inasmuch as the Louisville ordinance did not place any restriction on sale either. Nevertheless, in the Buchanan case the Supreme Court found that in its practical application the ordinance did have that effect. It would appear that the New Orleans ordinance would clearly have the same effect. On appeal of this case to the United States Supreme Court,[18] in a memorandum decision, the holding of the Louisiana Court was reversed on the authority of the Buchanan case.

The only written opinion by a federal court involving the distinction made by the Louisiana court in regard to restriction of occupancy, as distinguished from sale of real property,

seems to have been that in City of Birmingham v. Monk,[19] decided by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. In that case the court refused to make any distinction between the two ordinances and held this one unconstitutional also.

After that decision the city of Richmond, Virginia, attempted another new approach. It passed an ordinance prohibiting any person from using as a residence any building on any street between intersecting streets where a majority of the residences on such street were occupied by those with whom the person by law was forbidden to intermarry. In arguing the case wherein the validity of this ordinance was attacked,[20] appellant-city attempted to distinguish the situation here from those in the Buchanan and Harmon cases by showing that this ordinance was based on the legal prohibition of intermarriage and not on race or color, but the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia decided that in the final analysis the ordinance was based on race since the legal prohibition of intermarriage was itself based on race.

In Oklahoma two more cases involving variations on this same theme arose. The first, in 1935, was an action for injunctive relief to prevent enforcement of the "Segregation Ordinance" of Oklahoma City.[21] This ordinance prohibiting occupation was justified by defendant-city by showing that it was enacted after the Governor of Oklahoma issued an Executive Military Order declaring a state of martial law to exist in certain areas of the city of Oklahoma City, and directing that city

to enact this ordinance. The Oklahoma Supreme Court, however, held the Governor's Order void and legally unenforceable and, therefore, the ordinance based upon it failed also.

The next Oklahoma case in point arose ten years later. In Crist v. Henshaw[22] plaintiffs attempted to enjoin defendants from selling lots in a nearby subdivision to negroes on grounds that it would create a public nuisance and destroy the value of their property. Despite the fact that the case at bar did not involve a zoning ordinance the Supreme Court of Oklahoma relied on the Buchanan case and held that although the action was primarily between individuals the court could not restrict the sales; to do so would be a clear violation by the court of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The city of Winston Salem, North Carolina, ~~drew up~~ created a very extensive zoning ordinance which contained one provision excluding negroes from occupying houses in certain zones into which the city was divided, and was not, as in the Buchanan case an attempt at segregation directly by an ordinance not purporting to be a zoning ordinance. This raised the question of whether such a provision in a broad and otherwise valid zoning ordinance would be approved by the courts. In Clinard v. City of Winston Salem[23] the North Carolina court answered the question in the negative. There appears to have been only one other case[24] involving the inclusion in a general zoning plan of one provision for segregation. The court there also held the ordinance unconstitutional. While this question has never been directly decided by the Supreme Court of the United States it

would appear, in view of the widespread application of the holding in the Buchanan case, that the court would merely declare the segregation provision unconstitutional while leaving the remainder of the ordinance substantially intact. It is submitted that this would be a fundamentally sound result.

The author was unable to discover cases in the remainder of the seventeen southern states having segregation by law, and it is, therefore, assumed that if the question has arisen in those states it has never been adjudicated by a court of last resort.

In view of the foregoing discussion it is now manifest that all ordinances contemplating segregation of the races as to places of abode are unconstitutional. Such legislation exceeds the proper exercise of the police power and in its purpose is clearly violative of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Any theory of promotion of the public peace and welfare by prevention of racial conflicts is overridden by the serious infringement of property interests. The courts hold that regardless of what may be argued in support of segregation legislation in other contexts and its application in particular to education, it will not apply to legislation of this variety wherein persons are clearly deprived, without due process of law, of their constitutionally guaranteed privilege of disposing of property.

James S. Kostas

FOOTNOTES

1. Alabama Constitution, Article XIV, Section 256; Arkansas Statutes, 80-509 (c); Delaware Constitution, Article X, Section 2; Florida Constitution, Article XII, Section 12; Georgia Constitution, Article VIII, Section 1; Kentucky Constitution, Section 187; Louisiana Constitution, Article XII, Section 1; Mississippi Constitution, Article VIII, Section 207; Missouri Constitution, Article IX, Section 1(a); North Carolina Constitution, Article IX, Section 2; Oklahoma Constitution, Article XIII, Section 3; South Carolina Constitution, Article XI, Section 7; Tennessee Constitution, Article XI, Section 12; Texas Constitution, Article VII, Section 7; Virginia Constitution, Article IX, Section 140; West Virginia Constitution, Article XII, Section 8; District of Columbia Code, Title 31, Section 1110.

2. 121 Md. 534, 88 A. 546 (1913).

3. Ashland v. Coleman, 19 Va. Law Reg. 427 (1913).

4. This type of segregation ordinance is considered more drastic since it would prevent further movement into those blocks in which the negroes had gained a foothold but were not yet in the majority. The other type ordinance merely prohibited negroes from moving into blocks exclusively occupied by white persons. Thus, if in a particular block at the time of passage of the ordinance, only one negro resided therein, the ordinance would not prevent other negroes from moving in also.

5. 117 Va. 692, 86 S. E. 139 (1915).

6. 143 Ga. 192, 84 S. E. 456 (1915).

7. Harden v. City of Atlanta, 147 Ga. 248, 93 S. E. 401 (1917).

8. 166 N. C. 300, 81 S. E. 338 (1914).

9. Supra, note 7.

10. 245 U. S. 60 (1917).

11. Id. at 70.

12. 165 Ky. 559, 177 S. W. 472 (1915).

13. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U. S. 60, 62 (1917).

14. Jackson v. State of Maryland, 132 Md. 311, 103 A. 910 (1918).

15. Irvine v. City of Clifton Forge, 124 Va. 781, 97 S. E. 310 (1918).

16. Glover v. City of Atlanta, 148 Ga. 285, 96 S. E. 562 (1918).

17. Tyler v. Harmon, 158 La. 439, 104 So. 200 (1925).

18. Harmon v. Tyler, 273 U. S. 668 (1927).

19. 185 F. 2d 859 (5th Cir. 1950).

20. City of Richmond v. Deans, 37 F. 2d 712 (4th Cir. 1930).

21. Allen v. Oklahoma City, 175 Okla. 421, 52 P. 2d 1054 (1935).

22. Crist v. Henshaw, 196 Okla. 168, 163 P. 2d 214 (1945).

23. 217 N. C. 119, 6 S. E. 2d 867 (1940) state citation missing.

24. Bowen v. City of Atlanta, 159 Ga. 145, 125 S. E. 199 (1924).

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MAIN OFFICE
HARTSVILLE, S. C.

May 28, 1953

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have your letter of May 26th and regret very much that I will not be able to accept this assignment in James' place. Our Treasurer, Mr. J. B. Gilbert, has been out for several months following a heart attack, and with James away from the office for a rather indefinite period I have my hands so full that I will not be able to take on any additional outside activities.

I appreciate your confidence, and am sorry that I will not be able to accept the assignment.

Sincerely,

Executive Vice President

CWCoker
ml

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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JUN 15
Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 11, 1953

Dear George:

At one stroke I acknowledge receipt of various communications and documents.

1. The annual report of the Ford Foundation will be closely read and returned in a day or so.

2. I will more thoroughly digest the memorandum in reply to "One Methodist Voice" and make any suggestions which may occur to me.

You will recall that I was to undertake to induce Mr. James L. Coker and Mr. John Wheeler to write articles for New South. Sometime ago Mr. Coker's brother, C. W. Coker, wrote that James had an impairment of health that was causing him to give up activities of the kind he had mentioned. I thereupon wrote C. W. asking him to undertake this assignment. I enclose his letter of May 28 which turns us down. Will you please take over on the matter of getting an industrialist to write the article for us? Mr. Wheeler indicates that he may undertake the job. I enclose the letter of May 28 which askes about a deadline on his article. I could not answer that question for him and will be very glad if you will take over the correspondence with him from this point.

I have been turning over in my mind the idea of writing Mr. Chester Davis of the Ford Foundation a semi-personal letter giving him something in the nature of an interim report on what we have done since the $20,000 check came in. I would not ask him for a penny. My idea is that we should not let all of our contact with one who is our friend revolve around the idea of making a grant. If we could write him occasionally without asking for money, we probably put him in receptive frame of mind when we do make a request.

I would like to get your ideas on the wisdom of writing such letter and on its content. Since the receipt of the check for $20,000, we

have added to our membership or secured funds from other sources, I should like to give him those facts. I think also that he might be informed that we had tentatively revised our by laws so as to give us a more efficient operation in the event we come in possession of substantial funds.

A progressive report on the commission of equal penalties and the comparison of school standards in the southern states might be appropriate. Other ideas will occur to you.

If you think that it might be well for me to write Mr. Davis, I wish you would try your hand on a form letter for my signature and send it up to me.

The Supreme Court has given us another breathing spell of three or four months. I should like to express a view that, during this period, every issue of New South should contain material similar to "Southern Comment on School Decision," appearing in the May issue. The reversal of position of the Sewanee people seems to me to be entitled to exploitation in New South, particularly since we gave some publicity to the adverse decision of a year or so ago.

Guy Johnson had an excellent article and I have so written him.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

MEMO TO H. F. June 17, 1953

Note this commitment I made to MAW. Do please write Wheeler and ponder alone or with me a replacement industrialist.

GSM

June 17, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

I do think it's right for you to write to Chester Davis. Here are some scrappy facts.

Harold will take over on Wheeler and a problematical industrialist.

I agree that your letter to Davis should touch on the by-laws amendments.

Harold will note your liking for the Southern comment on school decisions. And we will run something on the Sewanee reversal. Mighty good to see you the other day.

Important: Do please send back the May issue of ONE METHODIST VOICE. Nobody here has been able to turn up another copy!

This incoming from Galen Weaver strikes a note that may be helpful in your letter to Davis. Should be returned to our files.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:ec
Encl.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 27, 1953

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Regarding the memo of June 2 in reply to One Methodist Voice, you quote Ralph McGill and Hodding Carter on page 4. You might well insert some complimentary remarks about SRC by Virginius Dabney in his article in the Saturday Evening Post of November 8, 1952. I believe Mr. Dabney's commendation ought to be kept on file for future reference. I thought the entire memo was excellent.

Last night's sleep was greatly refreshed by my listening to the Atlanta radio's report of the rather rough treatment given to our friend from Clayton. I was glad the report did not mention SRC. If you could send me a clipping from the Atlanta paper about this incident, I should like to have it. I believe you should get a fairly large number of copies for future use.

Today I am writing to a Mrs. Boyle at the University of Virginia that she may feel free to call on you for any needed help in connection with a book she is writing. I believe she is one of our members; at any rate she receives New South because she has written me some nice things about my recent article.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 27, 1953

Mrs. Roger Boyle
Box 1183
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Boyle:

It is very kind of you to write me all of those nice things about my recent article in New South. Of course, you realize how all of us thrive upon recognition ~~and to be~~ spurred to greater efforts in the future.

I should like to be of all the help possible to you in connection with your forthcoming book. Please feel free to write me frequently and fully as the work progresses, even sending typewritten copies or proof sheets of chapters if you feel that my criticism would have value.

Probably the best posted man ~~of~~ in the South on the matter ~~of~~ with which you are concerned is Mr. Harold Fleming, our director of information. He has a wide assortment of facts and statistics at hand and has been consulted in recent years by practically everyone who writes upon the South's racial problem. I know it would be a pleasure to him to have you call on him in Atlanta if you have the opportunity to do so. He could give you references on any particular point under consideration.

You have probably read the four books which I will mention. If you have not, I am sure you would find them highly instructive. They are: Myrdal's The American Dilemma, Cash's The Mind of the South, Lumpkin's The Making of a Southerner and Marrow's Living Without Hate. I am not sure about the Lumpkin title. The author

is a southern woman and in this book she apparently relates her own emancipation from prejudice, as you plan to do for yourself. It is a must for you.

We in the Southern Regional Council ought to use the months of grace granted us by the Supreme Court to develop an attitude in the South favorable to complete and cheerful acceptance of whatever the court shall order. We should use all of the media of publicity, including radio and T.V.. As you know, we operate uppn a shoestring budget. If you have any wealthy friends whose heart is in the right place, you could be of great service if you could influence them to make some substantial contribution in the immediate future.

Again thanking you and with kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

bc: Mr. Harold Fleming

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 27, 1953

Mr. Chester S. Davis
The Journal Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Davis:

I hope that you read the March-April issue of New South with its article on various subterfuges employed by certain railroads to escape the consequences of rulings by our courts on rights of Negro passengers in interstate commerce. In case you have not, I am enclosing a copy herewith.

The Atlanta office sent a personal letter to a great many officials of all of the southern railroads, as well as the trainmen's unions, enclosing copies of New South.

We should like very much to know to what extent the practices of the railroads may have been affected by the publication and accompanying letter. Of course, we could issue our own questionaire to the same officials to whom our letter was written, asking whether or not prior to publication of the issue their respective lines had engaged in any of these practices, whether or not they now engage in them and, if so, whether or not they plan to discontinue any of such practices. For several reasons we feel that it would be much more desirable to have some intelligent outside person or agency make that investigation, giving publicity to the results established by the investigation.

Your paper has been so consistently in the forefront of the movement for complete fairness toward the Negro and complete compliance with decrees affecting his rights that I naturally think first of you as being the logical person to undertake such inquiry and the preparation of such ensuing article.

We do not wish to ride a willing horse to death and hope that you will be entirely frank in expressing your willingness or unwillingness to undertake this task for us. If you will do so--as we hope you will--we will be glad to give you names and addresses of persons to whom we think your inquiry might be addressed.

Well, the Supreme Court has given us some more months of grace. These should be utilized in the most effective way possible to prepare public opinion in the South for complete acceptance of whatever the court shall order. We should be using radio and T. V. time but, of course, are greatly handicapped by lack of the funds needed to purchase such time. We are having to do in amateurish manner what should be done expertly and on a large scale.

I have not consulted Dr. Guy Johnson but wonder if it would be possible for you to induce one of the Winston-Salem stations to give us fifteen minutes of time if we could get Dr. Johnson to use it. I hope you read his excellent article in New South a few weeks ago.

Our thanks in advance for anything that you may be able to do for us.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

bc: George Mitch ell

"Topknot"
LINVILLE FALLS,
NORTH CAROLINA

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SEP 2
Southern Regional Council

Sep. 1, 1953.

Dear George:

I have engagement here on Sept. 18th – nothing before that date.

If you could make date for Morris & me in N.Y. anytime from 10th to 16th ~~or from Sept 23~~ would be glad to go. If this cannot be arranged would suggest date after executive committee meeting.

Believe it is advisable for you to make the arrangements since you may easily consult Morris and have easy access to phone & wire.

Hurriedly,

M. A. W.

P.S. A friend tells me Charlotte News 2 or 3 weeks ago re-printed article about us from Monitor. Would be interesting in seeing this if you get it.

M. A. W.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 8, 1953

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Emily Calhoun, from her remorseless tickler, turns up a note that as about now I am to send you scraps of info on program which you could use in making a sort of progress report to Chester Davis.

Police Education

A good deal of time, particularly in the early part of the year, has gone into that queer, but we suppose resultful, business of getting local committees of church women to take our pamphlet RACE AND ALW ENFORCEMENT along on a visit to the sheriff. The map we keep in the office shows this has been done in 145 counties now. Mrs. Tilly has revived the program in the late summer, and various of the States have been supplied with maps showing the counties not yet visited. Mrs. Tilly will go out to New Orleans, Little Rock, Dallas, and Houston in November to get this matter going energetically in the Southwest.

Negro Policemen

We have collected the figures on the use of Negro police in Southern cities and counties annually since 1945. Here is a table.

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Number Uniform	Number Plainclothes	Number Policewomen
1945	9	29	131*		3
1946	10	42	208*		5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

September 30, 1953

Dear George:

One or two ideas which flit in my mind on the heels of Friday's meeting of the Executive Committee:

1. Would it be possible or advisable to have the Negro College Presidents who are on our board to join in a recommendation to the Ford people that a long range follow-up of the pending survey should be taken and that we are the people to do it?

2. Do you think we can depend upon Harold Fleming and John Griffin to see that the report to the Ford people contains a recommendation to the same general effect? If there should be any doubt on the point, Guy Johnson might be stimulated into seeing that the report contained such a recommendation.

3. I have a really appealing idea for Mrs. Tilly's women--if they can undertake it. That is that they endeavor to use their influence with all grand juries which will be in session between now and the hour of decision with the view to having the presentments of such grand juries recommend that our people abide faithfully by what the Supreme Court may direct. I have seen a great many worthy causes receive their first official sanction in grand jury reports. They are usually composed of from eighteen to twenty-four men of some local prominence. The inclusion of such a paragraph in their presentments would mean a great deal. Mrs. Tilly might have some idea as to whether or not her local committees could get this favorable action. I would think that a very simple and short resolution would suffice. Frankly, I have great doubt that the women would be this powerful but I should like to see them try it out.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

raj

October 5, 1953

Mr. Chester S. Davis
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Davis:

Quite a while ago I wrote your father that we would try to give him some progress report on the work of the Southern Regional Council, in view of his great help to us. Since that time I believe that you wrote me that he had gone to India. Will you be good enough to let me know whether or not he has returned and, if so, give me his present address.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:rej

bc: George Mitchell

October 5, 1953

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Tartt Bell:

You will remember that some months ago when I was in Greensboro I failed to see Mrs. Julius W. Cone of 1030 Summit Avenue. I have reason to believe that Mrs. Cone might be induced to make some contribution to the work of this organization. Weeks ago I wrote her proposing that I run over to see her at Blowing Rock. That letter has produced no results, not even an engagement.

Would it be riding you too hard to have you call Mrs. Cone and learn when it might be convenient for me to see her in Greensboro. I think that I could go at any time that she would suggest.

If this engagement is arranged, I would greatly appreciate your sitting in on the interview with Mrs. Cone. I read recently an article by some experienced fund raiser who made the point that far better results are secured if two people call on the prospect than if only one do so.

If you should be successful in arranging an engagement with Mrs. Cone, it would be fine if you could do the same with Mr. Price, formerly with the Jefferson Standard. He should help us and I have never gotten to talk to him.

It is a sensitive point with us, when we deal with northern foundations, that we secure such limited support at home.

We are trying desperately to rectify that situation.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

raj
bc: George Mitchell

Southerners For Civil Rights

121 WAVERLY PLACE - NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
TELEPHONE OREGON 4-7750

October 17,1953

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Marion Wright
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta ,Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright,

At last we have had an executive committee meeting of Southerners For Civil Rights. One of the first matters we took up was your request,transmitted this summer through Dr. Broadus Mitchell, that our group raise some money to contribute to your campaign for developing a climate of opinion favorable to the ending of segregation in the public schools.

As I feared,the committee feels that we are not strong enough to undertake fund raising for an outside organization. We do realize,however. the logic and validity of your suggestion. Therefore, I have been empowered to ~~writexxxxx~~ tell you that if you wish to write a letter asking for individual contributions to be sent directly to the Reginal Council. we will undertake to send it to all names on our mailing list with a covering recommendation.

We have been occupied through the summer with the matter of Negro representation in the coming municipal election. In October we held a very successful meeting in honor of the candidates for borough president of Manhattan,all of whom as you know are Negroes. All four candidates are men of unusual calibre and that this high office will be held by Negro is of course a tremendous forward step and we are pleased to have had even a small part in bringing it about.

With New York's elections over, we expect to turn to turn our attention once more to the coming decision on segregated schools in the South and are holding a round table discussion on the subject on November the eighteenth. Any news about your activites in the campaign would be welcome and would add to the interest of this discussion. If you decide that a request for funds for your undertaking would be fruitful, this meeting could the time to launch it.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Emma Felders Sterne

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

October 27, 1953

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File on Commission Penalties

Dear George:

Judge Waring has mentioned, but without specifically recommending, Maury Maverick of Texas and Ex-Gov. McMath of Arkansas as members of the commission on equal penalties. I had told him that we would like to be sure that the territory west of the Mississippi was represented.

I have no opinion of either of these gentlemen but pass their names on to you for consideration.

Hurridly and with kind regards.

M. A. W.

M. A. W.

October 29, 1953

Mr Marion Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

One of the Fund for the Advancement of Education's people, who has been working with the special study that they are making on schools, was in town a few days ago. Harold and others opened with him the matter of a recommendation on follow-up to come from the Negro college presidents. I am satisfied that the recommendation of the existing staff of the study will be in favor of SRC being the leading follow-up agency, but these things are chancy.

Mrs Tilly held a Southeastern meeting of leading church women a few days ago and got into their books the idea of getting them to press for Grand Jury findings at an appropriate time. That's a good one if we can get it done and I should think that we could.

The Board is now complete with fifty members. Bishop Clingman and Bishop Penick were the last two to be shepherded in.

We are living on "scrapings" for this last half of October. They amount now to $750.00 and I suppose will climb up by the 31st enough to get everyone paid though that will leave a telephone bill or two and some printing bills still out. I am hopeful that the A F L itself and the Philip Murray Foundation will each give us a thousand dollars, and I have been pulling what I hope are appropriate strings to that end. Miller & Rhoads, a big department store in Richmond, sent us $200.00 the other day. I have been after Paul Williams again for another effort in re Cardinal Stritch. I hope Tartt Bell does make an engagement for you with Mrs Cone as that still seems the most hopeful iron in the fire. My guess is that by Christmas time the answer will be available from the Fund for the Republic and our problem is to hold on 'til then.

The mimeograph project I think fizzles. Not certain it is to be done at all and our figures show that the clerical cost of so large a job will involve ten or twelve clerks for two or three weeks and about eat up the whole of the fee involved. So we are back where we were with about three thousand dollars to find to get us through December 31. I think the chances are good that I can dig up two thousand of it; do you redouble your efforts toward the third one.

Sincerely yours,
George S Mitchell - Executive Director

gsm-t

Dean Sayre Urges Christians to Meet 'Problem of 'Dividedness' in Race Relations

The Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, jr., dean of the Washington Cathedral, yesterday said Christians were violating the commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," in regard to their Negro brethren."

Commenting wryly on segregation in the District schools, he said: "Our concern is that if the Supreme Court orders the schools here to be integrated, educational standards are likely to fall because of the influx of poorly trained pupils from overcrowded schools.

"And then we shall likely feel obliged to move out of the District to provide a better scholastic level for our children elsewhere or send them to segregated private schools. And what an expensive headache all that will involve!"

"As a citizen," he continued, "I can have my private opinions about segregated public schools and unequal employment opportunities and all manner of trifling social restrictions forgotten by all except the victims. On these points, however, I, like all of us, must leave it to the Supreme Court to decide as to whether they are in consonance or not with the democracy we have legally adopted."

Ministers, he said, are in a different case.

"But as a minister," he continued, "there remains to me the more profound duty of declaring the principles that flow from our Christian faith."

The church "can no longer afford," he said, "not to speak in Christ's name, no matter what obloquy or vicious rumor may result.

"The choice for us now is abundantly clear: either we break God's law and find ourselves broken instead by His judgment—or else we fearlessly follow the leading of God's Holy Spirit, in whom there is neither bond nor free, neither white nor black—but only the all-encompassing love of Jesus Christ."

In discussing the racial problem, the dean said, in a sermon, "We all know that to be born with a brown skin is to face a very different sort of existence from yours or mine."

He agreed that great progress had been made—"painlessly on the whole—and on the basis of that many argue that we had better not 'force' the issue (which of course really means 'face' it)." From this springs the gradualist argument—let time work it out, he said.

"But it is not the clock that saves," he emphasized; "time never softens pride but only hardens it; we are never redeemed by any calendar."

The dean declared "no steps were ever made toward brotherhood until someone squarely faced the problem of dividedness, and it is to our shame as Christians that we have allowed others to lead the way."

A year ago the cathedral faced "the problem of dividedness" with regard to its schools, and decided to admit Negroes.

Mrs. Butcher Defends 'Protest Groups'

Mrs. Margaret J. Butcher, new member of the Board of Education and Howard University teacher, yesterday defended a person's "right to associate" with protest groups, with ideas and books, and with individuals.

Speaking before the Washington Ethical Society at the YWCA, she emphasized the importance of protest groups as "protective measures for the individual in times of hysteria."

Respect for the individual's "right to expose himself to ideas, even those contrary to traditional American principles" has made American democracy, she said, "the dynamic, fluid, constantly aspiring system that it is."

RS TO THE EDITOR

Governor Umstead and give him the "spiritual support" to act with mercy and justice? Is there enough civic and state pride to keep this thing from happening, which if it were to happen, would be broadcast world-wide by the Communists as an example of "American democracy." I am much disturbed by these questions and pray that many others may be.

EDWIN MICHAEL HOFFMAN.
Black Mountain, N. C.

Editor of the *Citizen-Times:*

Would Veto Byrnes

I am a Southern Republican (Kentucky), and feel that President Eisenhower is doing a great job, but he overlooked his cards in the appointment of Governor Byrnes of South Carolina, a racist, to his most important post, in the service of the United Nations.

As an old football player, I would say that he has opened the line for Soviet yardage.

Ike is a great guy . . . the flesh is weak, but he called the wrong signals on this play.

GUY SOWARDS.
Tryon, N. C.

The Woods Case

Editor of the *Citizen-Times:*

While I have no expectations that you will publish this protest against our feeble law enforcement, it is disgusting to again see a cold-blooded, ruthless murderer of a beloved sheriff given a so-called life sentence in prison. It's no wonder this was the third sheriff murdered in Jackson County and no doubt there will be more to come. In a few years, this law-flaunting fiend will be out again, ready to kill.

A. F. BORG.
Leicester, N. C.

Fifty-Five Year

Eidtor of the *Citi*

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A Sacco-Vanzetti Case?

Editor of the *Citizen-Times:*

Some questions disturb me greatly. Do we have two different standards of "justice" in North Carolina? Why are Christian people who devote so much energy and "spiritual resources" (prayer meetings and publicity) to an evangelistic campaign, apparently so indifferent to a hideous miscarriage of justice as now exists? Why makes news?

Four years ago two boys, ages 16 and 17, we seized by local police in Pitt County. Frightened and with no legal help or support, they were bullied and questioned and forced to sign a confession of murder—although neither one could read or write. They were tried by an all-white jury (which is illegal) and sentenced to death. Finally the case developed enough force to bring many people, to seek an adequate review of the case and to give the frightened illiterate youth adequate legal aid. But this movement grew so slowly that its appeal came one day late. Therefore the appeal was rejected by the North Carolina Supreme Court—on a mere technicality—not on the merits of the case. Later appeals to Federal Circuit Court and U. S. Supreme Court sustained the technicality but in both courts the decision was split, thus proving the doubt that existed. Judge Soper of the U. S. Court of Appeals said:

"The special and unusual circumstances of the present case justify the statement that the constitutional rights of the prisoners were so clearly violated that the judgment against them would have been reversed by the N. C. Supreme Court, if it had felt free to entertain their appeal" . . . (end of quote—the day late technicality furnished the refusal grounds).

The two boys are slated to die early in November unless Governor Umstead steps into case and changes the sentence. He alone has the power to do this.

Is North Carolina to have a Sacco-Vanzetti case of its own? When a U. S. court judge says the above; when two U. S. courts rendered a split decision; and when the case has never been given a chance to be tried on its merits in a higher courts—is there not enough doubt existing in the minds of any sane person that the case should be closed in some other way than the death sentence?

A white man—Demos Woods, self-confessed slayer of a sheriff is given a life sentence—not death; two illiterate colored boys, frightened and bullied into signing a confession of a crime, tried by an illegal jury—are to be executed. Is that North Carolina justice? Do enough Christian folk in the state care enough about this to write

and Edmu
officer of the Ch
Reservation.
haney was proceeding west
time of the accident, the pa-
olman reported.

Defendant Rapped For Associating With Negroes

GREENVILLE, S. C., Oct. 28 (AP) —Circuit Judge J. B. Pruitt of Anderson sentenced Robert Edward Newman, 23, to two years imprisonment after he changed his plea to guilty of manslaughter in a murder trial that began today in Greenville County General Sessions Court.

Newman, a carnival worker, was accused of stabbing Joe Cunningham, a Negro, to death in a drinking party April 17.

Judge Pruitt said he thought Newman should serve some time for associating with Negroes.

"God made us different," the judge said. "He could have found some white people to associate with." The judge emphasized that he had respect for the Negro race.

Asheville Citizen
10/29/53

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

October 31, 1953

Mrs. Emma Gelders Sterne
Southerners for Civil Rights
121 Waverly Place
New York 11, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Sterne:

It is good to have your letter of October 17 and to know that you in New York still occasionlly give us a thought. As quickly as we can we want to avail ourselves of your good offices in placing our situation before your members and others who might be disposed to help.

In my opinion, two factors have greatly increased the difficulty of keeping the Southern Regional Council in funds. (1) I believe two years ago we took a forthright stand against segregation, which has alienated the timorous and the conservative who, alas, seem to be also the wealthy. And (2) the inquisitorial practices of certain congressional committees have made a certain number of people afraid to contribute to any organization, especially one which may be accused of pinkish or leftish tendencies as, of course, we are in the South.

Anyhow, whatever the reason, we have our troubles. They come at a time when we should be greatly expanding the work which we undertake to do. From now until the decision by the Supreme Court in the segregation cases, we ought to be doing everything humanly possible--by press, radio, Television and interracial conferences, to get agreement by southern people that they will abide by the decision, whatever it may be, and no longer attempt evasion or trickery.

We attack the entrenched opinion of the South with only the bright and shining weapon, New South, which goes to about 4500 people.

In these critical months it should be going to ten times that number and its contents should be increased to reflect the urgency of the hour.

We need four thousand dollars to match an existing four thousand dollars to be used in financing a study by southerners of both races on the influence of race in the imposition of sentence in southern courts. While you and I have a very definite impression that race is a factor in sentence, the matter has not been scientifically studied and no conclusions have been published. We believe that the best way to get a square deal for the Negro in southern courts is to present the facts as they may be found by southerners of both races. We hope to use law professors, retired judges and others aquainted with the tecnique of such investigations.

That our guess about the effect of race is not a wild one, at least in the case of one South Carolina judge, is pretty clearly indicated by an article appearing in the Asheville Citizen on October 29. I have sent the clipping to Atlanta but am enclosing a copy to buttress our claim that prejudice may gnaw upon judges, as certainly it does upon lesser mortals.

It has been encouraging to us here in the South to find that intelligent white and Negro citizens can be brought together to discuss what is to become of the schools after the decision. The few meetings which have been held have been conducted in good temper and with successful results. If we had the funds, we should try to sponsor hundreds of such meetings on local levels throughout the South. Now is the time to get our people to agree on the principles which will govern their conduct in the future. The difficulty will be greatly increased after it is clearly apparent just where the application of such principles will lead.

So. . . if you or any of your friends or associates in the North can help us now with our financial problems, you may do so with the assurance that a dollar spent now may accomplish more than ten spent six months from now. Such contributions as they may make will help to keep alive in the South an interracial group which has, we believe, accomplished much but could accomplish vastly more if given the tools with which to do the job.

Such contributions are, of course, deductible for income tax purposes.

Many, many thanks for anything which you may be able to do.

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright
President

MAW/raj

November 16, 1953

Mr Marion A Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N C

Dear Marion:

I am just back from a week in Florida and a Board Meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations at Minneapolis.

Cheerful news on getting back: The AFL sent us a thousand dollars and the William C Whitney Foundation sent us a thousand dollars, too. That puts us back in the black. If we can find two thousand dollars more in these uncovenanted amounts, we will for the first time in many years get to December 31 with no debts and no deficit. We can already say that we have raised substantially more than the twenty thousand dollars of the Ford grant.

I still hope the CIO nationally is going to send us a thousand dollars from the Philip Murray Fund.

More news later on, but I wanted you to know of this improvement.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

~~THE WRIGHT COMPANY~~
~~CONWAY, S. C.~~

Linville Falls, N.C.
Nov. 24, 1953.

Dear George:

For some time have been without stenographic help, so please excuse.

Please acknowledge receipt of enclosed check & enclosures & clippings from Mr. Henderson.

The clippings not enclosed with his letter are some I have picked up and are sent to you under the general caption "Straws in the Wind".

Won't you put Laura M. Towne Library, Frogmore, S.C. on the mailing list for New South? This will reach the Negro population of St. Helena Island.

Will write at almost excessive length in few days when stenographer returns to job.

M. A. W.

RECEIVED
NOV 25
Southern Regional Council

December second, 1953

Mr Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Many thanks for your letter of November 24 with check from E B Henderson, now acknowledged and receipted for, and various other helpful items. I await a long screed when your stenographer is back.

Katherine Stoney and I have put off the December Executive Committee meeting until a date to be solicited from the Committee members, but not earlier than the week beginning January eighteen. There seems little to meet about, and December is a tough month to get people together.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS continues to sell like hot cakes, but we make only 3 cents a piece on them and the sale of them therefore affords little over and above what we have got to hold back for paying the printer's bills. Still we have been doing a major job in getting that booklet out and into use all over the South.

If we can find another $1500.00 from outside, we will end this year in the black. Some brisk morning do nose the auto around on its turnstile and aim it at Greensboro and see what you can do. I have exhausted my prospects. Saw the CIO people in Washington a few days ago and learned that we will get a thousand dollars probably in March but not before. We know of about $500.00 in small amounts coming in between now and the end of the year but that plus dues and dribbles is all. We owe the printer for pamphlets delivered and not yet paid for about $1400.00 and we have two more payrolls to meet this month. We are owed, by pamphlet purchases, perhaps $700.00 and will collect it.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

December 4, 1953

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

You, of course, observed that Dr. T. H. Carroll has been made a member of the Board of the Ford Foundation.

What do you know about this gentlemen? What does he know about Southern Regional Council? Is there anything that you would suggest by way of interesting him favorably to our cause?

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

cc: George Mitchell

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED 14 Southern Regional Council

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 10, 1953

Dear George:

Again Mrs. Johnson has her feet upon the treadmill so the spate of letters from this end will, I hope, be resumed. I apologize sincerely for many weeks of neglect.

This letter is hurridly written but I do want to get your advice on one matter. The American Civil Liberties Union has asked permission to nominate me as a member of its National Committee. For a number of reasons I should like to accept. The company with which I would be thrown is distinguished and scholarly and I am sure that I would personally benefit from the association. I have in mind also that the association might put me in position to get in a few solid blows for S. R. C.

Realizing that with McCarthy and Jenner still at large and breathing fire and brimstone, the Union may expect at any moment to have the infecting fingers of these gentlemen on its throat. If there is danger that S. R. C. would be hurt-particularly ~~with~~ its relations with the Ford people-I would not want to incur that risk.

I should be very glad if you would give me your best advice and also ask Leonard Haas and your other associates in Atlanta if they feel that my accepting this position (if I should be elected) might serve later to embarrass us. Please let me know at once what their and your views are.

Our man, Chester Davis, continues in India. I have his address there. What would you think of my cabling him that we would appreciate anything that he might do with the present Ford organization which has our application under advisement? If you approve, please be sure to give me the exact name and address of the organization to which Mr. Davis might address his communication in our behalf.

I have not forgotten Mrs. Cone. Both Tartt Bell and Father Dolan have fallen down on me but I am planning on my own to go to Greensboro and let Mrs. Cone have it on the chin straight from the shoulder. All that I can learn of this good woman is that she is a rare combination of wealth and philanthropic spirit. I have the hope that if I could get a long interview I might do our cause some good. The success of your own efforts spurs while it shames me.

You will be interested to learn that, through the good offices of the spirited Mrs. Ames, I am to talk about SRC before the Lanier Club of Tryon on February 3.

As the old fashioned newspapers used to say, more anon.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

December 14, 1953

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Dr. Mitchell is out of town all this week but was in on Saturday and read your letter of December 10th. He asked me to write to you and say that he thinks you should accept the invitation of the American Civil Liberties Union to be nominated for their National Committee.

The other matters in your letter will be given his attention as soon as he gets back to the city.

I hope that you and Mrs. Wright have a very pleasant holiday season.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

December 23, '53

Dear Marion,

I've been riding around. Charleston, in S.C., for a small CIO meeting to talk about needs for workers education within that High Wall, to Knoxville (on the bus!) to instruct a Colgate tour of students of TVA and to meet with various "elements" who started a discussion group on what to do about Schools, and to Berea, to lecture the student body on how the mountainy people should behave. Well received, (the tips on attitudes toward school business).

Civil Liberties OK, as I asked K. to write. Will help, and they are good eggs, and no reds, and if anybody wants to get mad, let 'em.

Cabling Chester Davis I leave to your judgment. I think the man David Freeman is a bit peeved over our successful appeal over F's head to Davis on the 20,000 matter, but what we want is action and not pleasantries. Fund for the Republic, 1 East 54th Street, N.Y. 22 . That's their present (recently moved to) address. I am still supposing the boys did some deciding a while back, and will notify us soon. But I don't know at all. I have urged Brooks Hays and Jno. Sparkman to intervene, and Denny and Chas. Johnson have put in jabs.

Money prospects are that we will
nearly meet the Dec. 31 payroll, getting
a couple of salary payments run over
till next year
owe the printer 1800 or so
otherwise be clean

If you should meet up with Mrs. Cohn meanwhile, do cast down that 1800. Next year, at first? Old grind, I suppose.

Ntnl Cncl of Chs has assigned another man, Mississippian named Lanier Hunt, for Jan 4-12. I'm using him in SC, by agreement with Richard Foster, new Chairman SC Division. Foster good guy, who will push.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N. E.
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 12, 1953

Dear George:

I imagine that you probably have on hand a considerable number of the re-prints of the Readers Digest article. If so, would it be advisable to send this surplus to all of our affiliated state organizations? They could break down the package into local communities if they wanted to.

I have just seen Time for December 14 which, on page 51, quotes fully and approvingly Ralph McGill's editorial on segregation. So far as I know, this editorial marks the greatest advance taken by McGill or any other southern editor. Unless we have already printed too much on the issue, the McGill article would look good in New South.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

January 11, '54

Dear Marion, Wright

Except for the (helpful) Craig Wall corr. we hear nothing from you. Be not downcast at absence of large sums. I was in Greensboro for some Quaker show, and Tartt Bell told me you had been there, and had no luck with the lady, but had been sent on to another prospect. Despair not. Something will pay off!

We ended the year owing the printer perhaps 1200, and most people unpaid for the last pay day in the year, but got nearly everyone paid just after January 2. The audit will be the best we have had for years, with no book deficit, as we took in more than we paid out, but there is tsill the printer's bill. However, Miss Anna Lord Strauss sent us 25 share of St. Regis Paper Common, worth about 500, and after the exec. comm. meets presumably we can sell it. And we have another four or five hundred owing to us for pamphlets sold, so we aren't in terrible shape. Main thing is where do wh get ary other $0,000 from, Chester Davis style? I called the man David Freeman the other day, for such news as might seep through. Only learned that they had put on a friendly guy Frank Loescher, from Phila., to advise the F for R on race relation giving, and he is to come here for a look. I trust Frank, and would accept his justice. But that's big money, and we still have this problem of keeping going.

I am to go to NY the day after the exc. comm. mtg, to do a speech, and will call on F for R then, and again in early Feb. when I go back for the ILGWU, which has an institute or something.

Best to all thy establishment.

G.

RECEIVED
JAN 23
Southern Regional Council

THE LINDSEY VINEYARD

Since 1900

TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

Jan. 21, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir;

Mr. Wright is to speak before the Lanier Club in Tryon on Feb. 3rd. At the suggestion of our Program Chairman, Dr. Taylor, I wrote to Mr. Wright at Linville Falls asking for material for publicity. This was on Jan .14th and I have as yet received no reply. Since then your name and address have been given me and I am writing to you for assistance. We usually have paragraphs in the local paper twice and the material for the first should be in my hands by the 25th at the latest. I would be grateful for any items of general interest that you could supply.

Very truly yours,

Margaret E. Norton

(Mrs. J. F. Norton)

Next Sent

DELICIOUS TRYON GRAPES BY MAIL DIRECT TO YOU.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 29, 1954

RECEIVED
FEB 1 -
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your kind words about my Tryon speech have created a warm glow in this snow covered region. My remarks seemed a little abbreviated--they wanted about twenty-five minutes--so I have slightly enlarged and probably weakened my speech. Copy of the final draft is enclosed.

The news on the financial front sounds good. I hope everything pans out. Thus far I have had no reply to my frantic cablegram to Brother Chester Davis. If anything comes in I shall, of course, forward it immediately.

In fixing a date for the next meeting of the Executive Committee, please bear in mind that I shall leave here on February 19 for Beaufort, S. C. for a meeting of the Penn Board on the 20th. I would not like to see our meeting set up for February 19, 20 or 21.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj
P.S. Am not enclosing copy.
Feb. 10 is O.K. for Ex. Com meeting

February 2, 1954

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for returning your card so promptly. I have reserved a room for you at the Piedmont for the night of February 9th. We have received word from five members of the Committee that they can be present for the February 10th meeting and I believe that others will be coming so it looks better for this time.

Mr. E. C. Wall did send us a contribution; fifty dollars on January 21st. I'm sorry I am late in letting you know but things have rather piled up here the last week or so. I did write to Mr. Wall, however.

Enclosed is our check for $6.64 to cover cost of the cablegram you sent to Mr. Davis. I will try to give you a check for the steno. bill ($24.75) when you come to the Executive Committee meeting.

We look forward to the meeting on the 10th and hope that all will go well this time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

Copy

January 27, 1954

Mr. Craig Wall
Conway
South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wall:

We await hopefully and needfully the tangible evidence of your sympathy as expressed in your letter some weeks ago.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright
President

MAW:rj

February 3, 1954

Mr. Marion Wright
"Topknot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I told the Fund For The Republic that somebody, maybe us, ought quickly to get out a boil-down of the forthcoming Ashmore Report. In about three days they appropriated $5000 to SRC to do it. Wrote me that they would need certain documents before turning loose the check: Clearance from UNC Press which has copyright, an audit, and "a copy of the Treasury Department ruling establishing your tax-exempt status. This latter document should be accompanied by a statement from you or some other officer of the Council to the effect that the Council has not departed from the terms of the ruling, and that to the best of your knowledge, the ruling is still in full force and effect."

Would you, as President, send me on your Presedential stationery, fairly quicko, such an accompanying statement?

I felt much encouraged in the conversation with the Fund For The Republic about bigger money later on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 3, 1954

Mr. Marion Wright
"Topknot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Our friend George Stephens in Ashville, to whom I talked by telephone just now, told me something of great interest. A few weeks ago, a decision came up within a 20-county western North Carolina district for veterans' training. Would they all meet together in the white school at night, or would they stay separate. The veterans themselves said, "Shoot, meet together." And they have been doing that. Nothing said. And nothing should be said. But obviously the precedent, if we can get it 'round by word of mouth, helps enormously.

The official in charge is Lamar Lunsford who lives in Leicester, in Buncombe, near Canton.

It is a lot to ask, but could you drive over and get the story accurately for our interim, non-publicized, examplary use?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

February 4, 1954

Mr. Marion Wright
"Topknot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Here is one worth looking at. Please try to get at least the flavor of it. We have good prospects of a cooperative arrangement with various Church Boards which would get most parts of the South covered in this way.

I think it a most promising device.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosure

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
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VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 5, 1954

Dear George:

A multitude of distractions has prevented my writing you very fully and regularly in recent weeks. There has been nothing of special significance which I could report but I do like to keep my end of the correspondence from becoming moribund.

Judge Waring phoned me a few days ago that he had seen you in New York where you made a very happy and effective talk. Don't sell the Judge short. He is our man, and, if we can keep alive, some day he will be of help.

Mr. Wall writes me that he has sent in $50 from Conway and hopes to repeat later in the year. His letter is enclosed.

I hope that you and Harold may have been able to give a little thought to the matter of our issuing some kind of statement following the Executive Committee meeting on the 10th. I have the feeling that every little bit of publicity which we can now give to the idea of following an honorable course after the court's decision may be of help in the transition period. We can get a much more sympathetic ear now than we can get after the court has acted.

When I go over to Tryon on Wednesday, I hope that I may have an interview with some ~~mere~~ man ~~and~~ who, I am informed, is sympathetic and may be helpful. I approach this experience with my usual lack of optimism, which, of course, is a bad trait for a salesman.

When you get the time, please write me fully about all that you did in New York. I hope some good may come of the expedition. Meanwhile the silence from New Delhi continues to be oppressive.

I hope that we manage to get a quorum together for the meeting on the 10th.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

MAW:raj

M. A. Wright

February 5, 1954

Mr. E. C. Wall
1607 Ninth Avenue
Conway, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Wall:

Many thanks, Kind Friend, for your letter of the 29th telling of the remittance which has already gone forward and your hope to help us later.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By M. A. Wright
President

MAW/raj

bc: George Mitchell
Enclosing Wall's letter.

EDWIN CRAIG WALL
1607 NINTH AVENUE
CONWAY, SOUTH CAROLINA

January 29, 1954

Mr. M. A. Wright
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your recent letter. I forwarded $50.00 to the Council on January 20 and hope to be able to match this amount later in the year.

Thank you for calling this to my attention, and I can assure you of my interest.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Craig Wall

Craig Wall

amt

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 8, 1954

Dear Goerge:

I know it is dangerous to indulge in superlatives but in my opinion the January issue of New South is the best that I have seen. Shake Anna Holden's hand for me. I wish it were possible to keep each issue up to about that size or even larger.

I am writing my correspondent at Tryon suggesting that he purchase a copy for each member of the Lanier Society. I have told him that I have felt that the price would be 10 cents each; I hope that that is correct.

Have you given any thought to circulation of this issue? I should like to see it in the hands of every librarian and every library board member in the southern states. Do you suppose that each state library association could be induced to purchase copies for all of its members? We really have something in this issue and it ought to go into every hand where it can produce results.

Sent some days ago

I am handicapped in complying with your request for the statement about our tax exempt status, since I do not have before me the date of the treasury department's ruling. However, I am enclosing what I hope will be satisfactory. I think you should get Leonard Haas's as to its efficiency. If he has doubts, have him prepare what he thinks I should sign and I will promptly get it to you. I will be in Atlanta on the night of Tuesday, February 9. This news about the Fund For The Republic is most encouraging. I am anxious to get a full report from you which you will no doubt give at our meeting on Wednesday.

Told you yesterday

I am to be in Asheville tomorrow--if the roads are not frozen--and will try to get all the information which you will want about Veteran's Training.

Sent some days ago

Our good friend E. C. Wall of Conway has sent me the Presbyterian Outlook for January 25 which I am enclosing I have marked several articles that Harold Fleming might like to pick up.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

February 11, 1954

Mr. Marion Wright
"Topknot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

The people whom Dean William Hepburn listed were: Jay W. Murphy, University of Alabama School of Law, University of Alabama; Rev. L. J. Twomey, Loyola University, New Orleans, La.; Professor Jerre S. Williams, School of Law, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Professor Paul Sanders, School of Law, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosure

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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 16, 1954

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Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Altanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I enclose copy of the letter to the four deans. I decided to use Alabama, Texas, Vanderbuilt, and Wake Forest, omitting our friend from New Orleans who, between us, seems to me to be a little free with his promises and perhaps lacking in performance. I hope you approve of the letter. I will keep you posted as to replies.

During recent years I have been thrown pretty often with Quakers for whom I have come to develop a very high regard. I know that they are constantly seeking for work to be done by volunteer students. They have done a good deal for us at Penn School and I notice every now and then they are engaged in some helpful project in this state.

Two ideas suggest themselves to me:

(1) Might not some good Quaker school, such as Haverford or Guilford, assign us four or five bright students for two or three weeks during the summer to help the law students in their dreary tasks of reading the newspapers?

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(2) Might not some Sociology students in the upper age brackets be induced to visit Southern communities for the same purpose so admirably served by the gentleman in Kentucky?

Think these suggestions over and let me have your views.

Another matter: Since the offices of SRC happen to come from North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Tennessee and Louisiana, would it be well to show their addresses where their names appear in New South? This would help you convey the idea that our organization is actually south-wide in scope.

Looking over the balance sheet of December 31, 1953, I wonder if the stock which the good woman--I have forgotten her name--gave us should have been listed as an asset, or would it come in after December 31?

I have written Brother Shean to prod Brother Dolan into helping us with Brother Price.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

M.A.W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW:MRM

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 6, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I do not know what decision you and Harold may have reached about publication of all or a part of my Lanier Society talk in NEW SOUTH. Here is a development which, perhaps, should be considered.

The CHURCHMAN, a religious publication of which I have not previously heard but which may be within your broad stock of information, has written for a copy of the talk and proposes to use it, all or excerpts, of about 1500 words. It occurs to me that the best use, if any, which we could make of the talk would be to carry in NEW SOUTH a reprint from the CHURCHMAN. The adoption of this idea would apparently give us the advantage of indicating to our readers that there is some ecclesiastical approval of what I said at Tryon.

This idea seems to me to be worth your consideration and I leave it to your good judgment.

Not one word as yet from our Miami professor whom you wrote or the four deans whom I wrote. I am hoping to get off by this mail a letter to the man in Miami telling him that I will soon be heading his way. It seems that we may be more assured of an interview with him if I go down there than if I await his pleasure about coming up here. Against that interview with him I should be very glad to have your full suggestions as to matters about which I ought to seek his advice. I have not looked up the route to Miami, but, if Atlanta is not too far out of the way, I may run by for a briefing at your hands.

No definite decision as yet from the READER'S DIGEST on use of the article based upon my letter of last August to Mr. Beverly Herbert. I sent the article in some days ago to a Mr. Grant,

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one of the editors, and have an acknowledgment from his secretary who advises that Mr. Grant is in Europe or on the high seas. He will be gone for about two weeks. Meanwhile, if the STATESMAN is correct, the Supreme Court may have already acted.

Coming now to your letter of Wednesday, March 3: while you write with great restraint about the contemplated action of F for R, I am sure that secretly you must have felt pretty good over getting 500 grand. While, of course, the full amount of our request could have been wisely employed and is actually needed, I feel that the proposed grant would greatly multiply our usefulness and that, upon the showing we could make of the results from the use of that fund, we might reasonably hope for a larger amount later on.

Question: Would this new development justify a special meeting of the executive committee to consider a draft of a revised budget based upon the assumption that the five hundred thousand will be forthcoming? You may prefer that you be assured of this backing in the revisions which you have made and the Ford people might also like to be assured that the proposed revision is official as nearly as we can make it so.

Let me say to you man-to-man that I think your handling of the application to F for R has been superb. The happy result now in the offing is the best evidence of the wisdom you have exhibited.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright, President

MAW:MRM

March 9, '54

Dear Marion,

We find not here the Tryon MS., and misdoubt that you left it as you intended. If you have a copy do send it to us. My guess is that we should run it in New South, editing out some paragraphs that echo a New Era in Human Relations. The Churchman is the organ of the most-to-the-left wing of the Episcopal Church, is rather thinly read, is outspokenly anti-Catholic, and does little to bring down the blessings of the Church-as-is.

I like the idea of getting student help from Guilford or Haverford on the Commission business. Ira deA. Reid at Haverford, or Edward F. Burroughs, at Guilford. Each is Prof. of Sociology. B. wrote a thesis on old Interracial Commission. OK to offer some emoluments out of the all-capacious 4000. Do you write, and try to arrange.

Travel a la Vastine appeals to many. I may be able to work out a deal with the Fund for Adult Education, to train and send out some students. Will push.

On addresses in New South (of officers) I run into apace complications, but will have in mind for glorious future of enlarged maggie.

The F for R people spent this last Monday morning on our budget, and called us and asked for Morris Abram and GSM to meet them in Phila. this coming Thursday, which will be done. They want to trim out another forty thousand dollars, which I do not think is trimmable. Talk about cutting State people to five thousand, and reduc ng all States to three years. Don't begrudge Central office money. I think they will listen to argument that they want a job done, and are in good shape with SRC's best intents to do it for the 535; and would be in poor shape to get job done if they cut the State program to the unworkably poor and short. Hard business: hold out for what's right, or take enough to get well started?

They want, and we plan for, a small planning conference early May, w and N., at Williamsburg (where the Lodge now behaves itself). We would plan things for us and for various foundations and outfits to try to get done, quicko and within five years. Dent, Clement, Abram, Prtichard, Grace Hamilton, etc. - the workaday guys.

I appreciate your kind words, but slips twixt cup and lip. Tis now touch and go, anyway.

The Miami man sent word through his emissary Seymour Samet paid guy for AJC stationed in Miami (who was here last week) that he the Miami criminologist had a variety of sociological and statistical clouds-in-the-way of our proposal, but I heard them all, and think they will vanish before some honest purpose to get the facts before the right people. Miami man not too well, has allergies, and will be writing you and asking you to come to Miami to see him. But you could write him again; he rather expects to be visited, I think.

I know you and Mrs. W. enjoy greeting the Spring from your peak.

Sincerely,

GSM

Green copy

March 12, '54

Dear Marion,

Morris Abram and I went up to Philadelphia yesterday as per schedule, and spent the hours from 11 till 3.15 with Freeman and Loescher. After much conversation Freeman, in boring into the problem of his monetary control on sum in our custody, came up with the idea of making their first grant not for a one year period but for 18 months, with two intended subsequent grants, each to be for qw months. Thus we achieve a total offer of 3 1/2 years to each State. The device is that it cares for the inevitably slow start-off of this or that State, and what we have called the lapses can be figures in the first 18 mos. period at the high amount of say 30%. That economy loosens up the whole budget, and I believe that within the amount that appears to be in the mind of the F for R. we can offer a program to each State for 3 1/2 years, with decent salaries, and with provision for five, or even six, associate State secretaries. It will add useful pennies to the central office budget, too. It does make necessary some upping of what the States will have to raise themselves, perhaps to 1500 in the first 18 mos, 3,500 next year, and 6,000 the third year. And they would really have to raiseit; substantial default should I think result in loss of aid from here.

K. Stoney is figuring up new budgets, the gross amounts of which I am to telephone to New York this afternoon, and a revised budget is to go up to them on Monday. Evidently their Board meets in earliest April. Prognostications for getting the grant seem good, but I keep crossed fingers. Freeman gave me a check for 5000, to cover producing and printing and distributing the boil-down pamphlet on the Ashmore report, and the check and its accompanying letters contained the blessed word "and for general administrative expenses", so we are eased in our purely domestic situation! And HCF is well into the MS. of the pamphlet.

We owe a real debt to Morris Abram, whose clear, strong ideas at carefully timed moments were invaluable in getting them to understand our need and the situation hereabouts. Perhaps you would write him (Healey Bldg), Atlanta, and on behalf of SRC thank him for making the trip.

I am calling an extraordinary meeting of the Executive Committee for Tuesday April 6, "in circumstances which we hope will be happy rather than dismal". Please consult the breeding calendar, and arrange to come, Sir!

Best, G

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 12, 1954

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Dear George:

These ideas occur to me about the possible grant from Fund For the Republic:

1. Presumably the Fund will have its own ideas about the bookkeeping practices which we should follow if the grant is made. It seems to me that they would probably send a man to Atlanta to install a set of books for us. If they do not but would agree to advise, would it not be well for Miss Stoney to go to New York and put in a day or so with their man who is expert in that field? If they do not send someone to Atlanta and have no special ideas about bookkeeping which they would like to get over to Miss Stoney, would it not be well for us to have some competent accountant in Atlanta to advise with her on a proper system? If it should be decided to use someone in Atlanta, I think as a matter of diplomacy it might be well to get our bank to suggest an accountant or at least to approve the accountant whom Miss Stoney would prefer. In the future it may be of importance to us to show that we carefully follow advice of the Ford people on bookkeeping, or, absent such advice, we followed recommendations of an accountant approved by a reputable bank.

2. My recollection is that it was left to the Executive Committee to determine a date when our new by-laws become effective. It would seem that such date be the date of official notification that the grant has been made or the date on which the funds were received. Probably the Executive Committee would have to be convened having formal meeting to put the new by-laws in effect.

If and when the new by-laws become effective, would it not be well to haveprinted a sufficient number of copies for all of our members, introduced by a statement that they were authorized at last years' annual meeting at the determination of the Executive Committee and that the Executive Committee made such determination on a certain date.

I would think that a form letter should immediately be sent to the president of every state or affiliate enclosing a sufficient number of copies for all members.

Of course both of these courses of action depend entirely upon what the boys do for us in New York, but I think it well for our plans to be made now for prompt execution upon the arrival of what we hope will be that happy day.

Another--and a pleasant matter--: Mrs. Ames has sent in her check for $25 as a contribution, the check being herewith enclosed. I hope that in addition to the formal receipt which you will send Mrs. Ames, either you or Miss Stoney will write her a personal note acknowledging the contribution. She promises to be helpful with a wealthy Tryonite and I would like to keep in her good graces.

PS.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

March 16, '54

Dear Marion,

Here's a pleasant letter for you to send, if you will, to the F. for R.

We have ordered the by-laws to be set up in proof, which we hope can be ready for the April 6 meeting to put into effect. Probably will be a broadsheet job, as being easier to read than the usual tiny folder. Also we have asked Josephine Wilkins, who's expert on such matters, to do us a draft of model by-laws for the new State outfits, which we can submit to them for their appropriate modifications.

We sent up a new budget letter to the F for R yesterday, embodying the recalculations agreed upon March 11 at Philadelphia. Comes out at 498,560 or thereabouts. Less flexibility, or rather less fat, in the new arrangement than we had expected, but gives five associate secretaries, enables a miximum offer to States of a three and a half year program (three years of subsidy only for this office), and calls for the States, and us, to raise difficult sums. But it was that or do nothing.

Stoney is working out report and accounting forms, for us and for the State outfits, and will check them closely with Mr. Campbell, the auditor. He's a CPA, and teaches accounting at Emory, and is good. If he advises review by a bank we'll get that. We would keep a goodish sum with the Negro bank here, to even things up. We expect a system of tight budgetary control, imposed by this office. So far as I can learn the F for R will wish quarterly reports, but won't interfere with internal handling of funds.

Our problem is going to be bringing in outside money.

I'll thank Mrs. Ames, with official receipt.

Best,

G.

March 16, 54

Dear Mrs. Ames,

Marion Wright sent us on your kind check for twenty-five dollars.

We value dollars (we always do!), but even more the evidence of your interest in keeping going the kind of work into which you contributed so much energy and fresh thinking and friendship. Everywhere I go some good lady will come up and say "Dr. Mitchell, I worked with Mrs. Ames!"

Next time I can get on the road you must let me find my way to your home.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

March 16, 1954

Mr. Morris Abram, Attorney
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Abram:

George Mitchell has told me of the great help which you have been to him and to all of us in the negotiations with the Fund for the Republic. If these negotiations have the happy result which we now anticipate, I am sure that such result will be largely due to your own sterling efforts.

All of us greatly appreciate the skilled and disinterested service which you have rendered. Whenever I become pessimistic about the future of the Council, my morale is always restored by merely thinking that you and Leonard Haas are in our corner.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Marion A. Wright

Marion A. Wright
President

MAW:MRM

B/C to George Mitchell

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 17, 1954

Dear George:

Have today signed and mailed letter to Freeman.

On Monday dictated long letter to you on variety of topics. Will pick it up this afternoon & forward by tomorrow's mail.

M. G. W.

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MARCH, 1954
Vol. 9 No. 3

New South

All material presented in New South may be used freely by other publications. A credit line will be appreciated.

Literacy and the Free Mind

By Marion A. Wright

NO INVITATION which I could have received would have been more welcome than one to meet with the Lanier Society — no auspices more agreeable than these. In an age when highly placed officials have committed the Hitlerian folly of burning books one likes to be reminded that here and there private citizens are united to give us more and more books. You in Tryon and men and women similarly dedicated throughout the country share a common belief that false ideas are not exorcised by burning books but by producing better books, "errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them."

There is a point about libraries which I have never seen thoroughly or scientifically explored. (I am sure it has been and that many of you here could give me apt citations). The point is that there is causal relation between literacy and good morals or ethics. If there should exist a dearth of literature on the subject, such lack may perhaps be accounted for upon the theory that it would be wasted labor to establish, logically and scientifically, what is so obviously true. All of us seem intuitively to know that there must be light if there is to be sweetness.

Voltaire touched upon it. "Go over the whole history of Christian assassins — and it is long," he said, "and you will see that never have they had in their pockets with their daggers a copy of Cicero or Plato or Virgil."

An old professor of mine kept in his home a string of keys to all of his rooms, each bearing in Greek the location of the lock it fitted. He was chided by a friend who declared that a burglar should not be given such helpful information, whereupon my professor replied, "No one who knows Greek will ever break into a house."

LITERACY VS. PREJUDICE

Perhaps, basically, this is the argument for libraries — they tend, at least, to civilize, to humanize those who use them.

In nothing is this humanizing process more evident than in the allergy which literacy has for prejudice. The first indication that one is becoming literate is to be found in the contrac-

This article is condensed from an address to the Lanier Society of Tryon, N. C. Mr. Wright, the president of the Southern Regional Council, has been actively concerned with the public library movement. He is past president of the South Carolina Citizens' Library Movement and former chairman of the South Carolina Library Board.

tion and atrophy of his biases or, rather, in the expansion and extension of his interests and sympathies. The thoroughly literate mind is always the open mind. Bigotry will never thrive in a community of cultivated intellects. He who knows something of *all* ages and places will never live wholly under the tyranny of *this* age and *this* place.

My reason for adverting to this important by-product of the library is wrapped up in your reason for inviting me here. Of course, I should like to think that the invitation was extended because of some peculiar excellence of my own, but I am not quite so naive as to lay that flattering unction to my soul. I know that I am here because of my connection with the Southern Regional Council, an organization pledged to attain in the South the ideal of equal opportunity for all citizens of the region. As such, it has taken the Jeffersonian oath of "eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the minds of men."

PATHS TO FREEDOM

Surely, there should be psychological fusion between us. Yours the long, hard task by which the minds of men are at last set free, ours the immediate undertaking of helping all men to secure the rights which would be theirs as a matter of common decency and of course in a thoroughly enlightened society. It is my firm conviction that if, for the past fifty years, an efficient public library service had been available for all our people in the South, there would be no civil rights problems to plague us this day.

That is, perhaps, an over-statement. Until the millenium is at hand, even in the most literate society, there will be individuals who seek a preferred status and who feel that they advance more rapidly if others are held back. Those who lack any real superiority but who have power seem to be under the compulsion of proving that they are superior. Hence they surround and bolster themselves with all sorts of legal props designed to convert an actual equality or inferiority into an apparent superiority.

What I mean to say is that, if all of us in the South, white and Negro, had had access to books to the same extent as the citizens of Massachusetts or New Hampshire, our *present* civil rights problems would long since have been behind us. The skirmish line would be far advanced. We would be contending over issues so tenuous, subtle and finely spun as now to be beyond our comprehension. We might still have questions of civil rights but they would be defined in new terms. . . .

From dark corners these days one occasionally hears ugly words — happily none in North Carolina — such words as "If the court should decide against segregation, ways and means will be found to evade and circumvent the decision." Without minimizing the difficulties of enforcement — though I think they have been vastly exaggerated — it may be pointed out that one of the tests of the degree to which we are civilized is the extent to which we are obedient to the unenforceable.

OLD AND NEW TERMS

And, speaking of the re-definition of terms, there were the terms "nullification" and "secession" which at least had about them a certain forthright honesty. They have sired the loathsome offspring "evasion" and "circumvention." These terms gain nothing of sanctity because the senti-

ments they reflect may have been uttered by a former member of the United States Supreme Court.

If the issue of segregation in the schools were entirely a political one, we might defer to the Governors of South Carolina and Georgia as being experts in that arcane field. But involved are questions of fair play, good faith, public morals, community ethics. Without one word of disparagement of either of those gentlemen, I see nothing in their careers which gives them authority superior to the rest of us where probity and conscience are concerned. (I hope the Lanier Society will not be confronted with a demand for equal television time.)

ETHICS — PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Indeed, there is one consideration, entirely divorced from personality, which supports the view that the convictions of politicians — even statesmen, if you prefer — are less trustworthy than those of the average citizen where honor is involved. The politician is the official voice of the State. He speaks the *public* conscience. The individual speaks *his own.* It is one of the lamentable facts of life that public ethics lag behind individual ethics. When — but only after — a million individuals have developed their own ethical perceptions to a certain point do the ethical perceptions of the state they compose move upward to the same point — just as billions of polyps through the centuries contribute each his bit of lime to produce the coral reef which ultimately rings the lagoon.

One illustration immediately springs to mind. Individuals long since gave up the code duello as a means of settling their differences. But the states those same individuals compose have not otherwise than in pious words renounced war as an instrument of their policy. One individual kills another — despicable. The state, through its army, kills ten thousand men — sublime. That is, of course, if it's our state.

Mr. John Foster Dulles is, of course, a thorough gentleman. He would never try to settle his personal differences by threatening to punch some one in the nose. But, following a well-established formula, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles tries to settle the country's differences by threatening to annihilate a hundred thousand Communists. Such is the flesh and blood and death translation of his phrase "massive retaliation."

So when the ideas of evasion or circumvention of a court decision — whether by constitutional amendment, legislative act or the connivance of officials — emerge from the slime in which they are spawned, let us test their right to our acceptance, not by the eminence of their authors, but by our individual standards of what is a right and an honorable course for a state to pursue.

So we are re-defining the term "civil rights."

"SLAVERY" RE-DEFINED

There is another such term — "slavery."

I am sure that if the question were asked anywhere in the country — Do you believe in slavery? — there would be no affirmative answer. The questioner would be told he should have his head examined, as Sam Goldwyn is said to have remarked about anyone who would consult a psychiatrist. But the correct answer may depend upon definition.

What we would be thinking of, of course, is a condition of enforced servitude — a master and servant relationship of the ante-bellum kind. That slavery, of course, has no champions, no defenders.

But in a broader sense, slavery is a lack of privilege to do what free men do. There was the slavery of chains which merely restrained and limited locomotion. There may be the slavery of law and custom which commands: Use the rear seats. Don't sit in that grandstand. Don't go in that waiting room. Don't eat in that restaurant. Don't attend that church. Don't go to that school. Don't use that library.

Why?
Because you are Negro.
That slavery is subtle.
The chains don't show.

But custom and law may be hard masters. Wounds to the spirit may be deeper than mere leg sores produced by shackles.

Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation but half completed, while millions of our fellow citizens are denied the right to use all of the instrumentalities, institutions and facilities of government upon precisely the same terms as every other citizen.

TUMBLING WALLS

Now, of course, I must admit that all of my remarks are almost out of date — almost, but not quite. Things are moving so rapidly in the field of race relations that, in Alice's immortal phrase, we must run very fast just to stand still. What a pleasant task it would be if time permitted, to comment upon the changes we have witnessed — wrongs rectified in the fields of voting, jury service, appointive and elective offices filled, teachers' salaries, transportation, graduate and religious education, service in army and navy units — the list could be indefinitely extended — business, the stage, literature, churches, sports, entertainment and so on. All about us — everywhere — the walls come tumblin' down.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There remains one conspicuous exception — the public schools. That issue is on the laps, if not of the gods, at least of Nine Old Men.

Regardless of how that decision may go, there is a parallel which may be helpful in our thinking. For generations boys and girls in this country were separately educated. One of the issues which engrossed our ancestors — this now seems ridiculous — was co-education. Should the two sexes be taught in the same class room? (In an earlier day men and women were required by custom or authority to sit on separate sides of the church, a sort of ecclesiastical segregation by gender.)

But there came a time when women began to work alongside men in every field — factory, mine, office, store, all the occupations and professions. Then people began to think: If these boys and girls are to grow into men and women who will participate as equals in all human affairs, would it not be sensible to have them know each other as children? If the purpose of education is preparation for life, as we are so often assured, is not that preparation deficient if it limits one's knowledge of the participants one is later to meet? Would boys and girls not be better equipped to deal with each other as equals in business or profession if they had received all their education under identical conditions in association with each other?

Well, the answers to those questions were correctly given by those wise parents of ours. Segregation by gender in education came to an end and Betty Co-ed became a pleasing fixture of our campuses. No one would go back to the old system. Least of all would Betty.

The parallel, of course, is obvious. With the ink barely dry upon their diplomas, white and Negro youth will lock step — in the military services or in business, or trade or profession, in life. From graduation on they will live in a non-segregated world and meet as equals. Would they, too, not be better equipped to deal with each other and to serve a common humanity if they had received all their education under identical conditions in association with each other?

The only answer I have heard given is that we may be going too fast. It is the stock answer — the only answer — left to the gradualist. . . .

THE IRON CURTAIN

At Fulton, Missouri, some years ago, Mr. Churchill coined a memorable phrase which has become a part of daily speech — "the iron curtain." It connotes a system or policy by which people in a certain area shut themselves off from ideas from abroad, place an embargo upon thought originating elsewhere, repel all new conceptions unless locally created.

Of course, ideas, like certain plants, have to be cross-fertilized if they are to flourish. There may be in-breeding of thought as of cattle. So a people who reject ideas from abroad rapidly lose capacity to develop their own. Convictions may lose robustness, virility — become anemic — if not compelled to compete upon equal terms with those of others. Hence Jefferson's "a decent regard for the opinions of mankind."

Now, not only in this country but everywhere throughout the world the tide of democracy is at the flood. Artificial distinctions which men reared between themselves are swept away by the combing surge. Caste perishes. The Ghetto crumbles. Little men stand erect in new-found dignity.

Nowhere more than in the South are these changes evident. And in the South nowhere more than in North Carolina. One could ask no higher honor for his state than that it stand at the head of this liberalizing movement.

In the public schools of the South segregation makes, if not its last, certainly its most significant stand. The conscience of the world condemns it. Indeed, when hearts are searched, the consciences of white Southerners are troubled and ill at ease. There is a certain sense of shame in seeing their states officially locked in combat with the world's enlightened forces, opposing their puny strength against world opinion.

AND THE COTTON CURTAIN

For decades a certain type of political leader, now greatly reduced in numbers and thoroughly discredited, has tried to keep intact a kind of — shall we say cotton? — curtain about the South. The natural foe and inevitable conqueror of that kind of leadership is the public library.

When the last tawdry vestiges of that curtain, with all of its Jim Crow embellishments, come down, to the library, to education, to the press, to all forces of enlightenment and to men's attachment to Christian, Judaistic and humane principles will go the honor and the glory.

Part Two

SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

By Emmett J. and Joyce L. Murphy

In 1952 the accelerating frustrations and demands of the Indians and the Africans all over the Union met the stern measures of the Nationalist Party to implement its Apartheid policy and were channeled off into the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. For the first time in South African history a significant effort was made to unite at least two of the three non-white groups in organized resistance to the system of white supremacy. The Campaign, sponsored jointly by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, was a systematic program of non-violent civil disobedience aimed at the abolition of several laws which are considered to be particularly odious and unjust. These are laws which require all African males to carry a bewildering number of passes and which restrict their movement from one area to another considerably, laws which are adversely affecting property owned by Indians and Africans and causing much financial hardship, and a recent law which declares that a person is a Communist, subject to prosecution and punishment, if he advocates a change in the political, social, or economic conditions of South Africa by illegal means. This last, the Suppression of Communism Act, has caught many firmly non-communist people in its net, since the legal means which one can use to advocate change in South Africa are practically nil if one is not white.

The Nationalist Government's big surprise during the Defiance Campaign came near the beginning, when it became apparent that the movement was well organized, thoroughly disciplined, and determinedly non-violent. Frequent attempts by the police to provoke violence even in self-defense were without success. The spirit of the Campaign spread like wildfire among the uneducated masses of urban Africans and began to catch on even in many rural areas. The number of Africans and Indians who voluntarily went to prison for breaking the pass and curfew laws grew from a few hundreds into the thousands. At the peak of the campaign every week that passed saw several hundreds more go peacefully to jail, court, and then to prison, cheerfully singing patriotic and religious songs and holding up a thumb and clinched fist in the resistance salute. The jails of the country filled so rapidly that soon they were booked to capacity. Eventually over 8,000 volunteers went to prison for terms ranging from two weeks to six months and later emerged as tried and true veterans of anti-government activity.

END OF THE CAMPAIGN

About a month before the national elections of April, 1953, the Campaign ground slowly to a halt. Practically all the leaders of both Congresses had

been tried and sentenced to long jail terms. Almost all the sentences were suspended, but the leaders were placed under injunctions forbidding any political activity, attending any meetings of any sort, or otherwise carrying on their troublesome business. Thousands of rank and file volunteers had been brutally flogged with "sjamboks," the traditional Afrikaner whip of major punishment. The Government proclaimed that the Soviet-inspired attempt at revolution had been crushed. Not one of the demands of the Campaign was even listened to.

GROUNDWORK FOR COOPERATION

Parodoxically enough, the Campaign was in part a success. It laid a groundwork for cooperative action by Indians and Africans. In its later stages it was even joined by seven whites, but it is unlikely that this will have any real effect on the growing anti-white feeling of the Indians and Africans. The membership of the African National Congress, which had been under 15,000 in 1951, swelled to well over 100,000 during the Campaign. This is probably the most successful effort in South African history to draw Africans from all over the Union together into a concerted political movement, and, unless the Government bans the Congress, it will be able to build on this large membership in future campaigns.

The Defiance Campaign marked a new era in South African race relations and politics. During it the Nationalists consolidated their power to a point where the opposition United Party has no real hope of regaining its position for at least a decade or two to come. Further, the leadership of the Nationalist Party has become increasingly anti-British, totalitarian, and strong armed. It is led by men who openly sympathized with Hitler even during the second World War when South African forces were fighting on the side of the Allies. It has promised stern measures in the future to increase the supremacy of white over black and to make it impossible for the blacks ever again to offer a threat to Government policy. There is reason to believe also that it will eventually withdraw from the hated British Commonwealth and go it alone in a world which becomes ever more critical of its racist policies.

During the Defiance Campaign, on the other hand, the African National Congress became more leftist in leadership and more anti-white in sentiment. Not a few of its members now say that Africans will be able to seek their rights and their destiny only when the Europeans are completely divested of power in South Africa. Some of the younger leaders assiduously study Marx, Mao-Tse, Stalin, Lenin, and Malenkov and denounce capitalist exploitation in Africa. The older moderate leaders who are active Christian laymen and clergy with ties to the European liberals are being gradually replaced by these younger leaders.

TROUBLE AHEAD

South Africa is headed for serious trouble. For nearly ten years the trend has been away from white-black cooperative attempts to solve the nation's problems. The European liberals who have for so many years acted as South Africa's spokesmen, men like Alan Paton, Keppel-Jones, Quinten Whyte, Jan Hofmeyr, and Leo Marquard, are shunned alike by the majority of Europeans and Non-Europeans. Their teachings are not accept-

able in a land where things grow more and more to be either-or. Many liberals are leaving for Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Last year the Liberal Party was formed by the last staunch white moderates in the face of a situation which even many of its members know to be moving out of the sphere of moderate solutions and toward violence and extremes.

It is our belief, after living for a year under South Africa's tensions, hates, and fears, that only outside intervention can save South Africa from eventual revolution. Internal forces have developed into a clash of interests that are successfully crushing out the forces that might have made solution possible.

We Americans have a vital stake in Africa's future. As leaders of the free world, we obviously need the friendship, support, and resources of South Africa and *all* her peoples. Can any one of us afford to be indifferent to the fate of these thirteen million people and risk losing Africa as China was lost?

MORE SOUTHERN LIBRARIES SERVE BOTH RACES

Since "The Color Line in Southern Libraries" appeared in the January issue, *New South* has learned of additional public libraries that serve both white and Negro patrons. Some were overlooked in the Southern Regional Council's survey; others have changed their policies since the January article was published.

Richmond, Va., has given full service to Negroes at the main public library since June 1, 1947.

The Charlottesville-Albemarle Public Library in **Charlottesville, Va.,** has recently extended service to Negroes on an unsegregated basis.

The librarian of the Richland County Public Library in **Columbia, S. C.,** writes: "We have a new library building recently opened and we allow unrestricted use of both the circulation department and the reading room by Negroes. We also have a branch for Negroes in one of the Negro sections of the city."

From the **Jackson, Tenn.,** Free Library comes the information that "on January 1st, 1954, this library began issuing regular readers' cards to the Negro patrons of this library. Heretofore, a limited number of faculty members and high school and college students and a few children had withdrawn books by special permission. We could not claim that we give full reference service even now because our seating capacity in the reading room is limited, but it is our intention and practice to give regular service to all patrons of the library within the restrictions of our physical plant and the size of our book collection. All books, magazines and newspapers are available to everyone."

Mrs. H. W. Long recently became the first Negro member of a public library board in South Carolina. She was appointed to the Darlington County Library Board.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 4, 1954

Dear George:

The Skyline service station brought me tidings of great joy. I appreciate your phoning me. I had had the matter on my mind throughout the entire day and was glad to be relieved by your message.

In order that you may have them before you for consideration I make the following suggestions:

1. That we should immediately subscribe to a clipping service that would operate pretty generally in the South. I think it will be highly important in the future to show the Ford people what we have done with their money. A full sheaf of clippings might be very persuasive. Also apart from the Ford people, we ought to be well informed on the extent to which our activities receive public notice, as well as the editorial reaction to such activities.

2. I think that Harold Fleming and the entire staff did a magnificant job on the exhibits collected into bound volumes. Since April 1 will mark a new era in the life of the Council I think we should begin now to prepare volumes similar to those relating solely to our activities since April 1. We should decide now upon general titles for such volumes - the titles relating to projected activities - and file material in the proper volumes as the material originates.

We might pass on to each of the state units the suggestion that it undertake as to its state only a similar compilation of material. If we could get all of them to do this, we should build up a truly imposing record. Also, and more importantly, we should begin to get grass root views on the merits of what we are trying to do. If those views should in some instances be hostile, we could concentrate our fire upon that community or change our tactics to meet the criticism.

You will pardon me, I am sure, for laying a welter of suggestions before you. My excuse is that I am quite anxious that we handle our new funds to the best possible advantage.

Congratulations and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W

M. A. Wright

MAW/raj

April 26, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We have had a brush with the Governor, or at least with his people. Here's a copy of an article that ran premonitorially and the one and only copy we have of the issue of The Statesman blasting us and the Fund for the Republic. It is necessary that you send back this issue of The Statesman. Leonard Haas is the sponsor for the attached answer. Fleming had only minutes to get up the answer, but I think they did very well. The afternoon paper, which had pressed us against an early deadline for reply, didn't care to run the story at all, but the wire services picked it up and The Constitution ran a sober story -- enclosed. You will have seen the little account in the New York Times about April 17. A few days after all this, the county commissioners of Georgia in Convention assembled at Savannah, shortly after being addressed by Mr. Talmadge, passed a flock of resolutions, one of which condemned the Ford Foundation [sic] for working to undermine segregation, etc. Since then we have not heard any more noise, but we expect to hear more. I sent all the material up to Freeman, who has replied unexcitedly.

We are collecting all editorial and news comment on the Fund for the Republic grant.

The idea about teaching the South the esteem of public interracial organizations such as are in the North and West is an excellent one and we are picking it up. Anna Holden is collecting the material, and fairly soon we will try to get that idea out and will repeat the theme later on.

There is a newsletter in from a library in Texas which we intend to print in an early issue of New South, keeping that matter alive.

Harold and I have talked at some length about the idea of a Finance Committee. Harold is close to being a member of a Finance Committee of a bank in St. Paul. He says the main job of such a Committee is to nurse investments for maximum income and to watch the markets for maximum security. We counselled Leonard Haas very closely on the putting about of funds and have lodged them as follows:

For State Divisions

Citizens Trust Co. - checking account	$ 18,800.00
Citizens Trust Co. - savings account	80,000.00
Fulton National - Savings certificates 12 @ $5,000.	60,000.00

For Central Office

*First National - checking account	$ 21,200.00
First National - savings account	20,000.00
C. & S. Savings Account at 2% interest	40,000.00
	$240,000.00

*Includes $6,500 for Williamsburg Conference

Leonard caused the bond of Katherine Stoney and George Mitchell to be upped to $50,000. He also said that it would cost only $31.00 more to bond all state personnel whatsoever. And we have agreed to amend Memorandum #1 and bond them in that way sooner or later. We are working with him towards workmen's compensation coverage and toward liability insurance, covering the minute and cheap risks that somebody damaged by an automobile accident would sue SRC.

I feel more heavily the need of program supervision than of supervision of the funds. I observe, however, that the By-Laws make provisions for the office of Comptroller, with duties to be defined. As a counter proposal to a Finance Committee, what do you think of naming somebody to be comptroller and having a standing duty of being sure that the money is on deposit and is in good order? This would have to be checked quarterly anway by the auditor. I am not much of a business man and I don't know, but couldn't the auditor also be comptroller? I am not against a Finance Committee if I can see its duties. My real feeling is that our eggs are safely stowed and I hesitate to pay three guys for not much more than sucking them every once in a while.

I like the idea about statements from leading Southerners on segregation in the schools. It would be hard to get them to say much until after the Court has spoken. But at least we can begin to think what people we ought to write.

I see the point of the business of a contract with each organized state group. We need to find a way to try to drum up a local sense of independence. Could we hold that until the next meeting of the Executive Committee and shape it up then?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 12, 1954

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: George S. Mitchell

On MAW's letter of July 3rd, GTH and GSM reached the following conclusions:

1. Agreed we should do. I assume you are doing but if you have not done it launch it. You and I agreed that the clipping service would be limited to actual mention of SRC.

launched. HCF

2. Should be done. Couldn't you make arrangements for Anna Holden on her return to pick up this systematically?

already under way HCF

3. GTH will draft such a letter. It will emphasize our plans for six or twelve months ahead and will tie in the monetary responsibility of Board members. It will emphasize the fact that most of the grant goes to the states, and that the Board members must help the states and the central office close the gaps on funds.

4. GTH and GSM like a letter to each state outfit, ~~with an~~ exact and agreeing reply.

HCF too.

5. Becomes a part of the answer to 4.

6. This we will put up to the Executive Committee meeting July 30. My best suggestion is to ask MAW to spend a week in Atlanta to talk appropriate guys into being on the proposed Finance Committee.

7. We are doing it already and will continue.

A. I am asking Katherine Stoney to take care of.

B. I agree, but would like to keep initial power.

C. GTH and GSM shrink from the whole business, but I suppose would be willing to make it a part of our personnel practices in this office and in the states to get from personnel employed, a statement that they have examined the Attorney General's list and that they belong only to certain stated outfits on the list (as given).

I think this could be handled more tactfully without departing from MAW's suggestion. Simply ask all applicants to list all the organizations with which they are affiliated. If anything questionable turns up, it can be handled according to the facts of the situation. HCF

It is suggested that where they have belonged to any such listed outfits, we exact a letter from the Chairman of the state organization saying that he has satisfied himself that the stated membership in no way impugns the loyalty of the person employed or about to be employed.

ok HCF

D. Of course.

E. I think this should be a function of the Executive Committee itself. What do you think?

Agree HCF

F. I assume you have some arrangement on this.

Yes. HCF

put in folder for
Executive Committee
meeting

July 12, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

In re your letter of July 8:

1. Article V, Section 2, line one should read Executive Committee.

2. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee for April 6, 1954, recorded the direction of the Executive Committee that at the next annual meeting of the Council, the By-Laws be amended to describe the duties of the Assistant Director, which is the title that the Executive Committee authorized for Harold Fleming.

Meanwhile, the staff has been discussing a proposal to make to the Executive Committee meeting July 30th, for a sweeping re-organization of the upper brackets of the staff. We are in agreement that the position of Associate Executive Director is a relic of the early days of the Council when there was a purpose to make it perfectly apparent that the Council was administered on an interracial basis. We think that the need for a window demonstration of that kind has nearly disappeared. And, also, I think that the position of Associate Executive Director, whatever be the language in the By-Laws, is in practice ill defined and anomalous. Perhaps we could struggle along under that title if the Associate Executive Director cared to take up extensive field travel. As a matter of fact, it does not suit Mrs. Hamilton to travel more than occasionally. She has, therefore, proposed that she return to her position with the Atlanta Urban League about September 1 (she is on leave from there), but remain as a retained consultant to SRC.

The following along the line opened by that proposal. I think we would like to further a structure under which the Council had, as its principal staff officer, and Executive Director, and then a Secretary-Treasurer. These two officers reporting directly through the Executive Committee to the Board.

The staff would, next, contain four principal persons. One bearing the title of Assistant Director in Charge of Information and Research, two bearing the title of Assistant Director in Charge of Program Development, and a fourth bearing the title of Assistant Director for program planning. What is proposed is that these four positions should be occupied by Harold Fleming as the information one, by Mrs. Hamilton -- at $100 a month part-time -- as Assistant Director of Program Planning, and the other two positions to be occupied by persons yet to be chosen -- one white and one Negro. That gets a balance in the top level of two white persons and two Negro persons, and affords what we so badly need, two persons to handle the multiplying contacts with state organizations.

Informally, we have sprouted a little in this direction during the Summer. We put on Mr. C. H. Parrish to travel in six or eight of the states and scout the situation as to people and programs needed. That proves highly successful. We have a candidate for one of the jobs as Assistant Director in Charge of Program Development in Earl Brewer, whom you met, though we have not yet formally proposed the job to him. Mr. Parrish would be a suitable candidate for the other such position but he firmly prefers to go back to his teaching next Fall. So we are hunting around for somebody to do that sort of thing.

When you come to salaries, what we would propose to the Executive Committee would be: Harold C. Fleming at present salary of $6500 until January 1, 1955; Katherine Stoney at present salary of $4000 until January 1, 1955; Grace T. Hamilton at present salary of $8000 through August 31, 1954, and at $100 a month thereafter. The two Assistant Directors in Charge of Program Development, each to go on approximately September 1, at $7500; Harold C. Fleming to go up to $7500 January 1, 1955; and Katherine Stoney to go up to $5000 January 1, 1955. Mrs. Tilly is receiving $5000 from SRC alone, from June 16 forward, and we would propose to keep her salary at that figure. If these proposed figures should be approved and held to, and if necessary small increases in the quantity of clerical personnel were arranged, the total salary expenditure by September 30, 1955 (the end of the "first period" of the Fund for the Republic Grant) would be $875 less than the amount budgeted for salaries in the final request as approved by the Fund for the Republic.

All of these figures, of course, will be fully laid before the Executive Committee, but you could be thinking about it ahead of time. Meanwhile, we will prepare job descriptions for the four positions of Assistant Director.

I do not like the suggestion that we make Harold Fleming Vice-President in Charge of Information. The President and the Vice-Presidents are all unpaid officers elected by the Board, and it seems inappropriate to have a staff member be a Vice-President.

3. The business about the fellows is queer. One of Odum's hopes from the Southern Regional Council from the beginning was that it would serve as an agency to single out coming useful leadership in the South. As a device for that the organizers of SRC hit upon the fellows of SRC. Pursuant to that, the Executive Committee way back in 1945 set up a special sub-committee which combed over the field and named sixty odd fellows. They received no emoluments but they did each receive, for some years, extra copies of New South (usually ten). Under the rules about the fellows, they were to be re-elected each second year or to cease to be fellows if not re-elected.

I confess that I never understood very well what the whole business of fellows was about. I found it awkward to draw up names of new suitable people to be fellows and slackly, though regretfully, I have permitted the original list of fellows to stand year after year. Perhaps fifty of them are still living in the South and are still nominally fellows. It was only about a year ago that I saw, in conversation with Odum, what he was after. I can make it work as he wanted it to work, but from being pushed on time I have not yet done so.

4. The proposed National Advisory Committee, authorized in Article 5, Section 3, was a project of Paul Williams. He wanted to get some big names of Northern people, and have them on such a committee. For one reason or another, which I have mainly forgot, the project was never completed though a tentative list of fifteen or twenty such names were at one time drawn up. I would like to see the project go through.

It helps us all that you shoulder these matters and bring them to action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Copy to: Mr. Leonard Haas
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Copy to: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

July 14, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Mrs. Hamilton, Harold Fleming, and I, have discussed with care your letter of July 3rd with various suggestions about our new structure and program. I assume you kept a copy and will not, therefore, do more than give the number of each item.

1. Harold has written to a clipping service to ask for prices. It is proposed to instruct the clipping service to clip only those items which actually refer to the Southern Regional Council. Our previous poor experience with service of this kind was related to the fact that we asked them to clip news releases in the field of race relations, and the clippers were unable to make the value judgements involved.

2. This is being done and will be a responsibility of Anna Holden under Fleming's supervision.

3. Mrs. Hamilton has drafted such a letter which will go out with a report to members of the Board for the period April 1, June 30. Should go out in a few days.

4. Our idea would be a detailed letter to each state outfit, laying out the details of our agreement with the state organizations and exacting an agreeing reply. Would that be satisfactory?

5. Should be cared for under #4 above, but there will be the additional safeguard of a requirement on SRC's part that the By-Laws of each state outfit contain language approved by SRC prohibiting politics. There is, also, the safeguard of our payment of the personnel by check from here. But I am willing to require a certification from each state outfit's chairman, quarterly or annually, as the Executive Committee may think best, that the tax-exempt assistance is not being used for political or propagandist purposes.

6. I want this to happen but have never achieved it. I really think the best chance of getting it done would be for you to stay down here three, four, or five days after the July meeting -- or, perhaps more fruitfully in the Autumn -- and interview the people who ought to be on the finance committee and tell them what we want of them and get them to agree.

7. I agreed with Freeman that SRC would provide a quarterly report, narrative and fiscal, to the Fund for the Republic. The first such narrative report has gone up, copy to you, and Katherine Stoney is now completing her quarterly fiscal report to the Fund for the Republic.

A. We will do, beginning July 30.

B. That has been our uniform rule. I propose to break it for the first time this afternoon by propositioning Brewer to be a field man, helping us supervise state programs. But I would explain to him that our final offer to him would have to be approved by the Executive Committee. In any case, he would not enter on duty until September, 1955.

C. None of us like this, but we are willing to do what is needful. We have two suggestions and no decision as to which is best:

1. SRC to require that incoming central office and state personnel be shown the Attorney General's list and required to state whether they are or have been members of any organization on the list. If they are, or have been, members of any of them, we could require from the Chairman of the state division a statement that he had discussed the matter with the candidate and was convinced that the membership does or does not impugn the loyalty of the candidate to the government of the United States.

2. We could ask all applicants to list all organizations with which they have been affiliated and, either through this office or through the Chairman of each state division, handle any unpatriotic listings according to the facts of the situation.

Suggest that the matter go to the Executive Committee.

D. Of course.

E. The staff is agreed that this should be a function of the Executive Committee, but we will cooperate with whatever the Executive Committee wishes.

F. Fleming has arranged this.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/cab
Copy to: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 3, 1954

Dear George:

In the spate of correspondence following the Ford grant, I wrote you several letters advancing suggestions for your consideration. I do not believe that I was positive on any of them but felt that it would be well to reflect upon them. You have had so many things on your mind during the past few months that I am not sure you have been able to consider or act upon these suggestions. It occurs to me that it would be well to restate them briefly in one letter in order that you may be sure that they do not escape attention.

Yes - SRC

1. Subscription to a clipping bureau service on SRC beginning with the date of the Ford grant. The cost of such service may be prohibitive but I have no question that its value would be great.

Yes All under HCF's direction

2. Establishment of separate volumes for clippings in the nature of the exhibits filed with the Ford people, one volume being devoted to one particular phase of our program. We probably will have dealings with the Ford people for sometime and such imposing volumes may have value for us. Certainly, in my opinion, the ones used as exhibits presented better than letters or testimonials could do our claim to have some fairly creditable achievements to our credit.

12 or 6 mos ahead tie in more!

3. A letter to all board members outlining our program for the next year, or three years, as the case may be, inviting criticisms and suggestions of ideas or amendments to such program. My feeling is that we have at best a very tenuous connction between the Board and the staff, due to the infrequency of our meetings. This deprives the staff of benefit of ideas which board members may have and probably tends to cause the Board member to take his duties very lightly. I think that all channels should be kept open for advice and suggestions from the Board to the staff.

Talk to us not to be a SRC here can't do.

GT draft

4. Contracts with state units. It was my idea that wherever and whenever there existed a functioning state unit or other unit to which we proposed to advance funds, the understanding between SRC and such unit should be formally expressed in a simple contract uniform as to all units except as to the amounts of the advances made by SRC. This may be a somewhat legalistic approach but I have the feeling that misunderstanding may be avoided in the future if now we reduce the applications of both parties to a simple written agreement. South Carolina had such an agreement some years ago and I think the idea was a good one.

letter reply

It may be that we should have to postpone the contract idea until the program to be conducted by each state has become more crystalized. But I am devoted to the idea as soon as it becomes feasible.

5. Mechanics for assuring SRC that no use of funds will be made in the future or has been made in the past to foster any political activities which would jeopardize our tax exempt status. My mind is open on the method but I do not believe that we should pass out funds without assurance from the recipient that no such use has been made of any part of the fund.

Does it

6. Creation of a finance committee. This idea has not worked well in the past probably because we were operating upon such a shoestring. I would be hopeful that we would now get better results from such committee since it actually has something with which to work. I think it should be consulted frequently as to any considerable expenditures, ~~should approve our budget in advance of its submission to the executive or the full board,~~ assume responsibility for fund raising and advise with you generally on all financial matters. I think its members should be Atlantans to make frequent consultation less burdensome.

Discuss Morris Brown

MAW here

7. Progress reports to Ford at regular intervals. I have no idea what the intervals should be but would suggest quarterly reports.

We do

It seems to me that the Ford people will be keeping in better heart if they are advised with reasonable frequency and fully just what we have done and propose to do.

Other matters which I would like to lay upon your mind:

A. At each meeting of the Executive Committee I would suggest that the members be furnished with a list showing names of employees, salaries and duties as of the date of meeting. We are now furnished with excellent financial reports which Miss Stoney prepares. I believe that it would be of value to the Board at all times to have before it the personnel information above suggested. It will(1) constantly remind us of any possible inequities in the salary field; (2) enable us fully to understand the duties to be performed by each staff member, which might have some bearing upon his or her proper compensation and (3) enable the Executive Committee to have some idea as to the need for employing as large a staff as we have or additional members if the present staff should be deemed inadequate.

W. will do
RS

B. There should be no new employment of members of the staff or others above the stenographic level without prior consultation of the Executive Committee. This would not apply to emergency or casual employees.

Yes.

C. Each addition to the staff should file a questionnaire showing all organizations of which he is a member or with which he is associated. In a sense I have no patience with this suggestion but among the facts of life is the large one that we live in an age of hysteria and under conditions in which we could be hurt if a member of our staff had connections which might later prove embarrassing. It might be protection to us in the future to show that we exercised diligence in attempting to keep our personnel above suspicion.

Last only. Sure

D. The Executive Committee should go into executive session immediately upon convening. This would mean the exclusion of all staff members. The idea would be to provide a convenient opportunity for any member of the Committee to discuss without reservation any matter which might involve a member of the staff. I believe that we have agreed before on this policy but we overlook--perhaps I sh ould say I overlook--compliance with it. I believe that the custom should be followed. It is employed with beneficial results by other organizations of my acquaintance.

Sure

As a collateral matter about which I am by no means firm, I believe that there is merit to the idea that upon reaching a subject on the agenda, staff members should be first invited for expression of their opinions. When such expressions have been had, staff members should not participate further except upon invitation.

Sure Pere Their

My point is that the Board is the policy making agency, and as such, it should act without the argument or persuasion of those who will carry out the policy, beyond the point of presenting their expert opinions when called upon. I am by no means sure that I am right but I suggest the idea for your consideration.

E. It seems to me that it might be helpful to you if we had a small program committee that would constantly check with you on the proper objectives of the organization, the methods pursued in their attainment and the progress toward such attainment. We are now embarking upon much larger projects that we have heretofore even dreamed of. In a simpler day where responsibilities were light it was quite natural for the Board to place the full load upon your shoulders. I think that now and in the future you should have the advice and counsel of other capable minds who may contribute a great deal to the solution of your difficulties.

Excellent Perhaps

F. Would it not be well for us to arrange with Virginius Dabney's Committee to furnish us with everything which it circulates to the Southern press? Perhaps his committee will do this as a matter of form or perhaps this idea has already occurred to you. I pass it along in order that it may not be overlooked.

HCF

I realize that this is largely a rehash of old correspondence between us but I felt it advisable to put it all in one letter in order that

you may tick it off one at a time in replying.

Since a good deal of this related to the workings of the Executive Committee, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy to Dr. Clement, Chairman of that committee, for whatever value it may have for him.

Many thanks to you and Mrs. Mitchell for a recent, pleasant visit in Atlanta. I was delighted to see that the morning paper dispelled all of my uneasyness about the possible action of Mr. Eugene Cox.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:raj

cc: Dr. Rufus Clement

October 6, '54

Revive MAW's ltr of July 19

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 19, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for replying so fully in your letter of July 14 to the points raised in my letter of July 3. With the lazy man's approach I refer to paragraph numbers used in your letter:

4. Your idea seems satisfactory to me.

5. I like the idea of annual certification by each state chairman that no part of our funds is being used for political or propagandist purposes. My opinion is that Mr. Haas should phrase this certification so that it will be uniform in all cases and will meet the requirements of Federal statute or Treasury regulations.

6. I think that the idea contained in No. 1 is entirely correct. I am as unsympathetic as you are with the whole concept of prying into private backgrounds of employees. We cannot, however, escape the fact that, whether wisely or not, the Attorney General has prepared a list of what he declares to be subversive organizations. In my opinion we would be acting rationally to employ in the future none who retained membership in any of those organizations. We are compelled to realize that our own interests and the interests of those who provide us with funds may be adversely affected if we ignore this precaution.

If we should proceed under your No. 2 I think we would be opening the door for endless grief and probing into matters not reasonably required of us.

D. You dispose somewhat lightly of the subject contained under my paragraph D with the observation "Of course". I have thought more about the ideas I advanced and adhere completely to the view of the executive session of the Executive Committee. This is the "pop-off valve" and Hyde Park of many organizations. I am glad that you see that matter as I do.

But I have concluded that it will be a mistake to ask our staff members not to participate in discussions of a matter of policy beyond giving their solicited views.

I had assimilated our situation to the appearance of a Cabinet member or other administrative official before a Congressional committee. He appears by invitation, gives his views and retires while discussion proceeds on the wisdom of his views. That, I think, is the correct way for Congress to run its affairs.

However, we may greatly magnify ourselves in trying to force this rigid procedure. There is an intimacy between our Executive Committee and staff members which does not exist between the Congress and the Cabinet official. That intimacy may be sacrificed if we become too formal. Also in the course of the discussion a member of the Executive Committee may say something out of his ignorance on which a staff member could immediately set him straight if he were free to talk. I think he should be free.

My final conclusion is that we will have a better policy if it is hammered out while still hot upon the anvil created by the views of all of those having knowledge of the subject.

I think we may safely rely upon the self-imposed restraint of staff members not to contend for their views beyond what is reasonable and proper and may also rely upon the capability of the Executive Committee to override the views of a staff member if the Committee concludes that the views are unsound.

Hence I withdraw any suggestion that the staff member not participate in the discussion except when his views are asked. I abide by the view that proper procedure would be to ask views of staff members as preliminary to discussion by the Executive Committee. But, having given such views, the staff member should not feel that he should sit mute through the remainder of the discussion.

Best regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:R
CC: Dr. Rufus Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 19, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have your excellent letter of July 12 which is devoted to our by-laws and corporate structure. It is quite evident that you and the staff have been doing some serious thinking.

As I understand your tentative conclusions it would be that lines of authority would run somewhat as follows:

1. From the entire Board of Directors to (a) the Executive Committee, (b) the Executive Director and (c) the Secretary-Treasurer. The entire Board would elect, or authorize the election or appointment of the Executive Committee, the Executive Director, and the Secretary-Treasurer.

2. From the Executive Director to (a) Assistant Director in Charge of Information and Research; (b) two Assistant Directors in Charge of Program Development, and (c) an Assistant Director for Program Planning.

I would assume that the Board of Directors would create the four positions under the Executive Director, would define their duties and fix their compensation but that the "hiring and firing" of those officials would be the province of the Executive Director. This would seem to be in accordance with established business practices.

There is a question on which my mind is entirely open. Should the hiring of these subordinates be the Executive Director be his exclusive privilege or should it be done by the Executive Committee,

or the full Board, upon the recommendation of the Executive Director? The advantages of leaving this matter exclusively to the Executive Director are apparent, they being that he may act immediately and that, if he is to be held responsible for the successful operation of the staff he should have full liberty of action as to personnel. The advantages of having appointments by the Executive Director subject to approval and confirmation by the Executive Committee, or the full Board, would apparently be that the advice of members of the approving body would be available to the Executive Director, thus reducing the probability of error and that the active interest of members of the approving body might be retained a little better if they have some slight voice in the control of personnel.

I keep always in mind the fact that one of our most valuable members, good old Dabbs, says that he could have kept us from the mistake of employing Mr. Byrd some years ago if he had known that Mr. Byrd was under consideration.

My mind is entirely open on the correct answer to the question. I think it should be considered carefully by the Executive Committee.

I take it that if this proposed change is to go into effect - and I am favorably impressed with the idea of change - it will have to be done by appropriate amendment to our by-laws.

Undoubtedly it would be the exclusive province of the Executive Director to hire and fire all persons below the level of the staff members above discussed.

It seems that we will definitely have a more efficient set-up when the changes that you discuss in your letter are put into effect. Do you think it proper protocol to discuss these proposed changes with the Ford people in advance of putting them into effect? My memory is none too good but, if we filed with them a set of the by-laws under which we proposed to operate if their grant was made, and if we now consider making a serious change in the by-laws, it might be proper to acquaint them in advance with what we have in mind. From your knowledge of what has gone on between you and Ford, you will be able to know whether we should advise them in advance or merely file with them a copy of the amended by-laws after the amendments have been adopted. You may even feel that we do not have to consult them at all. I bring the matter up in order that it may not be overlooked.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:R
CC: Mr. Leonard Haas

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 2, 1954

Mr. Geo. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I think that Friday's meeting of the Executive Committee was one of the best we have had in some time, a fact due in part no doubt to the good attendance. I am sure also that the success of the meeting was largely due to the careful and intelligent presentation by the staff of all matters requiring action. Now for random matters:

1. I should like to have a copy of the minutes of that meeting as soon as convenient in order that I may perform whatever tasks were assigned to me.

2. I have read the booklet on the school situation. This is one of the best we have ever gotten out and should prove of great service. There is every reason to believe that the circulation will exceed the circulation of any similar pamphlet in the past.

Only one suggestion: If there should be re-prints, would it not be well at the beginning to have an index or table of contents, giving the questions asked and the page number on which the question appears? This might give the pamphlet a slightly more professional look and might facilitate its use by those who are interested.

3. Several days ago you wrote me that a report on activities had gone forward to the Fund for the Republic and that Miss Stoney was sending me copy. Just a reminder that this has not been received.

4. Unless you object, I think I shall postpone inviting members to serve on the Commission on Equal Penalties until we have seen the result of Barth's and Guy Johnson's work. The distressing thought

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AUG 4 1954
Southern Regional Council

occurs to me that their conclusions might be that there is no substantial discrepancy based upon race in the imposition of sentence. If such should be the fact, it would apparently be an idle gesture for us to incur the expense of having nine people find that such situation existed. There may be reasons for having them do so but, as a precautionary measure, I prefer to withhold the invitations until the returns are in. What do you think?

5. I do not have before me Mr. Dent's amendment to the proposed amendment to the by-laws. The disposition which, in my opinion should have been made of that matter and which, I hope, was covered by Mr. Dent's motion would be that in the absence or incapacity of the Executive Director his duties should devolve upon the Assistant Director in Charge of Information and that, in the absence or incapacity of both of them, the duties of the Executive Director should devolve upon such Assistant Director as the Executive Director may designate.

This would make it clear that Harold was second in command and that if you are both absent at the same time you would designate the proper official to have charge of the office.

(You may think this exceedingly legalistic but I believe in the absence of you and Harold you should place on the desk of each staff member a memorandum to the effect that_____ (being an Assistant Director) is in charge. I make this suggestion out of some experience in a similar situation.)

6. My decided opinion as of this moment and in the light of information which percolates to Linville Falls is that we should continue to ignore ~~tax~~ attacks upon us by Brother Harris, the Georgia politicians and others of that ilk. That matter was left in the capable hands of yourself, Harold Fleming and Mr. Haas with the suggestion that Ralph McGill and Morris Abrams be at least advised. I can easily foresee that a situation may develop which would cause you three wisely to conclude that the time for us to speak had arrived. You, of course, have complete liberty to make such decision and issue such statement as you deem wise.

For what it may be worth and without having mulled over it to any great extent I would be favorably disposed to having the statement proceed somewhat as follows:

> Citizens of Georgia, through long experience, have come to expect that each statewide political campaign will be considered as an opportunity by certain types of politicians to capitalize upon racial prejudices. Such tactics usually

take the form of attacks upon individuals or organizations whose views are, or are thought to be, at variance with the views of those who are the victims of their biases.

It is therefore somewhat natural that the campaign now being conducted in this state should be debased by the customary slanders and that some of these should be directed at the Southern Regional Council. By implication, of course, they are also directed at the hundreds of consecrated men and women of standing and reputation who compose the membership of that organization. To intimate that such an organization or such personnel should have Communist leanings would be laughable but for the fact that it indicates the low degree of intelligence which those who make such attacks attribute to the voters of Georgia.

The Council does not propose at this time to dignify such slanders with its notice. When the artificially stimulated passions of the current political campaign have subsided and intelligence and reason begin to assert themselves the Council will be glad to meet such charges head-on in any forum which their makers may select. Meanwhile, the disreputable character of those who utter such charges and the patent falsity of the charges themselves constitute the only defense which the Council feels is now required.

STM
Disregarded

I hope that the course of wisdom may be found to lie in not issuing any statement. If the conclusion of your group is that some statement should be issued, the ideas suggested by the above language are proposed for your consideration. I have no pride of opinion about the matter and you may feel free entirely to disregard these suggestions.

Best regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:R

8/4/54

HCF:

For your information.

GSM

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

August 4, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

The notes of the Executive Committee meeting, July 30, have been typed out once, dictated as minutes, and should be sent to you in a day or two's time. There are one or two places where the notes and my recollection were somewhat at variance, and I would appreciate your careful review to be sure that we got the final minutes right.

Sorry for the oversight on the copy of the report to the Fund for the Republic. It is going forward to you today.

I will make the index to the table of contents suggestion to Harold. The first edition was 20,000 copies, but I think we will be running to another. It has already been bought in good volume. Father Sheen took home 2500, and we have had lump orders from the Southern Baptists and the Virginia Council of Churches, and Howard Odum. And various other people praise it.

I agree on postponing invites to the Commission until we know a little more about the statistics.

Our understanding of the way the By-Laws are left is that it is up to the Executive Director or the Executive Committee to name someone who shall serve, temporarily, in the absence of the Executive Director; and then in the job description for Assistant Director-in-Charge of Information and Research, he was designated as the person to serve in the absence of the Executive Director. That is a satisfactory and workable arrangement. The By-Laws give a broad authority and the job description for Harold provides special authority for him -- all of which accords with the way things would be arranged.

Esleeck

We all, increasingly, take the view that Harris should not be answered, but they may put us on a spot where an answer would be practically necessary. I greatly like the language you have put together; I had told Harold that I would have difficulty in getting your approach down into your words.

Harold is off for a long weekend and I am going to Montreal, but we will both be back in harness by August 12 and will hold some further discussions.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Liz

for files — no
point pursuing this
now —

a.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 9, 1954

Mrs. Hamilton
Member of State
commission &
Sandy Springs
— & cons. this letter.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Dear George:

A suggestion while it is on my mind:

Would it not be well for us to keep a list of names and addresses of the various commissions which are being created by governors, to act in an advisory capacity? If mayors or other officials are creating similar commissions, might you not also keep their names and addresses? It seems to me that it might be worthwhile to put all of these people on our mailing list and, particularly, to send them each a copy of "Answers for Action".

N.C. sent
also Va.

Governor Umstead has named his commission in this state but I neglected to clip the item from the paper. No doubt you could get the names from Raleigh if the idea appeals to you.

Best regards,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

Fla -
Ky -
Tenn (?)
Ala.

MAW:R

P.S. Nice to see you & the Mrs. yesterday. 8/10/54

A.J.
Can you compile
comprehensive
list from
what you have?

Dr. Wade Weldon
Owensboro

Mrs. Simeon Willis, Ashland

Mr. Walter Wells, Rikasville

Mr. Ernest Pittman,
Elizabethtown

Mr. Pryor Sutherland
Mayfield

Mr. Earl Pruitt, Louisville

Rev. Homer Nutter, Lexington

Ky

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Virginia's legislative commission on school segregation

Robert F.Baldwin, Jr., Norfolk

Robert Y. Button, Culpeper

Curry Carter, Augusta

W. C. Caudill, Giles

Charles R. Fenwick, Arlington

Earl A. Fitzpatrick, Roanoke

Mills E. Godwin,Jr., Suffolk

Garland Gray, Sussex

James D. Hagood, Halifax

A. S. Harrison, Jr., Brunswick

S. Floyd Landreth, Galax

G. Edmont Massie, Richmond

W. Marvin Minter, Mathews

[redacted] Howard H. Adams, Northampton

J. Bradie Allman, Franklin County

Joseph E. Blackburn, Lynchburg

Orby L. Cantrell,Wise

Russell M. Carneal, Williamsburg

C. W. Cleaton, Mecklenburg

Virginia committee, con't

John H. Daniel, Charlotte

Harry B. Davis, Princess Anne

Charles K. Hutchens, Newport News

Baldwin G. Locher, Rockbridge

J. Maynard Magruder, Arlington

W. Tayloe Murphy, Warsaw

Samuel E. Pope, Southampton

Harold H. Purcell, Louisa

James W. Roberts, Norfolk

Vernon S. Shaffer, Shenandoah

W. Roy Smith, Petersburg

J. Randolph Tucker, Jr. , Richmond

C. Stuart Wheatley, Jr., Danville

Georgia Education Commission

Gov. Herman Talmadge

Lt. Governor Marvin Griffin

Fred Hand , House Speaker

State Auditor B. E. Thrasher

Georgia's committees con't

Attorney General Eugene Cook

Robert O. Arnold, Chairman, State Board of Regents

George P. Whitman, Jr., Chairman, State Board of Education

M. D. Collins, State School Supt.

Harmon Caldwell, Chancellor, Georgia University System

Charles J. Bloch, Chairman, State Judicial Council

Harvey Cutts, President, Georgia Education Assn., Greenville

Rep. Battle Hall, Rome, Ga.

Mrs. Ralph Hobbs, Cataula

Miss Ira Jarrell, Supt. Atlanta Schools

Mark Smith, Macon

W. S. Mann, McRae

John Wood, Canton

Roy Harris, Augusta

John Sammons Bell, Atlanta

~~R. O. Arnold~~

~~George Whitman, Jr.~~

Rep. George Smith, Swainsboro

Rep. Frank Twitty, Camilla

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 23, 1954

Mr. Geo. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
AUG 26 195
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letters from the Extension Divisions of the Universities of Kentucky and North Carolina. They sound encouraging. I believe if we could get a firm commitment from one Extension Division to follow some of the suggestions I have made - or other better ones from other sources - we might more easily induce laggard Divisions to follow suit.

Best regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:R
Enclo.

August 6, 1954

Extension Division
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Gentlemen:

The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in the segregation cases call for the exercise of various virtues on the part of both races in the South - patience, tolerance and respect for points of view with which we may differ. I am not at all sure that virtues can be implanted or nurtured but, if so, the effort to implant or nurture them may be more appropriately made by our religious groups than by extension divisions of state institutions.

But, the effort to give full faith and credit to these decisions and to translate them into a course of action calls also for skills and arts which we have not heretofore found it so necessary to develop or employ. If two races, heretofore completely removed from each other in the planning and operation of schools are now to plan and operate such schools jointly with admission unaffected by race, then the two races must employ new tools - knowledge by each race of problems peculiar to the other, administrative capacity to operate an integrated school system, some acquaintance with psychological and emotional factors which must be kept in mind by teachers and all school officials. These are but a few but they suggest the whole range of the complex human problems which will soon be dumped upon the laps of all of those having a hand in the experiment we are about to undertake in the South.

It is to the great credit of extension divisions that the public has come to rely upon them for guidance and direction in almost every field of knowledge. Literally, the campus has become the State. Men and women in obscure corners turn to your institution for light upon every baffling problem with which they must grapple.

There is no problem inherently more baffling or affecting for good or ill so many people of your state as the problem of adjusting their lives and folk ways to this new order. Such an opportunity for leadership and direction in a situation which is plastic and malleable comes to a university but few times in its history. I have no doubt that you appreciate more fully than I how large the opportunity is and how urgent that it shall be embraced.

I regret that I do not have the technical information or experience which would enable me to make with assurance any suggestions as to how an extension division may serve its people at this time and in this field. Random ideas submitted to your better judgment are:

There might be held on your campus two- or three-day institutes attended by white and Negro teachers who would hear and participate in discussions of the proper attitudes and activities of teachers in an integrated system.

Parent-teacher associations throughout the state might be invited to send representatives to a meeting of one or more days on your campus at which the responsibilities of such organizations for lubricating the transition might be presented.

There might be such an institute particularly for superintendents, administrators and trustees who would be given some solid advice and instruction in steps to be taken to reduce and relieve tensions arising in the schools or in the community.

Since many interested people would possibly be deterred from attending such sessions to be held on your campus but who would possibly attend if such meetings could be held closer to their homes, the same ideas might be employed in districts or counties.

Lastly, there might be created from your faculty a committee consisting of, for example, a sociologist, a psychologist, and a school economist who would undertake to prepare a pamphlet of suggestions to parents, teachers, trustees and the public generally on proper courses of action designed to resolve some of the problems which will inevitably arise. Such a commission, through your division, might conduct questions and answers columns in the state newspapers, presenting frankly the questions which probably lie in most minds and the intelligent answers to them.

All of this is intended to be nothing more than suggestive - certainly it is far from expert. But my hope is that your own precise knowledge may supplement my deficiencies and produce policies and action which will give your institution a place of deserved leadership at a time when leadership is desperately needed.

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:R

BC: Geo. S. Mitchell

Same letter also to:

Extension Division
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

Extension Division
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va.

Extension Division
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

Extension Division
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

August 27, 1954

Dictated August 25

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

In earlier conversations about inviting people to be on the Commission for Equal Penalties, we had the notion that one, two, or three people prominent in the law, particularly, would be asked to invite the other members of the Commission. We think that there would be greater success in getting the people you want on the Commission if the Commissioners were thus invited to be on a committee on which, say, perhaps, would be Judge Underwood and Monte Lemann, and some other competent persons. If you still think this idea has merit -- and we do -- what would you think of arranging to see Judge Underwood when you come to Atlanta to set up the Finance Committee?

There is the other point that whatever letter goes out inviting people to be on the Commission might usefully emphasize the autonomy of the Commission. You remember months ago we talked of giving it its own budget and its own staff. That we haven't got the money to do, but we could make it clear to those invited to serve that they aren't hung onto the arms of the Southern Regional Council, but that they will be an eminent body of persons having before them some fact collected through the agency of the Southern Regional Council; and a body able, if need be, to make arrangements for obtaining additional facts if they need them.

Also, I think it would be well if we could get across to them that they may wish to issue a statement, or a publication, or something of the sort which would give their recommendations to the Bar and the courts of the South.

If you, as President of the Council, do now invite the members of the Commission, always the members of the Commission will regard themselves as creatures of an SRC directive.

Do you think that these suggestions have merit?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: HCF ✓
GMM

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Linville Falls, N.C.
9/28/54

Dear George:

Mrs. Wright is having a little siege in the hospital, so she and our niece will not join me on pending trip. Situation here may prevent my going to Atlanta. Will advise later, from Columbia or Beaufort. Thanks for invitation anyhow.

Marion

Wade Hampton State Office Building. Completed in 1940 at a cost of more than $1,000,000.

9/30/54

In view of Mrs. W's. illness must cancel proposed trip to Atlanta. Will arrange later.

Regrets.

Mr. A. W.

Rec'd Oct 1, 1954

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Sou. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

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1 Oct 54

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Since it is my responsibility to work with our state offices throughout the Southern states it has fallen my lot to answer your letter to George Mitchell of September 9th, in which you made the following suggested article for state affiliate's by-laws:

> The officers, members of the executive board and all other agents, servants or employees of _____ shall be deemed the officers, agents, servants, or employees of _____ alone and in no sense and under no circumstances the officers, agents, servants, or employees of the Southern Regional Council.

After discussing this with Mr. Haas we have reached the conclusion that such an article wouldn't stand up in court; the Central office in Atlanta has sufficient control over the paid staff of the state organizations that they are our agents, servants, and employees, any statement to the contrary not with standing.

We are requiring all state presidents to certify to the Central office that no funds have been used for carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation or engage in political activity. Beyond these safeguards and the safeguards in the bylaws we must trust the good judgment and faith of our state folk.

I am happy to report that our state offices in Ga., S.C., La., N.C., and Ala. have all secured executive secretaries and are beginning to function. I am going out to New Orleans this week end and will spend the next two weeks covering Miss., Fla., Tenn., and Ky.; we hope to activate the latter three quickly.

I am looking forward to meeting you when I get to N.C. and working with you at the Board meeting here in November.

Sincerely,

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

October 4, 1954

RECEIVED
10/6/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am enclosing check of Mr. R. Beverley Herbert, Palmetto Building, Columbia, South Carolina, in amount of $50.00 as a contribution to the Council. Will you please see that Mr. Herbert receives our official receipt for this contribution.

It must be used for general purposes. I had written Mr. Herbert, who is an attorney, requesting a contribution for the Commission on Equal Penalties, feeling quite sure that, while he might seriously disagree with us at many points, he would quite willingly endorse the investigation of criminal penalties. To my great surprise and disappointment he writes very fully that he has no patience with the proposal about penalties but will go along with us on other phases of our work. Of course, you will not write him anything about my disclosure of his views to you.

I was very sorry that I was unable to get down to Atlanta in connection with my jaunt to Beaufort, as revealed by my informal post card written from a Columbia drug store, for which card I hereby apologize. The facts were as stated, that Mrs. Wright underwent an operation at a Winston-Salem hospital on September 25 and is still hospitalized. Under the circumstances I felt it necessary to be available for communication with or trip to Winston-Salem if required. The time is so short until our annual meeting that I do not believe things will suffer on account of the delay. I am delighted to observe that you will be on the program of the American Editorial Writers Association at Chapel Hill. This seems to me to offer an ideal opportunity for conference between you, Guy Johnson, Barth and me, at which time we

may reach some conclusions about the report of the Commission on Equal Penalties. I am not sure what your schedule is, but if you will 'phone or wire me, or write if you have time, I could be at Chapel Hill in six or seven hours after receipt of your message, bringing with me the copy of ~~your~~ report which I have and other data relating to the subject.

- - - - -

There is another matter that I believe must have escaped your memory. You will recall at the meeting of the Executive Committee on July 30 a Personnel Committee composed of Dr. Clement, you and myself was set up "to engage and fix salaries of new personnel at the professional level." (See last paragraph of page four of the minutes.) Your attention is called to this action because of my receipt of a letter from Frederick B. Routh, who signs as Assistant Director for Program Development. That office would clearly seem to be one at the professional level.

Would not your interpretation of the action taken by the Executive Committee be that Mr. Routh's employment should have been as the result of the joint action of you, Dr. Clement and me? To take care of such employment of those you may have in mind for staff positions I wrote some time ago suggesting that you be good enough to advise Dr. Clement and me in advance of any appointments you proposed to make, giving us information as to tenure, salary and duties of the proposed appointee.

Since the Executive Committee, following its action, is entitled to assume that appointments are the result of joint action of us three, I feel that it would be proper to follow strictly the direction of the Executive Committee as contained in the minutes of the meeting of July 30.

I am sure that neither Dr. Clement nor I would like to have this responsibility resting upon us without taking it seriously and discharging it conscientiously. In order to do so we should have full information as to the qualifications, duties etc. of the person under consideration.

Since this method was something of a departure from former practice, it is entirely natural that it should have been overlooked by you. I think, however, that as to Mr. Routh, we should now have the information in order that we may formally reach a decision as to his employment and that in the future such information in advance of employment should be given to us.

I will assume that the procedure touching loyalty, as shown on page five of the minutes, is being observed. Since it also represented a departure from former practice, I am venturing to remind you of the action the committee took.

Your letter of September 22 quotes Mr. Haas as approving my suggestion for possible amendment of by-laws of state organizations. Mr. Routh's letter of October 1 quotes Mr. Haas as taking the position that such amendment would be futile. I point out the discrepancy between those two letters but have no firm opinion as to the proposed amendment. I will be entirely guided by the views of Mr. Haas but am somewhat in doubt as to what those views are.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

MAW:R
CC: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

P.S. Now have yours of Oct. 4 & note meeting is in Asheville, not Chapel Hill.
Glad to see you here Sunday afternoon.

Marion

October 4, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Harold and I have explored thoughtfully your letter of October 1. I was the more interested in it because only four or five days ago in Birmingham I conferred at length with a Baptist preacher named John Hall Jones, who also has claims to being a practitioner of social psychology and hobnobs with the professional elite in that field. He was worried about the need for just what you were talking about. Who is to tell the South the inside business on Milford, Delaware? What went wrong there, and what went right in Washington? Etc.? He wanted us to shell out to set up a team of people who would quickly analyze each incident and get the story out.

Harold tells me that the Southern Education Reporting Service at Nashville was established with quite careful forethought on the matter of relating its fact-finding to the requirements of social analyses. The second monthly issue of that publication should be out in a few days and we are inclined to wait and see whether it shows signs of taking on some of this burden of analysis. There is, also, a division within the Ford Foundation itself concerned about progress in the behavioral sciences. It centers on Robin Williams at Cornell. Williams wrote down here a month or so ago and asked us to organize for his group a conference of behavioral science people. I was out of town but Harold organized the meeting, invited the guests and made all the arrangements. They have just this job. I admit we do not know how long it will be before the research-minded machinery will come to focus on this question, but they have got any amount of money and can get any amount more for this kind of thing.

I believe that information of the kind you suggest is so vital and important to school officials that they really will be sure that the information is cast up. So, though I see the need for getting it, and I am certain that the Southern Regional Council could get it, I think that developing a pseudo-pod in that direction would drain mercilessly. And I am inclined to stick to our work of publicising other people's research. However, let us all watch the performance of the Reporting Service and the Behavioral Science people, and if they flub the job, we could ask for money to do it ourselves.

I, too, recognize that our state people must do a lot of that for the Council as a whole when these things begin to hit nearer home -- where we will have state people.

On the South Carolina matter, what do you think of your sending a copy of your letter of October 1 to me to Mrs. Spearman, and asking her to consider it and raise it with her Board? Her address is 1511 Laurel Street, Columbia, South Carolina. I like the idea, but I think it has got to be worked out in South Carolina, and except for giving Mrs. Spearman and Dick Foster and others encouragement there isn't a lot we can do. Something of the sort could become a part of their program in the reorganization of the South Carolina Division.

I am preparing a Second Quarterly Report for the Fund for the Republic.

We have made a staff conclusion that the Southern Regional Council should issue at the end of 1954 a printed annual report. It would hastily review the history of the Council; touch upon our main programs; give a quickie compression of past finances; a full financial report for 1954; touch upon and refute in general terms the malignant charges made against the Southern Regional Council as being "pinko" or what have you; and inform the public on a fairly high level. That seems to be no more than right if we are to spend the proceeds of a considerable sum of tax-exempt money. I don't know how widely we would circulate it, though, of course, to Board members, to members of the press, and to interested foundations. It would be a pretty handy answer to any further charges. I inform you of the fact that the Georgia State Democratic Convention meeting about September 29 at Macon, Georgia, to perform the rite of officially nominating Marvin Griffin as candidate for Governor in the general election, is said by the press to have passed -- among other resolutions -- one condemning the Southern Regional Council as "a menace to Georgia institutions," urging that the Council be driven from the state "by force of public opinion." We haven't yet felt much of the force of public opinion, but we are disturbed somewhat by this foreshadowing of four more years of agression.

By present schedule, I am to be in Atlanta October 13, 14, and 15. I am in New York October 18, 19, 20 and 21, and in Atlanta October 22 to November 3. If you and I are not together here before about October 24th and 25th, it is going to be difficult to get the Nominating Committee named and at work in time for the Board meeting November 10. Also well if you could have the Finance Committee picked and in agreement before November 10.

We could handle the Nominating Committee matter at your home Sunday, October 10, if that would suit you. I have promised to be at Asheville to speak for a convention of newspaper editors, Saturday, October 9, mid-day. And then I have to be at Salisbury, North Carolina, Tuesday, October 12 in the evening. So, I could come over to Linville Falls for a conference Sunday afternoon, and go on that night to Charlotte to talk with our new man Harry Jones, newly established there for the North Carolina outfit. Then to Salisbury on Tuesday.

Unless I hear to the contrary from you, I will plan to be at Linville Falls Sunday afternoon, October 10.

If you need to communicate with me in a hurry on Saturday, a letter to me at the Grove Park Inn, c/o The Conference of Editorial Writers, would reach me on the 9th.

In re the Board vacancies. There are probably five. In the run of Palmer, deceased; in the term of Grace Hamilton, C. H. Parrish, Alice Spearman, all of whom have become employed paid personnel; and in the run of Mantinband, who, as state chairman in Mississippi, is currently on the Board ex-officio. Four sure vacancies, five maybe.

For a Nominating Committee, I would think of Cassandra Birnie, John Griffin, Mrs. E. U. Robinson (Gallatin, Tennessee), perhaps James L. Coker or Dr. J. M. Richards of Columbia Seminary at Decatur, Georgia.

Here's the list. You make some preliminary choices and we can discuss them when I see you next.

The Nominating Committee will have two jobs. First it should nominate to vacancies on the Board of Directors, and secondly it should nominate officers of the Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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Southern Re[redacted]c.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
[redacted]E FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

[redacted]tober 1, 1954

RECEIVED
9/4/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have the feeling that what I am about to suggest has already become a part of the program of NAACP, or Mr. Dabney's organization or some similar agency. Anyhow, in case the field is not preempted I advance the idea for what it may be worth.

In connection with the progress of integration there are or will be several spots in which this has gone off smoothly and several others in which difficulties have developed. Presumably, there would be underlying reasons why the movement has proceeded without friction at some points and with serious friction at others.

If that guess is correct, some study should be made to determine what was done properly in certain places and what was done improperly in other places. The communities which are making the experiment this year are laboratories from which lessons may be learned that could be profitably applied elsewhere and in later years. And, if that guess should be correct, S.R.C. could render a very valuable service if it made studies of the communities, secured correct answers as to what should be and should not be done, compiled those answers into a pamphlet and made them available to school officials throughout the South.

Our problem may be simplified if we would take three communities in three separate states where the experiment has been well received and three in other states where it has met with serious opposition, study those communities intensively and provide the answers and service to school officials above suggested. Certainly we would not have the

resources with which to make a blanket study of all affected communities.

Of course we would not have the staff from which we could assign capable persons to spend a week or so in each of these communities and make the type of investigation we would desire. Again I think of the Quakers. They have skilled people who might be willing to work at expense of the Friends but under our guidance and direction. If that possibility should be out, the State Divisions, where they have capable staffs might supply the investigators as to a community or communities within their respective states.

Of course, as I stated at the outset, the project which I suggest may already be undertaken by equally or more competent authorities than we are. If so, we would stay hands-off and wish them well; if not, I believe the idea might be worth our consideration

- - - - -

I was on St. Helena Island yesterday and the day before. While there the idea occurred to me that Penn School might provide suitable auditorium and dormitory space for meetings of small groups somewhat as follows:

Taking one South Carolina county, we might have all school trustees, representatives of parent-teacher associations, county boards of education and representatives of the Negro community to meet for a day or so for a discussion of what that particular county might do by way of preparing itself in advance against the time when integration will be ordered. I think that Penn School would be very glad to supply the facilities and would suggest that S.R.C. might act as sponsor for the meeting and have one or more staff members present to steer the discussion.

If you will take Oconee County - which would be my suggestion as a starter because of the very small Negro population - the persons suggested might be entirely willing to hold such a meeting at a remote spot like St. Helena, whereas they would be hesitant to do so at home. I think that the discussion would be much more honest if the personnel of such meeting should be completely removed from home influences. People seem more willing to express their real convictions when they are detached from the usual pressures of their own communities.

I make the suggestion that we might try the experiment as to one county. If all went well we might repeat it from time to time as to other counties. The natural attractions of the island and the coastal country may be relied upon to draw some attendants which would perhaps not be so readily drawn to Columbia or the Piedmont.

If you will think the matter over and give me your candid opinion and, if your opinion should be favorable, I will undertake to see that the Penn people assume the responsibility above suggested. As a member of their board, I may say that we are constantly trying to find some activities of the kind herein proposed.

Best regards,

M.A.W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:R

October 7, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I have drafted, tentatively, this letter to go out to state chairmen. It is being subjected to review in this office, and I will be grateful for your kindness in making any changes or modifications as you may desire.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl.

October 8, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I had asked the United Christian Missionary Society, Board of Missions and Education, of the Disciples of Christ, to consider at their forthcoming meeting the provision in their budget some such item as $250 for the SRC. In addition, I have written Morris Abram and asked him about a project which he held out sometime ago of a contribution from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Morris Abram has written to the leading Atlanta Rabbi, who works with him on the Board of American Hebrew Congregations, and requested the Rabbi to join him in the effort to get such a contribution. We have mentioned the figure of $5,000.

Mrs. Hamilton, in a recent New York conference with Frank Loescher, with our approval, asked about the possibility of our obtaining $10,000 to enable the Council to handle the large volume of services to foreign visitors who come to us for briefing. It is possible that some of the agencies who bring in these persons, or some small foundations related to that cause, may be of assistance of this kind to us.

Additionally, I have made, as you doubtless know, a proposal to the Doris Duke Foundation for substantial aid to us -- on the order of $15,000 a year for three years -- for a fact-gathering and research interpretation program. A program for which provision was not made by the Fund for the Republic.

I shall be going to New York in the third week of this month and will discuss this program with the Doris Duke Foundation.

You may remember that Max Hahn, for the Field Foundation, somewhat brusquely rejected a request from us for $10,000 for assistance to New South. I will go and see Max Hahn for general advice!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

October 28, 1954

RECEIVED
11/1/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have to be in Charleston on November 6 and plan to go on down to Beaufort and spend the 7th there. I further plan to reach Atlanta on the 8th and remain through the meeting on the 10th.

I would hope to get the Finance Committee matter straightened out on the 8th and the morning of the 9th, giving opportunity for a meeting of the Personnel Committee on the afternoon of the 9th.

If this fits in with your plans, I wish that you would arrange a meeting of Dr. Clement, you and myself at your office at any time on the 9th convenient to you two. At that meeting I think it would be helpful if you could have a chart of our present organization showing office, title and salary. If any vacancies remain to be filled within the coming year, they should be indicated on the chart.

I think that this arrangement will give Dr. Clement and me a very fair picture of the present situation and what, if any, questions of new personnel may arise during the year.

I enclose letter from Mr. Mynders which indicates that his decision to get off of the board is final. So we may as well count definitely on filling his place.

Vest regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:R
Enclo.
CC: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

P.S. Since writing the above I observe that the 8th is on Sunday which may well upset the above schedule. However, I will go on down to Atlanta on Sunday in the hope that you and I may have an opportunity to discuss composition of the Finance Committee that day and that I might devote all of Monday morning and possibly the afternoon to getting acceptances from possible members. M. A. W.

November 2, 1954

Mr. M.A. Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for letting us see your proposed speech for the occasion honoring Judge Waring. Dr. Mitchell, Frederick Routh and I have all read it admiringly. It is as graceful and eloquent a tribute as I have read, and it should gladden the Judge's heart.

I have no criticisms to offer, but Dr. Mitchell is returning the manuscript to you, with a note of his own, in case you need an additional copy. I hope it reaches you before your departure.

Plans are proceeding apace for the various meetings of next week. I look forward to being with you then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

November 2, 1954

Dictated October 29

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We are sending you, separately, the article on recreation which the man, McKay, formerly at Emory, has finally put into the Virginia Law Review. This is the working out of a proposal you made. We are purchasing twenty-five of the reprints and will send one to each state organization and will keep a few here for people who may need them.

I do hope you will try to come to Atlanta at least on the 9th, and possibly on the 8th also. There are so many things to be checked on here ahead of time. And we will be having the state staff people in on the 9th, 10th, and 11th, and you should appear before then on the 9th. Most helpful, also, if you could be here on the 8th.

We have gotten a good deal further with names for the Board, and think there will be some pretty good proposals to make to the Nominating Committee which meets the afternoon of the 9th.

You will be cheered as we all were to hear that the Marshall Field Foundation, in response to our request for $10,000 a year for each of three years for New South beginning January 1, has agreed that we may have from them $7,000 for 1955, $5,000 for 1956, and $3,000 for 1957. I think that if we can build subscriptions pretty rapidly, those sums will be sufficient, and they will help enormously in getting the gross amount we must have raised as required by the Fund for the Republic. Indeed, as of January 1, when that sum comes in, we will have raised, I should think, twenty-one or twenty-two thousand of the forty thousand that we must raise by September 30, 1955. That is to say that at mid-point we will be a little more than halfway. And our best money-raising months are the first five or six months of each calendar year.

If the exhibit material (your copy) is available to you, will you try to bring or send it to us? Helpful in working up the historical pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

From the Charleston, S.C. Post -- November 9, 1954 -- Editorial

SAINTSHIP HAS BEEN CONFERRED ON HIM

Judge J. Waties Waring could have asked for nothing higher in the way of honors than the apotheosis pronounced by Marion A. Wright, president of the Southern Regional Conference, Inc.

The deification took place here Saturday night when Judge Waring was guest of honor at a dinner tendered by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Wright likened the retired judge to St. Paul. Just as Paul had been miraculously converted, so in a blinding flash had Judge Waring seen the light. The road he traveled, however, was not the road to Damascus. It was a more tortuous route, with a different destination. His goal was not the saintship bestowed upon him Saturday night. That can be put down as a bonus.

Mr. Wright depicted Judge Waring as one who, in a conversion as explosive as an atom bomb, cut himself loose from all the ties which had shaped his career for many years. From this rebirth came his ruling in the white Democratic party case, and his opinion in the Clarendon county school segregation case.

That is a pretty picture, although it is not the one that would be painted by artists closer to the scene and with a knowledge of the actual facts behind the transformation of Judge Waring from an ordinary mortal into a second St. Paul.

We would not like to diminish by so much as one vowel the exaltedness conferred by Mr. Wright on the NAACP's new patron saint. Still, we feel it in order to correct one minor impression which this latter-day gospel might give to the uninitiated.

Judge Waring did not sever ALL ties with the past. There is one sentimental attachment to which he clings. It is the one remaining link which connects him with the former white Democratic party.

For several decades the judge had been a stalwart of stalwarts as a member of that party. His devotion to it paid good dividends, in the shape of juicy political plums. He was at one time on Uncle Sam's payroll as an assistant district attorney. Later he was the city of Charleston's corporation counsel. But the jackpot was hit with his appointment to the federal bench, thanks to his party zeal and loyalty. It brought him a fat salary for life -- $15,000 annually.

Judge Waring's miraculous conversion did not come until after he was securely seated in his new post. Up to the moment of that flash of light there had been nothing wrong with the white Democratic party. He was fortunate that the miracle did not occur earlier, before his social security was established.

The judge is still getting his yearly pension pay, the same amount as the salary. He may have renounced all other associations here, but he clings with fidelity to the income which the white Democratic party put in his reach. It may be a matter of mere sentiment, of course, but it is a tie with the past, just as when one holds on to a piece of ribbon, a lock of hair, a picture postcard, or a snapshot which evokes tender memories and is cherished even though its intrinsic value be nil.

November 17, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Being somewhat behind in my reading, I have just read two articles which appeared during October in Saturday Review of Literature. The first appeared in the October 9th issue and was written by Mr. Clifford Dowdey -- "A Southerner Looks at the Supreme Court." On October 16th the answer appeared written by Fred Rodell, Professor of Law at Yale University -- "School Kids are Color Blind -- A Northerner Looks at the Supreme Court's Decision." Both are very illuminating and I hope that they have come to your attention. I wonder if you would be interested in writing a letter to the editor commenting on another Southerner's point of view in contrast to that of Mr. Dowdey. You could surely do an able job. The publication of a letter to the editor might be one small means of influencing the body of public opinion -- at least that which is affected by the Saturday Review. In the chance that you don't have these copies, I am sending my personal copies to you under separate cover. I will be grateful if you would bring them back when you come down for the meeting next Tuesday.

There was no chance before Dr. Mitchell's departure to discuss with him the memorandum which I mentioned in my conversation with you last Wednesday. I do not, therefore, feel free to send a copy to you until there is such an opportunity. Maybe some day life will get less crowded. Looking forward to seeing you next week.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf

November 29, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am enclosing a part of Mr. Brewer's report which we prepared for use by the staff. You will remember that we spoke of the possibilities for the establishment of "official human relations agencies under state auspices" when you were in last week. You will note that Mr. Brewer confirms my feelings -- namely, that there will be a need for voluntary groups for a long time whether or not official agencies come into being.

I am also sending, because I think you will enjoy it, a copy of some notes which Mr. Menefee sent for staff use as a result of his travels (the material for the public from his travels is reported in New South, as you know).

I am delighted that a program planning committee was authorized and Dr. Mitchell has suggested that we move ahead with it. I think it will be a useful mechanism.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf
encl.2

December 2, 1954
December 2, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I thought pretty carefully about your letter of November 30th. It seems to me in light of the actual circumstances to be unsound and based upon a misunderstanding of the events.

I am satisfied that when there can be opportunity for the two of us to sit down and go over the whole matter we can reach agreement.

Meanwhile, if you will agree, I will withhold my detailed reply until there is opportunity for us to talk the matter through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Rufus E. Clement

December 7, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Being in the writing business myself, I believe people should act on impulse to applaud well-turned language. Your "Letter to the Editor" of the Greenville News was a masterpiece of its kind.

And speaking of literary efforts, I enclose the masterful editorial from the Charleston Post. You have no doubt received more than one copy already, but there is always the off-chance. If you have another copy, you might return this one to us.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

December 9, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I should ere this have sent you a list of the new state personnel with their office address, etc.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 13, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your warm and encouraging note of December 7. As you will know, there is no tonic like praise. When it comes from the judicious, as in your case, it is doubly appreciated.

I have written George to give me the benefit of his, your, and Mrs. Hamilton's opinion on the wisdom of my writing a similar letter to Mr. Morse. I am strongly disposed to do so unless the Atlanta opinion should overrule me.

The editorial from the Charleston Post is herewith returned for your file. Another copy of that editorial which traveled from Rock Hill, South Carolina, to San Francisco and thence to Linville Falls is now in my collection of items under the heading "Department of Nausea."

It is quite obvious that, as state organizations become more active, criticisms such as the one from Mr. Morse, will become more frequent. I, therefore, think it is highly important that we give priority to the publication of the historical review of our work on which you are now engaged. I wish that I had one now to place in the hands of the Greenville News and am sure that there will be many occasions in the near future in which we could wisely use such rebuttal material.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd
Enclosure

December 14, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I checked with Leonard Haas and read him what we all think is your excellent letter to the Editor of the Greenville News.

Leonard was most reluctant to approve the dispatch of a similar letter to Stanley Morse. If you are adamant in your intent to do so, thought Leonard, you would be free to write Morse. But Leonard's every feeling was against trying to get Morse straight with a letter. We have some further evidence that Morse is a part of an instructed and cunning body of Right Wingers.

Again, we greatly like the letter you wrote to the Greenville News, and think it will exactly do the job. I don't know what else to do except to continue to write such letters to people who break out with Morse's kind of stuff.

We haven't made further headway with the pamphlet on "Ten Years of the Southern Regional Council." We agree that it is to be gotten together and it is being worked on. But we are troubled by the problem of getting such a pamphlet printed when there is little likelihood that it will produce revenue.

Meanwhile, Fleming, in looking through New South for the last six or seven years, got hold of the idea of drawing out of each the best of its articles broken down by main topics, and reprinting that as the December-January issue of New South. A much enlarged issue launching the new style of the magazine. It will be expensive, but it will be valuable as a text and we think it will sell widely at about 50¢ a copy.

I admit that the time put on this has been in substitute for the time put on a ten-year review of the Council. But we can see where we can float this one, and the other we haven't. Still, we are preparing a draft of the ten-year review pamphlet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

Mailed copy of Virginia Law Review to MAW 12/10/54

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CHESTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Re[illegible] Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible] ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 8, 1954

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Looking back over the correspondence which has accumulated during my lack of a stenographer, I find two or three minor matters about which you have written me and to which I have not replied.

On November 2 you wrote me that you were sending a copy of the Virginia Law Review containing an article by Mr. McKay. The young lady in your office seems to have neglected to forward this copy, and I will appreciate your reminding her of it.

The same letter brought the highly pleasing information that the Marshall Field Foundation has agreed to contribute for New South $7,000 for 1955, $5,000 for 1956, and $3,000 for 1957.

Then on November 29, you sent copy of a letter to Mr. Freeman advising that the Doris Duke Foundation had sent in $10,000 for 1955. Both of these items constitute intelligence of a high order and, I am sure, will relieve something of the burden under which you live.

I thought that Mr. Menefee's article in the current New South was one of the best things we have printed in some time, full of highly practical information expressed with warmth and good humor.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Hamilton has also sent copy of the typewritten sheets which Menefee prepared for the edification of the staff and others. That boy is good.

My first impression of Mr. Brewer's article is that it is a little too dry and pedagogic for general value. No doubt it contains a great deal of practical information but, it seems to me, lacks the salty and down-to-earth quality by which I set some store.

I recently sent you a copy of a letter which I wrote the Greenville News. I am thinking seriously of sending a similar letter to our critic, Mr. Stanley Morse. I wonder if you would mind reading to Mr. Haas over the phone my letter to the News and see if he would have any reservation about my writing substantially the same letter to Mr. Morse. I should also like to know if you, Harold, or Mrs. Hamilton have any doubt about the wisdom of my writing such a letter.

My impression of Mr. Morse, whom I do not know, is that he is above the average in intelligence and probably wants to do what is right. If that impression is correct, a letter to him might accomplish some good.

The increasing frequency of his communications to the papers makes me feel that it is important to get out as soon as possible Harold's proposed review of our activities during the past ten years. I would certainly put a copy of this in Mr. Morse's hands as soon as it comes off the press.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

see "Critics of me" correspondence file

December 14, 1954

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Warm thanks for your good stout letter to the Greenville News.

That seemed to me to hit every nail right on the top.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

December 15, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: George S. Mitchell
FROM: Harold C. Fleming HCF

Marion Wright called from Linville Falls today with further ideas on establishing our purity with the opinion makers. He had received a reply from Roger Peace, publisher of the Greenville News, who confirmed the fact that the paper expressed its own views in the editorial columns and allowed wide latitude for expression of random views by contributors to the Letters column. He assured Mr. Wright that any future letters like Mr. Morse's would be carefully scrutinized and purged of any libelous references to SRC.

This response prompted Mr. Wright to seek some way of reaching Southern editors in the mass. Specifically he proposed, for purposes of discussion, that we invite the appropriate overall organization of Southern editors or editorial writers to designate a three-man team of its members to visit us, familiarize themselves with our work, and thus be in a position to assure their fellows of our good character. He suggested that we preface this invitation with a strong statement of our appreciation for the fairness with which the press had handled, or not handled, attacks upon the Council.

I raised with Mr. Wright several of the questions that this proposal immediately raised in my mind, and in the ensuing conversation Mr. Wright put forth another alternative proposal -- namely, that we mail to every editor a copy of the projected "Ten Years of SRC" with a covering letter expressing our appreciation to the press and inviting the editors to visit us at any time and learn more about us. This approach might be supplemented by individual letters to papers that subsequently came forth with Morse-type material.

Throughout the conversation Mr. Wright emphasized that he advanced the proposal without dogmatism and was simply aiming at some device for further protecting ourselves with the press. He requested that the staff here and Alfred Mynders consider the matter and inform him of our best judgment.

He had not yet received your letter about the financing difficulties of the proposed promotion document. I spoke of the problem to him and he replied that we might have to think in terms of reallocating some of the existing funds.

cc:gth
rnf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 20, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am to make a talk in Spartanburg on January 1 in connection with a celebration of Emancipation Day. First draft is enclosed. Will you, George, and Mrs. Hamilton please look this over and return it to me with such criticisms as any of you may have?

While I am, of course, concerned with criticisms of the talk per se, I am equally concerned with whether or not it contains any material which, if uttered, might be detrimental to SRC. I should like for the staff at all times to keep in mind the point that whatever I say publicly may affect our fortunes for good or ill. My own view is that nothing in the enclosed would adversely affect us, but the paternal view of a brain child may often be as biased as the paternal view of some brat.

I have written Brother Menefee congratulating him warmly on his article in New South, his suggestions to the staff, and his colorful recollections of his summer in the Appalachian area. There is a boy that we want to hold on to. Twenty years from now he may well be one of the notable figures of this region.

With warm regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

Enclosure

December 23, 1954

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Dr. Mitchell and I have read the draft of your Emancipation Day speech and are of the same opinion: that it is up to your usual high standard of excellence and that, public-relationswise, it is unexceptionable. Mrs. Hamilton is out of the office for a day or two, but I feel confident that she would share our opinion.

I am returning the draft thus promptly with the thought that you might want to send a copy in advance to Mr. Foster and/or Mrs. Spearman, if you haven't already done so. We on the central staff have agreed that whenever any one of us is to visit a state for any purpose we will consult in advance with the appropriate state people. This serves pretty well as a device for maintaining rapport with the state groups.

I am glad that you wrote Menefee a congratulatory letter. He is certainly one of the most able and perceptive fellows we have run onto, and I strongly agree that we ought to keep up relations with him.

All good wishes of the holiday season.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

December 27, 1954

Dictated December 23

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I can't find in my own mind, nor in that of others on the staff, support for the idea you called Harold about and described in your most thoughtful letter of December 20. For good or for ill, the press in this country insists that everybody who gets out into the public eye should run the gauntlet of comment and criticism. That's the way America chooses to learn as much as it learns of the truth. Any effort, however delicate, to get a concerted and almost syndical side arrangement would be met with screams of protest.

So, it seems to me the thing to do is to play the regular game and have at hand the truth. Then when somebody squawks at you with a lie, pass out the truth. I think Americans respect that procedure and only that procedure.

Your letter spurs us to push the harder with the ten-year business.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Re[redacted]c.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 20, 1954

RECEIVED
12/22/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I now put into writing an idea which, in your absence, I discussed over the phone a day or so ago with Harold. The conversation with him has made the idea seem of doubtful value, but I nevertheless jot it down in order that it may receive consideration even if ultimately discarded. Please understand that I am not an advocate of the idea, or committed to it in any way but am merely the propounder of a query.

Some time ago I told you that I felt it would be inevitable that, as we began to set up state units and to become more active than our means have heretofore permitted, we would arouse hostility and that such hostility would manifest itself in the usual charges of lack of loyalty to the government. The Morse letters and other indications bear out my prediction.

As you know, when the attacks upon us came only from the Talmadge sheet and Brother Craft, I felt that we would be wise to ignore such attacks. The disreputable nature of their authors apparently relieved us of any obligation to make reply.

It now seems quite evident to me that the attack upon us will be upon a wider front and from sources slightly more reputable than Talmadge and Craft. This development may well cause us to make an agonizing reappraisal of our strategy. While I am not an advocate of massive retaliation, I think we may well consider a means of anticipating such attacks and prevent them from gaining much currency.

Harold has done a magnificent job of keeping us in good standing with the reputable press and the wire services. I have no fear that such press or services will foster or promote any attacks upon us. But more and more often letters and material attacking us will come to the desks of the editors. More and more they will be confronted with decisions as to whether or not they shall print such material.

Therefore, it would seem wise for us to take proper steps to strengthen the editorial resolve not to damage us. Thus far, I am sure we would be in substantial agreement. Now we come to the delicate question of how to bell the cat. I certainly have no answer which satisfies me, but I timidly advance a suggestion which we may consider.

Let us assume that there exists such a body as Southern Editorial Writers Association, or some other group in which the editors of southern papers are widely represented. I would propose that we draft a letter to the president of such group pointing out our heavy sense of obligation to the group for its fair presentation of the news concerning our activities and not infrequent favorable editorials. We would then tell the president thatwe have no fear that the attitude of reputable southern papers would undergo the slightest change as the result of communications which members of his group might receive. We do anticipate that such communications will increase in number and virulence and that their publication could seriously cripple our cause. These communications, following the McCarthy technique, will attack SRC upon grounds of disloyalty or subversion.

Our letter would further state that we are convinced that the editors have no desire to weaken or damage us but that they may feel some duty to allow wide latitude to their correspondents. The proper limits to this latitude, as we see it, would be reached when the material submitted for publication is demonstrably false or liebelous. While we feel that the editors would know enough about us already to have the definite opinion that charges of subversion could not be supported, we should like to place them in a position to satisfy themselves beyond peradventure that such was the case.

Hence we would welcome the president's appointment of a committee of three or five to familiarize itself thoroughly with our background, purposes, personnel, accomplishments, and program. If such committee were appointed, we should be glad to have it spend a day or two in Atlanta at our expense for the purpose of acquiring such familiarity. We would not expect any publicity to attend the appointment of the committee, its investigation, or

its conclusions. But we would hope that if its conclusions should be favorable to us and if unfair attacks should be made upon us, the committee might privately advise any member which gave publicity to such attacks that it had made such investigation and found the attacks to be completely unwarranted.

If this procedure should be carried out, we would hope that the result which would follow would be that an editor who printed such a communication and then received such a report from the committee would subject to very careful scrutiny any communications thereafter received.

So much for my idea.

I wrote the editor of the Greenville News the letter of which you received a copy. His reply, which I hope to enclose, indicates that my naked and unsupported letter might cause him to be more careful in the future. I am a partisan of SRC. We have no right to ask him to accept my unsupported statements as to the purity of our intentions. I think the average editor would be much more disposed to pay attention to the findings of a committee from his own group than he would to a letter from a partisan.

The ideal arrangement would be that we should be furnished with a considerable number of signed bills of health by the committee. Then, when it came to our notice that a paper had printed about us derogatory information, in addition to our own letter of mild protest, we might enclose a copy of the committee's conclusions.

This idea was suggested in part by your own observation some months ago that we would be in excellent shape if we had an authoritative declaration by some impartial body on the point of our loyalty. The editors themselves would seem to be the ideal group if we could get them to do it.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Harold seems to think that it is doubtful that there exists an association which could be said to have even moral control of the policies of its members. I am sure that is correct. Then the next best move might be when an article appears in a paper in any state, we would ask the president of the state press association of that state to make his own investigation of us and allow us to quote him in communicating with the editors of his state.

What we may finally come up with will be that we merely write the offending editor a letter similar to my letter to the Greenville News, enclosing a copy of the pamphlet on which Harold is now working designed to give the answer to

the subversion charge. The disadvantage of this course is that the damage is already done before we step into the picture.

We will perhaps leave the officers of state divisions in a somewhat awkward position if we do not take timely steps to ward off these attacks upon their work. Certainly, if we had some authoritative finding by editors, we would put the state officers in fine position if they could call upon an offending editor armed with the carefully considered conclusions of a responsible agent of the southern press association or the state press association of the particular state involved.

In looking back over what I have written, I find that it has a little bit of the ring of argument in support of a policy. I do not intend that. I merely wish to develop the idea as clearly as I can without indicating any attachment to it on my own part.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

P. S. I hope you will get Mr. Mynder's views, and possibly Mr. Popham's on the suggested procedure.

M. A. W.

M. A. W.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
1/3/55
Southern Regional Council

December 30, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am in complete agreement with the decision of you and others on the staff disapproving my suggestion as to how the editors might be handled. I advanced the idea because we have been casting about for some method of decreasing the volume of unfavorable publicity. My suggestion was the only one which occurred to me as being worthy of consideration.

I am entirely of opinion that we shall have to take our chances--as everybody else does--with the good will and good judgment of our editorial friends.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

FILE COPY

PROCLAMATION DAY ADDRESS BY MARION A. WRIGHT
Spartanburg, South Carolina
January 1, 1955

We meet today to observe one of the significant events in human history. The Emancipation Proclamation takes rank with Magna Charta, the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights as an epoch-marking event in man's eternal struggle to be free. The temptation is strong merely to celebrate, to eulogize, to sing our hallelujahs. But surely Lincoln needs no eulogy at our hands and surely, in these times, there is but little profit in the backward view. As Victor Hugo observed, "If God had intended that man should look backward, He would have given him eyes in the back of his head." We should have eyes for today and tomorrow rather than for 1865.

Indeed, our pleasant quarrel is with those who are linked in sympathy and attitude with 1865, with those who fail fully to comprehend what is taking place in the world about them, to be aware of the mighty forces, the currents and tides which everywhere bear mankind to a greater destiny.

Having thus mildly disparaged the historical viewpoint, let me retreat quickly to a little more tenable ground. It is one thing to indulge in glorification of past events and to eulogize historical figures; it is something else to draw lessons from those moving days so that we in 1955 may guide our steps aright. The proper use of history is not as a vantage point for adulation of our ancestors, but as a lamp to light the way.

And I think one lesson immediately emerges. Every advance which men have made in their quest for greater freedom and justice has been opposed; freedom has come as the result of struggle; it has never been handed down as a gift from above; it has always been achieved from below. The Barons at Runnymede wrested their charter from King John; it was not handed to them on a silver platter.

This opposition, I submit, has always been based upon a false premise. The premise is that liberty may only be extended to the group seeking or demanding it at the cost of some detriment or penalty to the other group; that increased liberty to one segment of society means the surrender of something of substantial value by other segments. The false premise, in short, is that the process of enlarging some men's rights under law may be likened to a deal by which one party must lose if the other gains.

Who may doubt that King John and all of British royalty felt that their cause was irreparably damaged by Magna Charta, that things had come to a pretty pass -- as they probably expressed it -- when the Barons were given some voice in their government? They must have wailed that their "traditions," their "way of life" (Where have we heard those words before?) were being shamelessly ignored or destroyed by this new freedom.

But how far they were from the truth!

Monarchy in England survives in pristine vigor, not in spite of this and other broad grants of rights, but because of such grants. Survey the world. It is a cemetary for those royal houses which held power in unrelaxed hands and denied men's legitimate aspirations to be free. Tick them off. France, Spain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and all the rest. They are but yellow pages in Time's book. But the British monarchy has survived the attrition of

the years and all the ordeals of fire, flood, pestilence, and war -- and abides today as a steadying and potent force in world affairs.

The nation has survived with the monarchy -- survived because of the unfaltering loyalty of the free men of Britain. They are loyal because they are free.

But we do not have to go abroad for illustrations of the point that extensions of liberty are always strongly opposed upon the false premise that they would be detrimental to the interests of the dominant group. This day reminds of such a phase of American history. President Lincoln's proclamation created throughout the South a degree of mental anguish which has had no parallel -- not even in the wailings of Governor Byrnes and Governor Talmadge -- and oh, yes, Mr. Bowles. Talk about your "traditions," your "way of life." The Proclamation was a block buster.

Well, some 90 years have elapsed since that fateful day. Nowhere in America outside of a mental institution would a voice be raised in defense of slavery. No person of sanity would contend that the extension of freedom to a minority diminished to any degree the freedom of the majority. And no one would deny that the nation is infinitely stronger because peopled by free men than it would have been half slave and half free.

What did the white South, which fought so valiantly for slavery, gain from its abolition? It gained release from the stultifying notion that manual labor was somehow dishonorable. (To tell you the truth, we are not yet quite rid of that notion.) It gained escape from the harsh, egotistic and autocratic spirit inseparable from mastery. It gained the incentive and inducement to turn to science and invention to provide substitutes for lost free labor and therefy elevated standards of living throughout the region. It gained some measure of redemption from the belief that human life was a cheap commodity for sale on the auction block, a conviction still reflected in our homicide statistics. But why protract this catalogue of social gains? No intelligent white southerner now questions that his ancestors, who fought for slavery and lamented its passing, should have hailed that passing with delight.

Indeed, civilized men have come at last to realize that their destinies are so inter-twined that there is no complete freedom for anyone of us while another is in bondage; that whatever dignifies and enriches another's life dignifies and enriches our own life. All Englishmen, royalty and commoners alike, have led fuller and richer lives because King John signed the Charter. All Americans, white and black alike, have led fuller and richer lives because Lincoln signed the Proclamation.

The emancipation of the slave means also the emancipation of the master.

Now, I am sure that what I have said is so obviously true that there would be no dissent by any intelligent South Carolinian. That is to say, I believe we would all be in agreement on the points that the nation as a whole could not have survived with legalized slavery; that the South is far stronger and more civilized with all men free than with half of them slaves, and that emancipation brought to white people of the region blessings comparable to those it brought the Negro. If I seem to labor the point that grant of freedom for some of us strengthens and enlarges the freedom of all the rest of us, I do so because the point seems to have application to this day. It is a lesson which 1865 may well teach 1955.

I am sure that if the question were asked anywhere in the country -- Do you believe in slavery? -- there would be no affirmative answer. But the correct answer may depend upon definition.

What we would be thinking of, of course, is a condition of enforced servitude -- a master and servant relationship of the ante-bellum kind. That slavery has no champions, no defenders.

But in a broader sense, slavery is a lack of privilege to do what free men do. There was the slavery of chains which merely restrained and limited locomotion. There may be the slavery of law and custom which commands: Use the rear seats. Don't sit in that grandstand. Don't go in that waiting room. Don't eat in that restaurant. Don't attend that church. Don't go to that school. Don't use that library.

That slavery is subtle. The chains don't show. But wounds inflicted by custom may be fully as deep and permanent as leg sores made by shackles.

Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation but half completed, while millions of our fellow citizens are denied the right to use all of the instrumentalities, institutions and facilities of government upon precisely the same terms as every other citizen.

Slavery was merely the ultimate in denial of civil rights. Whatever arguments there may have been against slavery apply with equal force to every form of denial of civil rights. The benefits which flowed to the white race -- and they were incalculable -- from emancipation will flow in as great degree from every extension of civil rights. The dramatic victories which the Negroes have won in the courts have been victories for us all. (I sometimes think NAACP ought to change its name to National Association for Advancement of All People.)

We meet in the aftermath of the most significant of those victories. Until May 17, 1954, the racial customs and folk ways of the South were embedded in law -- even in some state constitutions. It was actually illegal for people of different races to be decent to each other. Such customs now have no legal buttress. Of course, that is for the moment an over-statement. But I am sure that none of us is so blind that he cannot see that the historian of the future will record that legally supported racial discrimination, however it may be manifested, received its mortal thrust on May 17.

So the task of Southern people is now greatly simplified. Instead of having to change their laws, they have merely to observe the law.

Instead of being decent in conflict with law they have merely to be decent in accordance with law.

There is not the slightest doubt of the result. Too many forces are on the side of liberalism. The liberals now have the heavy artillery. Consider.

Every man can be made to realize that the security of his own person and property under the law is intimately bound up with every other man's rights under the law. The public official who winks at denial of your rights today may wink at denial of mine tomorrow. Winking may become a habit, you know.

Evasion of one Supreme Court decision which I don't like will lead inevitably to evasion of others which I do like. What dragon's teeth are sowed by ir-

responsible politicians who advocate circumvention of a Supreme Court decision! And how doubly contemptible is that course when urged by a former member of the court!

Conspiracy among public officials today to deprive one group of citizens of their rights under the law will lead tomorrow to a conspiracy affecting another group -- for example, the cotton mill workers, the labor unions, the Catholics, the tobacco or cotton grower. Conspiracy, like winking, may become a habit.

Let no one delude himself into thinking that skullduggery, fraud, and evasion practiced upon one race will be limited to that race. If successfully employed today against a color minority, it will be used tomorrow upon an occupational, a religious, or other minority. No man's liberties are safe once such standards of public conduct are tolerated.

But those are negative considerations. They urge the South to follow one course because of penalties which will attend another. That is, to be sure, legitimate argument. But, happily, most of us are so constituted that the affirmative approach makes the stronger appeal. So, for the moment, let us "eliminate the negative, accentuate the positive." What will the white South gain from the end of racial discrimination?

It will gain escape from delusions of superiority, which are a hang-over from the old master-servant days. It will be able to utilize in governmental and social planning and operation all the brains, talents and skills of the community -- not just half. It will escape the financial drain entailed by duplicating schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, and the like. It will eliminate the day to day causes of irritation and friction which go with enforcing arbitrary and wholly foolish rules of conduct touching segregation. Perhaps it may all be summed up by saying that, for the first time in their lives, white southerners may use without flinching and sense of guilt such ancient phrases as "equality before the law," "equality of opportunity," "brotherhood of men," "fatherhood of God."

Such considerations will, in my opinion, bring to speedy death the dishonorable suggestions occasionally made that South Carolina take steps to avoid compliance with the law of the land. There is too large a streak of decency in all of us. We become ashamed of a course of action which is little and mean.

We are gregarious and social by nature. We instinctively grope for every proffered hand. The basic assumption of the segregationist -- and it is absolutely true -- is that unless people of different races are restrained by law, they will like each other.

More of our heavy artillery:

Millions of veterans are not disposed to strangle the fraternity which had its birth in Europe, in the Pacific, in Korea. In 22 counties of a state not too far from here, the Veteran's Administration left to the GI's themselves the question of receiving their training on a segregated or non-segregated basis. The unanimous decision was against segregation. One dose of actual democracy at work lasts a long time.

At the core of whatever religion we profess, whether organized or not, there

lies the compulsion to recognize every other man's complete equality. Southern churches are now astir and on the move. They now do penance and compensate for their lamentable folly of the 60's when they furnished ecclesiastical support for the cause of slavery. They now present a solid front in the liberal cause; theirs is the most potent influence in the South. They will win.

Such are some of the weapons in our arsenal: The awareness of every person that his own rights are imperilled if another's are unjustly impaired; our natural impulse to be decent to all others; our social instinct; the experience in democracy granted to our veterans, and the new militance of Southern churches. But, above all, there is the eagerness of our young people in schools and colleges to drop practices which for too long have warped and twisted their lives.

The winds, the tides, the stars are on our side. Our task is merely to use with wisdom the enormous natural advantages which now are ours.

To none of us is given the power infallibly to read the future. No doubt Mr. Lincoln, in signing the proclamations, did not foresee that what he then did set in motion forces culminating in our court's historic decisions of May 17. Yet, looking back, the connection is there. Indeed, it extends on back to Magna Charta and the earliest religious documents which planted the seed of man's equality before the throne. It was but a step to man's equality before the law, and but a matter of the growth of men's minds until the idea of equality becomes inconsistent with discrimination based upon race -- in school rooms or elsewhere.

It requires no gift of prophecy now to see the full achievement of civil rights in every field. The legal victories have all been won -- except for minor rear guard delaying actions. Look well at certain of our politicians -- they are the last of their line, the line which rose to power by blowing on the embers of racial prejudice.

With the end of the legal phases of the struggle, we may think less of rights and more of civilities. And that is a distinct gain for all of us. It is not so important that we have the right to sit next to another as that we shall offer him our seat if courtesy requires.

The legal phases of the civil rights struggle involved the work of experts, men learned in the law -- backed, to be sure, by those having courage to bring the suits and finance them. But in that phase there was no place where all of us might have a hand, throw our weight about. As willing as we might have been, the matters involved were for those wise men, the lawyers and judges.

That is all ended now, or soon will be. What are required from this point on, in the period of armistice and truce, are attitudes of mind and heart which are within the reach of us all -- patience, tolerance, good will, without gloating on the one side or recrimination on the other. No one of us is so humble or inconspicuous that he cannot make his influence for good felt in the months and years ahead.

It is one of the happy coincidences of our history that the author of the Emancipation Proclamation gave the formula for reconciliation -- Malice toward none, charity for all. If we here in South Carolina can exhibit some of Lincoln's spirit, reflect in our words and acts and thoughts a measure of his nobility, we shall look back with indescribable relief upon the undemocratic mode of life which we so long endured and move with grace and dignity into a new and better era.

January 3, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

One further word about the newspaper proposal which we discussed on the telephone and about which you and Dr. Mitchell have since exchanged correspondence.

As I said in our telephone conversation, I think the idea of circulating the proposed "Ten Years of SRC" to Southern editors would be a useful and workable way of helping to protect our interests with them. I don't believe Dr. Mitchell intended to rule out the desirability of this step, although of course the expense of it will have to be worked out in relation to other demands on the budget.

As to the proposed pamphlet itself, I should assure you that it is high on my list of priorities and that I will come up with a draft as soon as I can possibly manage it. The demands of New South in transition have been heavy and, since that is an imperative obligation, I have regretfully had to delay work on the historical document. Happily there is good prospect of adding to the staff soon an information assistant, made possible by the Doris Duke grant. This badly needed assistance should work wonders in breaking bottlenecks here.

I hope you and Mrs. Wright had an enjoyable Christmas and New Year holiday.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

January 17, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

It was a pleasure to do up your Proclamation Address at Spartanburg.

Fifty copies are en route under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Rae Fiszman
Central Office

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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KATHERINE STONEY
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 24, 1955

JAN 27 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I will try to catch up with various matters which have arisen in correspondence or which have occurred to me.

1. The North Carolina Legislature will probably enact a law which will make the county school districts in control of such matters as transportation, assignment of pupils, employment of teachers, etc. It was recommended by the Governor and I have only the sketchiest idea of what the proposed bill will contain. I seem to have acquired the impression that probably certain other Southern states are considering similar legislation.

Assuming that such legislation should be adopted by the Appalachian states, the opportunity would seem to be presented to make an effort to induce certain of the Appalachian counties to terminate segregation at the beginning of the 1955-56 school term without regard to what the Supreme Court may say. I recall that Mr. Menefee was under the impression that one or two North Carolina counties (probably Mitchell and Avery) were quite prepared to institute the new order at the beginning of the current term but could not do so because the schools were operated with the State as a unit. It now occurs to me that Mr. Menefee might be of great value in persuading certain of the Appalachian counties to make the experiment. With that in mind, I wonder if it might not be well to ask him to write you fully his impressions as to the most favorable counties and the persons living within those counties who might be enlisted in bringing about the change. If the legislation should be enacted and if Mr. Menefee felt that a visit from him to certain counties could influence the result, it might not be a bad idea to employ him for a week to revisit such areas. I leave the matter to your better judgement.

9TH ← 2. If it should appear that certain Appalachian counties would be willing to make the change and that they felt that some kind of guidance would be helpful to them, I would hope that we might have one or two people on our staff who could go to such counties for conferences with proper persons, or that we might induce the two charming Quaker girls who operated in Washington to undertake such work for us.

3. You might call Harold Fleming's attention to the fact, of which he is probably already aware, that three reputable law journals have recently had articles on the proposed methods of evading the consequences of the Supreme Court decision. My impression is that all three of them have concluded that any proposal now under consideration would be of very doubtful constitutionality. While there are probably others, the three which I have in mind are:

HCF

The School Segregation Decision by the Institute of Government of the University of North Carolina

Segregation and Public Relation in the Virginia Law Review for October, 1954.

The Legal Standing of the South's School Systems' Proposals by Francis B. Nicholson in the University of South Carolina Law Quarterly of the current issue

I have the first two above listed and am writing for the third. It occurs to me that Fleming might wish to run some brief summary of the three and such others as may have come to his notice in New South. At a time when some of the Southern states are toying with the idea of evasion, it might be well for them to know that the better legal minds of the South have no confidence in the success of any of these proposals.

4. In connection with the issue of New South which will review something of our history and accomplishments, the natural modesty of you and Harold may prompt you to go a little lightly on words in our praise. I am less restrained by such considerations. In support of my vulgar view your attention is directed to the Southern School News for January 6, 1955, in which are printed a host of letters in commendation of SERC. This precedent may fortify Fleming when he comes to getting out our own publication.

HCF

5. Assuming that SERC is building up something in the nature of a library on the segregation issue since the Supreme Court decisions and assuming that such organization will have only a temporary existence, I wonder if they might commit themselves now to presenting us with their library upon the completion of their task. It would be quite valuable for us to have in the future conferences material for our own use and the use of scholars who might consult us.

HCF

RF 6. Please thank Mrs. Fiszman for the excellent mimeographed copies of my Spartanburg speech which came in yesterday.

FR 7. The North Carolina Division is moving forward on a revision of its by-laws in favor of which I have just voted by mail. To show you how expertly they are handling this matter I am enclosing the material which they sent to all members.

noted by FR 9T# 1tcf shudge seen by DT + KS. 8. Mr. D'Orlando's letter is mildly disturbing. Without having thought too much about it, my present position (always subject to change) is that it seems to be a matter of principle and conscience with Mr. D'Orlando not to sign the questionnaire. I do not feel that we should ask him to go contrary to his convictions on a matter which he deems to be one of principle.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

Enclosure

January 24, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We have had a little flurry on tax exemption. Guy Wells, for the Georgia Committee, applied to several foundations for help, and they asked for evidence of tax exemption. He was confident that his long-standing friendship with a high official in the tax office in Atlanta would assist approval. But the matter had to go to Washington, and came back from Washington granting the Georgia Committee exemption from taxation on its own income, but not exemption on contributions to it. The Treasury people said appeal could be made within thirty days. Here's Treasury's letter to Guy Wells and the principal documents which accompanied the letter of appeal sent to the Treasury January 19th.

This followed religiously the directions for protest sent us by Treasury, which directions, for time-saving, I have not had copied to send on to you.

The relationship of the letters of protest and the documents accompanying it were carefully gone over by Leonard Haas and approved ahead of time by him.

I expect that there will be a call for Guy Wells and myself to go to Washington and work on it.

Meanwhile, I wish you would have the problem in your head. Of course if this precedent stands we are slaughtered.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Marion's letter

January 28, 1955

TO: HCF

This came in just before my leaving on February 28th.

I have skimmed through it.

Also, I have picked up the situation about placing the matter before David Freeman.

Will you read Marion's letter and be prepared to advise further when I get back about February 7th.

no connection copy made

January 28, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Grace Hamilton will work out next steps on your Appalachian proposals. Our general feeling is that the job should be put down onto the state organizations. We will apprise them fully (partially done already) as to Menefee's findings in the Appalachian area. Menefee is off doing graduate work and probably is not available. But we will get word out to the appropriate states that they could themselves try to get hold of Menefee if they needed him for short-run affairs. Harold is working on the various other things that came in his realm.

Audit about complete. Should be available to you in a few days.

Office going smoothly. Have been some rough spots.

See you at Executive Committee meeting February 17th. Nice if you could be here a day or two before.

I am out this coming week. Detroit tonight, Virginia, to organize early next week. Meetings in Petersburg and Washington. And home next Friday by air.

Re your Ku Klux letter. Guy Wells told me that some years back he received a visit from a Finnish gentleman newly in Georgia who said that in Georgia he wished to see three things; a mule, a peanut, and a Ku Klux. Mr. Wells said, "I can show you one Georgia legislator who is all three."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Staff

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 31, 1955

FEB 2 1955

FEB 2 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I noticed in yesterday's Asheville Citizen a news item which seems to me to be important and which, I am glad to say, has aroused no ripple of comment so far as I know.

The item reported that a commission appointed some time ago either by the legislature or Governor Umstead, to review and modernize the North Carolina school laws had submitted its recommendations. They proposed to reduce the number of pertinent statutes by more than a hundred, repealing those which were obsolete. The point of significance is that the commission recommended the repeal of all statutes requiring separation of the races in education. The reason given was the obvious one that the Supreme Court decisions had rendered all of the statutes ineffective.

This state, with the wisdom which we have come to expect of it, is quite obviously preparing to adhere to the law as declared by the Supreme Court. Thus far my impression is that no newspaper or reputable politician has been critical of this very wise recommendation.

I thought you may not have seen the item, and it may serve to cheer you up as it did me.

Best regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

February 4, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

This letter will be something of a catchall for matters raised in recent correspondence.

1. We have the UNC Institute of Government's publication, but had not known about the articles in the Virginia Law Review and the University of South Carolina Law Quarterly. Would it inconvenience you to send the latter two on loan? If it would, we can seek out copies of our own. A summary of such articles is very appropriate for New South and is one of the items on my agenda.

2. I pledge you that I will be completely immodest in using words of praise about the Council in the projected booklet.

3. SERS is indeed building up a library. They have asked us to supply appropriate SRC material. But Pete McKnight, the director, told me in a recent letter that the library is destined for some outstanding Southern university. This is in accord with the wishes of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. I fear there is little chance that they would reconsider in our favor.

4. We do not have in hand the governors' messages to the Southern legislatures except in the case of Georgia. The only ready ways of securing them that I'm aware of are (a) from newspaper reprints of the text; (b) by requesting them from the governors directly. One way or another, we will try to collect them for you.

5. We appreciated the mention of the item from the Asheville Citizen reporting the recommendations of the governor's commission. That seems to us worthy of notice in New South. *

6. After what must seem a long hiatus, New South will be in public evidence again in new and refurbished form. The special issue printing articles from the last nine years has just come from the printer and should reach you presently under separate cover. We hope it will make something of a splash. The February issue -- the first regular issue in the new format -- is well in the works and should be forthcoming within the next two weeks. I will welcome your reaction to both of these publications.

Best regards.

* Clipping was not enclosed. Would like to see it

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Re[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]ANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 8, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FEB 10 1955

Dear George:

When we meet on February 17, nine months will have elapsed since the decisions were handed down in the school cases. I believe that when the decisions were handed down either you or Harold or both issued some statement in behalf of the Council. So far as I know, there has been no other public expression from us to the present date.

I quite agree with the advisibility of making our statements relatively infrequent. But it would seem that, with the southern legislatures in session and with some of them considering ways and means of circumventing the decisions, we might be under the duty of stating some of the objections and difficulties attending the proposed plans. If this is not done and the legislatures adopt some of the devices which they are considering and then adjourn, we might be in the position of having let the issues go by default.

With that in mind I have prepared a rough draft of a statement which we might issue following our meeting, if it should be approved by the Executive Committee. The enclosed is by no means a final or definitive statement but is intended merely to afford the basis for discussion by the Executive Committee.

You and the staff may have solid reasons why no such statement should be issued. I will bow to your better judgement, if that is the case. Meanwhile, if you approve of the general idea, I suggest that you get this draft into the

best possible form for discussion by the Executive Committee.

The three publications referred to in the statement and requested by Harold are going forward under separate cover. I should like to pick them up when I come down to Atlanta.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

Enclosure

P.S. Mr. Haas might be sounded out on any objection from the legal (tax, exption) angle.

M. A. W.

February 8, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

In your letter of January 24th to Dr. Mitchell, you mentioned in Point Seven that you were pleased at how well the North Carolina Council was moving forward, particularly in the revision of their by-laws. We believe that we are fortunate in having Harry Jones as our Executive Secretary in North Carolina. He is a well qualified and experienced professional in the field of human relations and a man who is dedicated to improving human relations in all of their many facets. One of the great tasks which he faces at this time is the strengthening of the North Carolina Board of Directors, and there is a committee working on this problem at the present time. It would be helpful to him and to that committee if you would have any names to suggest as potential members of the North Carolina Council.

I am going to spend the next week, roughly, helping the Florida group strengthen its organizational ties with its membership and other similar local groups in the state. We also have planned a trip to Richmond to help get that organization off the ground. The latter part of the month I will make a swing through Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, and attend several state executive committee meetings and assist program committees in planning their activities in the next few months.

I look forward to seeing you at the executive committee meeting on the 18th as I shall probably fly back to Atlanta from Jacksonville, Florida.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
Program

FBR/rnf
cc: HSJ

"Topknot"
LINVILLE FALLS,
NORTH CAROLINA

Feb. 10, 1955.

Dear Harold:

Regret lack of stenographer. Excuse it, please.

In re the proposed statement by S.R.'s, mailed a days or so ago, I had overlooked Prof. Fey's article beginning at Page 110 of Changing Patterns just to hand. Of course, it should be noted in any statement we might issue.

I enclose original of the statement showing appropriate amendments on Page 5 and Insert on Page 7, which may meet the situation, anyhow. They will be suggestive to you.

Upon reflection, I am more strongly disposed to feel that some such statement should be issued. Only a few lawyers have seen the quoted briefs. The public, I feel, is completely unaware of the vulnerable nature of the proposals for evasion. The public should know. It seems peculiarly our mission and responsibility to inform the public. Since the issue now pends in legislatures, the information should be made available at once to the largest possible audience.

You will recall that we vetoed Dr. Mays' suggestion that we make some official pronouncement on the decisions. There are probably many who feel, with him, that we should have acted at that time. It seems that now we have a solid reason for taking action.

Mr. Haas ought to approve if anything is done. Changing Patterns is monumental. Hope to write you more coherently tomorrow when I have an amanuensis.

M. G. W.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 12, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read practically every word of Changing Patterns. I think it is a great achievement. All of us are indebted to you for having displayed so convincingly substantial evidence of the progress which has been made. I hope there is no undue immodesty on our part in assuming that we may have contributed to that progress.

I do hope that ways and means may be found for getting this publication not only into the hands of the select clientele which we may have heretofore reached but also into the hands of those who are perhaps not so scholarly or discriminating. If it could be read by the mythical average man, I think he would be convinced that inexorable forces operating on the side of justice in the South and that he has heretofore frequently been misled by those occupying high station.

Of course you have in your file the February 3 issue of Southern School News. To your attention or the attention of George Mitchell I want to call a few items of interest:

1. The Governor of Delaware has asked the legislature to create a State Human Relations Council. Might it not be a good idea for us to distribute to the state organizations copies of the Delaware bill--assuming that one is introduced--in order that they may keep in mind that ultimately we would hope that all southern states will follow the same course?

2. There exists a Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, appointed by the governor. That commission has submitted highly

intelligent recommendations. Would it be possible and desirable for us to establish some kind of contact with the commission by which they would keep us posted on all of their plans?

3. Chapel Hill has created an Interracial Fellowship for the Schools which is evidently doing some ~~own~~ thinking on its own account. We ought to keep in close touch with that group through the North Carolina division.

I think that with the February 3 issue Southern School News has begun to hit its stride.

With reference to the New South of the future, I make these random observations. Up until this time, New South has perforce been an entirely sober, sedate, almost grim, publication. That was inevitable in view of the fact that we were on the defensive and attempting to make progress against strongly intrenched opposition. As I see it, now the opposition is on the defensive. It is in conflict with the law of the land, all of the churches and the forces of enlightenment generally.

If southern people have learned anything, they must have learned that their politicians in a great many instances have led them astray. Governor Johnston had South Carolina futilely to repeal all of its primary election laws. Governor Byrnes, upon the assumption that separate but equal doctrine would continue to prevail, has had the state spend many millions on separate schools. All political leaders who have proposed Boswell amendments and the like have been made to look very foolish.

As long as these leaders were little tin gods to their constituents, we had to treat them with a feigned reverence. Certainly, events have whittled them down to size and we need no longer handle them so gingerly.

My point is that from this time on it seems to me that we may well sound a somewhat lighter note, employing the gently ironic touch, much as a parent would handle the exhibitionist child. The idea requires much more elaboration than I can now give it but, in essence, it would be the lawyer's tactic of laughing the opposition out of court. It would be the Nietsha (?) idea of "the laughing lion." Instead of treating these gentlemen seriously, we should picture them as amiable ignoramuses.

I will reach Atlanta, I hope, on the morning of February 16. We may discuss the idea more fully at that time. If the finance committee proposal is still pending and it is decided that I go to see anyone in Atlanta, I will have the 16th for that purpose.

With warm regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

M. A. Wright

February 14, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I hasten to get off to you and to Rufus Clement a tentative Agenda for the meeting February 17th. Harold is drafting a possible statement. He is considerably influenced by your detailed one, but for the time being we would propose that the Executive Committee think in terms of something shorter and useable a bit later on when we expect that adventitiously it would be widely used.

Your analysis we like, and think that there will be a proposal for its use.

I have long thought that somebody else besides me should have the power of co-signature on SRC checks. Obviously when I am away there is embarrassment about how things get paid.

As to bonds. I am bonded for $40,000, so is Katherine Stoney. The bond we have covers any other officer of the Council up to $10,000. So it costs us nothing to permit another officer to sign, provided we do not attempt to cover the other officer for sums in excess of $10,000. I can't imagine Katherine Stoney, as Secretary-Treasurer, proposing any check as big as $10,000, and certainly no check in excess of that sum, for an officer only bonded up to that sum.

The problem I want you to put your corporation experience on is that of drafting a resolution of the Executive Committee which would make the banks docile to aiding an additional recognised signature. The Executive Committee has its choice of Harold Fleming, Grace Hamilton, or even Fred Routh or C. H. Parrish, all four being Assistant Directors. On seniority it belongs to Fleming. But seniority need not rule.

My lay draft is as follows:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, being the competent body under the By-Laws of the Council, by this instrument empowers _____ to countersign with the Secretary-Treasurer, official checks on the Council's money in capacity as Assistant Director. ~~whenever the absence of the Executive Director makes this desirable.~~ This authorization is in addition to the authorization heretofore granted George S. Mitchell, Executive Director.

***

Morris Abram and I attempted to persuade Edward Vincent to be Treasurer and Chairman of the Finance Committee. Willing to be a member of the Finance Committee, but doesn't want to be Treasurer and Chairman. So we still have the problem of finding a Treasurer and Chairman.

***

Come down as early as you can and stay as long as you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
cc: HCF

File Copy.
2/17/55

Nine months have elapsed since the historic decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases. During that interval there has been ample opportunity for public opinion to find expression and for state policy to crystallize into proposed legislation inspired by the decisions. In only four Southern states -- Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina -- has there been officially expressed determination to preserve a segregated school system regardless of the decisions. The remaining affected states have adopted a "wait and see" attitude, or have already begun compliance, or have made preparations to comply.

The four dissident states do not appear to have concerted on policy, since their proposals for non-compliance are not identical in nature, though having certain features in common. Their objective is, of course, the same: the continuance of a segregated school system by employment of legal stratagems which, it is hoped by their advocates, would stand up under attack upon constitutional grounds.

The plans thus far proposed may be summarized as follows:

1. The conveyance or lease of school property to individuals or corporations for the purpose of conducting private segregated schools.

2. State grants of tuition to individual pupils attending such schools.

3. Conferring blanket authority upon school boards of trustees to assign pupils to schools.

4. In South Carolina, the setting up of a tri-school system with one school for whites, one for Negroes and one for members of both races with the right to the pupil to determine which school he will attend.

5. The gerrymandering of school district lines in such a way that only white residents would live in the area of the white school and only Negro residents would live in the area of the Negro school.

Such, in brief, are the best expedients which advocates of continued segregation have been able to devise. The vast perils and difficulties attendant upon such courses of action are obvious.

The grant or lease of hundreds of millions of dollars of public property; the termination of employment of hundreds of teachers who have moral, if not legal, rights to continued tenure and vested interests in retirement funds; the striking down by one act of standards governing operation of schools, standards developed by decades of study and experience; the surrender by the states of any control over the qualifications of teachers: such are among the palpable, evident and grave evils inherent in a state's attempt to withdraw from the field of public education.

The tuition grant plan, under which the state pays a pupil's tuition at a private school presents its own serious questions. The schools would necessarily operate without instructional supervision by the state. Would such schools, so operating, meet academic standards so that children who attended them would be able to secure admittance to colleges and professional schools? Apart from the question of the degree of respect diplomas from such schools would receive from reputable colleges and universities, would the pupils of such hastily established and unsupervised institutions receive the quality of education to which they are entitled? Would the state receive full value for its tuition dollar? Would not such a system lend itself to widespread imposition on the state

by parents and guardians?

Implicit in the grant of blanket authority to trustees to assign pupils to schools is the intent that residence near a school would be no guarantee of attendance at such school. The convenience of parents and pupils might be completely disregarded at the whim of trustees. Bus schedules and routes would become a major problem under a system by which a single child living within a hundred yards of a school must be hauled twenty miles to another school. The cost of transportation would be greatly increased. The child's opportunity to perform helpful home and farm tasks in before-school and after-school hours is diminished with each unnecessary mile he is transported.

It has been generally admitted by advocates of segregation that maintenance of a dual system of schools greatly increased the expense and difficulties of school operation. The tri-school plan, suggested in South Carolina, would further increase the burden. It must be borne in mind that all three schools would have to provide completely equal facilities and instruction even if only a handful of pupils should attend one of the three schools.

The establishment of school district lines in the rural south so that only whites would live in one district and only Negroes in another is so obviously impossible that the plan may be dismissed without comment.

Such are the proposed plans and some of the practical questions they present.

But there remains a far larger question: Would any of these plans stand up under attack upon constitutional grounds? That question has lately been thoroughly considered by three competent Southern authorities. Reference is had to an article by Prof. James C. N. Paul, of the University

of North Carolina, "The Decision and Some Alternatives - A Legal Analysis," published by the University's Institute of Government; "The Legal Standing of the South's School Resistance Proposals" by Prof. Francis B. Nicholson of the College of Law of Stetson University, published in the Fall, 1954, issue of The South Carolina Law Quarterly; and "A Legal View of Segregation Plans" by Dean John T. Fey of the George Washington Law School, published in New South of September, 1954. These scholarly and dispassionate articles should be required reading for Southern legislators now grappling with the region's school problems.

Prof. Paul points out that for the private school plan to meet the constitutional test there must be no form of "state action" in connection with the establishment, maintenance, operation or subsidization of such schools. The attempt to divorce the state from various enterprises, so that it might retain all the supposed benefits of unconstitutional action without in a legal sense being a party to the action, has recently been been before the Supreme Court. The cases analyzed by Prof. Paul involve racial restrictive covenants in deeds, primary elections and labor unions. Following the analysis, Prof. Paul writes:

> It is readily apparent from the above that there is no square precedent or "rule of law" to settle the private school issue. The problem is one of deciding whether there is or is not "state action" in the operation of the school. And the cases have not tackled this issue by discussing the "state action" doctrine in abstract terms. Still, some generalizations may perhaps be offered. The cases show that labels mean little; nor is it decisive that an alleged racial discrimination has been wrought by some person or group which occupies no official relationship with the state. All of the cases are distinguishable. But it is also apparent that the hypothetical free private school case which has been posed would partake of many of the very elements which led the Court to find "state action" in the activities of other private groups involved in those cases. And this combination of factors might induce a decision which would forbid the free private school -- organized along the lines discussed -- to deny admission to otherwise qualified Negroes who sought to attend them. (Emphasis added)

Prof. Nicholson's conclusion after discussion of all the proposed evasion tactics is even more explicit:

> The South's attempts to circumvent the school decision seem doomed to legal failure. The Court has ample theories to utilize in avoiding all circumvention proposals -- ranging from the relatively simple state instrumentality concept to the all-permeating doctrine of Shelley v. Kraemer . . . The proponents of the circumvention proposals could well afford, however to measure the probabilities existing before acting hastily and irrevocably. Time has already been gained since the school cases were first filed. Additional time has been wisely granted by the Court before it will attempt to make its decrees final. The effects of the decision have been measured by the South's people. Is it possible that they would be willing to admit Negroes in the scattered instances where admission would be demanded? This question should at least be pondered and its answer measured against the apparent futility of the evasive proposals and their only profit as delaying steps. (Emphasis added)
>
> Perhaps common sense compromise between the more militant groups, a tactic not hitherto used in the South's racial conflicts, would be the best approach in this time of crisis.

Prof. Fey's article outlines all of the devices proposed for evading the consequences of the decisions. Such devices must stand or fall ultimately upon their having or not having an element of "state action." Recent decisions are analyzed:

> Such is the present status of the legal concept of "state action" -- the area in which private school plans will be tested. All of the plans suggested present a possibility of the existence of state action. (Emphasis added)

Prof. Fey then develops eight legal theories which, in his view, would sustain an attack upon the constitutionality of the plans. He concludes:

> Plans used during the transition which conflict with the decided cases can only be regarded as temporary expedients. There can be no forestalling of integration in view of the existing decisions. (Emphasis added)

Analogous to the school segregation issue is the issue of segregation in public recreation. That question is the subject of a brief, "Segregation and Public Recreation," by Prof. Robert B. McKay in the Virginia Law Quarterly for October, 1954.

Prof. McKay points out that the effort to escape the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination had taken the form of conveyance or lease of golf courses, swimming pools, and the like, to private individuals or corporations, which carried on the interdicted practices. The court had had no difficulty in finding the element of state action in such procedures with the result that they were invalidated.

The Supreme Court in Love vs. Wilson said that the 14th and 15th Amendments nullify "sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination." The plans proposed for circumvention of the decisions in the school segregation cases do not seem to have even the legal merit of sophistication.

The articles herein discussed are not by "outsiders meddling in Southern affairs." They are by Southerners subjecting the region's problems to disinterested and scholarly analysis.

The question for the South seems to be: Shall we disrupt a system built up over the years and destroy a wealth of accumulated values by adopting devices of such doubtful constitutionality that they are condemned in advance by the most competent Southern legal opinion?

February 21, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Here are some extra copies of your proposal for a statement. So far as I can recall it is unaltered from your draft except that I deleted one sentence at the top of Page 5 which seemed to me political.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

February 21, 1955

Mr. Kendall Weisiger
308 Palmer Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Kendall:

It seems to me that this ought to be an outfit that could help you from time to time.

My friend in it is the one called E. Jefferson Murphy. (I know him as Emmet Murphy, but there were two Emmett Murphys so he altered his style.) Murphy is a Georgia boy. Went to Emory, and then did sociology and anthropology at Chapel Hill. I dug him up some money, maybe some of it from you, to get him to the Institute on African things at Northwestern some years ago. Pretty soon he turned up with a teaching job at the Native College in Fort Hare, South Africa. And he had not been long back in this country when he took this job. He would be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. - The African-American Bulletin

Sent original
and 5 copies
3/8/55 - air mail
RHA

P.S. more copies available

March 8, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are sending air mail today the original and five mimeographed copies of your excellent speech for the Louisiana Council.

We took the liberty of making one or two small changes, which I won't take the time to discuss here, since I don't want to delay the mailing of this note. In any case, the changes are slight and can be easily remedied if you don't approve them.

Grace Hamilton and I (George Mitchell is out of town) are both delighted with your spelling out of the things which right-minded people can and should do to effect integration. I believe that this article overshadows your statement on the legal considerations as valuable material for New South. If you agree, I would like to use it in the next issue. It may be necessary to edit it somewhat for space reasons; if so I will send you the proposed revision for your approval.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MAR 7 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 5, 1955

Dear George:

Enclosed is copy of proposed New Orleans talk. Will you, Mrs. Hamilton and Harold please examine critically and return with your comments. It would be a great accomodation to me if one of the girls could make me five or six copies with such revisions as are suggested.

Since I will leave here the morning of the 11th & since mails are slow to this Eden, time is of the essence.

I approve warmly the draft of press release which Harold sent in a day or so ago.

Best regards,

M. A. W.

HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE SUPREME COURT DECISION OF MAY 17

New Orleans, Louisiana
March 14, 1955
by
Marion A. Wright

Let us speculate for a minute or two about the significance of this topic. Of course, the Supreme Court itself will, so far as lies within its power, implement its decision of May 17 by a later decision. This later decision will either give the South a timetable or a formula to bring about the integration of the public school systems. The decision will either spell out in exact terms just when certain things must be done or it will delegate authority to lower courts, or other instruments of its choosing, to establish the rate and method of integration.

The significance of the topic is that it is to be discussed by laymen who have no responsibility for such decree as the court may make. Hence, it is a recognition upon the part of us here assembled that the complete answer cannot be found in a few words or a few paragraphs written upon paper and signed by members of the Supreme Court. There is an area of activity apart from the merely judicial or merely legal in which every good citizen may function.

Men begin to come to maturity when they think of government not as "they" but "we." So those who have assigned us our topic thereby signify that upon every citizen of Louisiana there rests the obligation to exert himself in an effort to bring about the widest acceptance of the law of the land. It is an expression of the sacred partnership which exists between the individual and his government. The acceptance which the decree shall receive rests, I firmly believe, as much upon non-official, as upon official, action.

We may all congratulate ourselves that there is no hint of evasion here of the full consequences of the court's decision. Indeed, the talk of evasion, where it is found, seems to come largely from official or political sources. If the question

involved were entirely one of government, we might be disposed to defer to the judgment of experts in that arcane field. But there are also involved elements of good morals, good faith, fair play and community ethics. Without for a moment disparaging experts in the political field, I see nothing in the careers of any of them which gives them authority superior to the rest of us in the field of morals.

There has been some talk of the difficulty of enforcing whatever decree the court may hand down. I think the difficulties have been greatly exaggerated. Anyhow, it is well for us occasionally to be reminded that the degree to which we are civilized is often indicated by our obedience to the unenforcable. It is vastly more important to do what is right because it is right than because a pistol is aimed at our heads.

And it is immensely heartening to know that in Louisiana there is a body of opinion which is primarily concerned with duty and fair play to the exclusion of shrewd schemes by petty minds to escape the inevitable.

I think we should know that all of these schemes, in addition to the dark evils which would follow in their train, are doomed to frustration. Time does not here permit an analysis of these devious devices. But I may point out that within recent weeks they have been condemned upon the ground of naked unconstitutionality by three southern law journals -- possibly by others. Journals of the University of Virginia, the University of South Carolina, and the University of North Carolina have carried full briefs by law professors in which briefs the various schemes were analyzed and all found to be completely vulnerable upon constitutional grounds. These briefs were not by outsiders meddling in southern affairs but were by the most competent southern legal writers analyzing the problems of their own region.

It is quite evident that the problem of implementation is not a general one having the same degree of solubility in all areas of the South. It will vary by

states and even within states. That fact was made perfectly clear in a recent talk by Mr. C.A. McKnight before the North Carolina Press Association. Mr. McKnight, as you no doubt know, is the editor of Southern School News which was established to acquaint all southern states with developments in the field of integration. He pointed out that, even without awaiting the court's final decree, Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri and the District of Columbia began or completed desegregation in the current school year. States which are in the "wait and see" class are Maryland, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, and Alabama. "The unyielding resistance" states include Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and -- oh, yes -- Louisiana. So you have your work cut out for you right here at home.

And, without being to any extent informed about your local conditions, I think it entirely safe to assume that the core of resistance will be found much harder in certain areas of Louisiana than in others. I am sure that that will be true as to every southern state.

If that fact means anything it means that local leadership has its great obligation and its great opportunity. No one in Atlanta, for example, may with the slightest degree of authority tell Louisiana what it should do. No one in New Orleans with the slightest degree of authority may tell the hinterlands of Louisiana what they should do. But the hinterlands must decide for themselves, with all the help which we may give, what they should do. Having thus admitted the localized nature of the problem and the particularized problems which must be met by the several communities, there seem to be words of advice which we as friends may utter with applicability to every section of this state. We have available now the experiences of various communities, from which experiences certain practical lessons may be drawn.

First of all, integration will not be made less difficult by white action or by Negro action. It will be made less difficult only by joint action. And

the first prerequisite to joint action is joint discussion and planning.

Until members of the two races, without the slightest restraint, may sit around a table in some church or school building and talk in friendly man-to-man fashion, they will get nowhere. As I visualize it, there may be a half dozen meetings in a community which may not crystallize into a resolution or other formal expression of joint opinion. Such meetings will not be wasted. The greatest hurdle will be passed in the mere fact that such meetings have been held.

The greatest obstacle to solution of all of our racial problems lies in the lack of communication between the races. If the channels of communication are created so that the whites may know what the Negroes are thinking and the Negroes may know what the whites are thinking, their positions will not be found to be poles apart.

So in every community in Louisiana there should be these discussion groups for the ventilation of opinion. Men instinctively wish to be heard, to register their views. Evil concoctions are brewed in minds which are denied the legitimate opportunity for self-expression.

So the first step seems to be in the creation of such groups in every southern state.

The second thing which seems obviously to be needed is the inclusion of Negroes in parent-teacher associations. So long as there were white schools and Negro schools, there might have been a semblance of justification for racially divided parent-teacher groups. But from this point on there will be no such thing as white education and Negro education. It will be education for all of the children of Louisiana. The parents and teachers of such children will for the first time be dealing with the sacred subject of education in its wider aspects. They should deal with it, not as white or Negro parents or teachers, but as parents and teachers of children of Louisiana schools.

In a sense, this lowering of the barriers of parent-teacher groups may be

thought to be a fairly small thing to do. But it is a most symbolic thing. It symbolizes a broadening of the minds of Louisiana citizens to the point that racial distinctions have lost significance. It would be an important token of the advance of our people, a long forward step in civilization.

Collateral to the consolidation of parent-teacher groups, is the consolidation of teachers associations upon all levels. I suppose that universally throughout the South there exist white teachers associations and Negro teachers associations. They were the fairly logical accompaniment of segregated schools. Each group conceivably could have had problems peculiar to itself. Until the courts took a hand, the salary schedules and the qualifications of the two groups were different. White teachers were concerned with legislative action affecting their own salaries and qualifications; likewise the Negro teachers. Now, however, following judicial decrees, at least in theory but certainly in legal principle, salaries and qualifications are identical.

Whatever reasons may have heretofore existed for the creation and maintenance of separate groups, such reasons no longer exist. On the contrary there now exists the compelling reason that the teachers themselves should be thoroughly integrated in preparation for integration of the schools. The time is already too late for white and Negro teachers to come to know each other and to share with each other in friendly association all that experience and training have taught them. The transition will be not nearly so difficult if those who teach have developed professional and personal contact with each other.

Another step is to see that Negroes have representation on local, county and state boards of education.

I do not know what progress you have made in Louisiana in that direction. The step has been taken in many southern states with gratifying results. Governor Scott of North Carolina some years ago appointed Dr. Harold Trigg, able and distinguished president of a Negro college, to the state board of education. I am

sure that the calmness and wisdom which North Carolina is exhibiting in its attitude toward integration stems in part from this appointment.

The most important asset which may be possessed by any government is the justified faith of all of its citizens in the fairness of government. When all of the policy is fashioned by one group, all of the funds distributed by that group and all of the employment made by that group, we are asking a great deal of the other group to assume the complete fairness and impartiality of government.

It is a part of our tradition to go along as cheerfully as we can with any decisions which have been made if we have been represented and our voice has been heard in the making of such decisions. If Louisiana wishes to secure for itself this priceless asset of the confidence of its citizens, it must give them all a voice in fashioning its policy. Taxation without representation is unjust; but the framing of policy which affects a citizen's life while denying him a voice is tyranny.

We must all realize that the key man in the school system is the local administrator. Integration will be accomplished with relative difficulty or relative ease depending upon the resolution and strength of conviction of the administrator and of the school board which often fashions the policies under which he must operate. Integration will place upon his shoulders no small burden in the early years. He will need all of the strength of character which he may muster and all of the stiffening support which the community may supply.

The administrator is probably unaware of the existence in his community of any considerable opinion favorable to integration. It is significant that most of the discussion of the impact on education of the decision of the Supreme Court has taken place in the political, rather than the educational, arena. Hence, the administrator has been pretty well informed of the views of politicians that integration is a bad thing and must be evaded by any means possible.

The time has now come for those of us who disagree with certain of our poli-

ticians to stick our necks out and make our voices heard. The chief result of that action would be to acquaint the school administrator with the fact that statesmanship and firmness on his part will have some measure of moral backing and support.

Another key figure in the picture is the police official, be he city policeman, sheriff or what not. After all, the disagreeable truth must be met. There may be evilly disposed persons who will seek to disrupt the orderly transition. They deal with inflammatory material. Their methods are illegal or extra-legal -- incitement to riot or rebellion, and intimidation. When their action constitutes a violation of law, there should be no wavering or vacillation on the part of the police. The police are an arm of government and merely to suggest is not to govern. The right to attend school as permitted under law is a right fully as sacred as any other right and as much entitled to protection in its exercise. Prompt evidence of a lack of toleration for incitement to violence is what the public has a right to expect of its law enforcement officers.

Many factors contributed to the decline of lynching in the South. None was more effective than the action of a group of women in each county seat in advising their sheriff that they fastened upon him responsibility for protecting his prisoner. The same technique may be wisely employed in the school situation. Better still would be insuring that, wherever possible, police officials would be brought to approve in their hearts the laws they are seeking to enforce.

The local communities have at hand a valuable asset which should not be overlooked. That is, they have, in nearly every instance, people, usually young, who have had experience with integration. Few indeed are the towns or cross roads which do not include in their citizenship a sprinkling of white people who have attended in other states or in private or parochial schools classes also attended by Negroes. Some of these are southerners who have received a part of their education in the North. Others are Northerners who have moved South upon the tide

of industrial migration or in response to other less practical lures.

Certainly, too, there must be nearly everywhere white veterans who have learned of democracy in the hard school of war. Evidence is not lacking that such veterans do not willingly strangle the fraternity which had its birth in Europe, in the Pacific, in Korea. In one southern state in 22 counties the veteran's administrator left to the veterans themselves to decide whether they would receive their G.I. training under segregated or integrated conditions. Their unanimous vote was for integration. One dose of democracy in action lasts a long time.

Surely the local communities will not fail to use to the fullest extent the talents and capacities of students and veterans of good will who have savored elsewhere of the very condition we seek to create here.

What we all need is information -- information on what other communities are doing and the plans that they are making. Fortunately for all of us Southern School News, established by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, and completely controlled, managed and edited by southerners, gives that information month by month. The delightful thing about Southern School News is that, like salvation, it is free. While being entirely objective and impartial, its presentation of the record shows a most encouraging acceptance of the idea of integration in large areas of the South. Conversely, it establishes the isolation of those southern states and communities which are toying with their evasive schemes. The citizen of Louisiana may learn what other communities are doing. That knowledge may not merely prod him to action but insure the wisdom of such action as he may take.

I would urge the Louisiana Council to establish a mailing list for Southern School News among key citizens of every community in this state.

Now, a word as to the type of persons whose membership should be sought. Of course, a large membership is desirable, but mere size is not the sole consideration. I doubt that it profits us any longer to have on our rolls those whose atti-

tude is defensive or apologetic on the segregation issue, whose philosophy is "We must make the best of a bad situation," or "That's the court's decision and we are stuck with it." Such negative, pale and anemic convictions will wilt under fire. We need advocates; an apologist is not an advocate.

We will not be well served by paternalists from the one group or Uncle Toms from the other. There was a time in this cause when one acquired a reputation for wisdom merely by stating "You can't change human nature by law." One acquired a reputation for goodness merely by stating "There are wrongs in discrimination and some day we must attack them." Those were the meanly wise, the feebly good.

The men and women now needed are of a more robust school, cast in a more heroic mold.

I think that in all that we say and do we must stress the positive, the affirmative. We should take no short range view of history. Through integration ultimately we will gain escape from delusions of superiority or inferiority which are a hangover from the old master and servant days. The community and the state will be able to utilize in governmental and social planning and operation <u>all</u> the brains, talents, and skills of the community -- not just half, They will escape the financial drain entailed by duplicating schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, and the like. Integration will eliminate the day to day causes of irritation and friction which go with enforcing arbitrary and wholly foolish rules of conduct. Perhaps it may all be summed up by saying that, for the first time in their lives, white southerners may use without flinching and sense of guilt such ancient phrases as "equality before the law," "equality of opportunity," "brotherhood of man," and "Fatherhood of God."

March 14, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a slightly edited version of the speech you are making in New Orleans today. The revisions are made for several reasons: to accommodate the tyrant space; to make the application southwide; and to change its cast from that of a speech to that of an article.

Only one of the changes, I think, calls for a special word; that is the slight change in the first line of page 6, which you may want to reject. It seemed to me that some people might validly challenge the implication that North Carolina has shown unqualified wisdom in its attitude towards integration. This is a fly speck, of course, and I am prepared to retract the suggestion at a moment's notice.

In any case, all of the changes made are proposed with the expectation that you will object to any that are unacceptable to you. I'm also aware of the fact that I have not yet secured your permission to use the speech in New South and will look forward to word from you on that point.

I am sure that the group in New Orleans will be as pleased with the speech as we were here.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf
enclosure

March 23, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter of March 21st in which you agree that your New Orleans speech may be used in New South. You may rest assured, that our desire to publish it is based on its merit, as is always the case. I will incorporate the minor corrections you suggest in the proof.

As to the employment of an editorial assistant, I regret that my letter to you evidently did not make it plain that the same letter was sent to Dr. Clement. You and he and Dr. Mitchell make up the total membership of the Personnel Committee, of course, and your approval makes the Committee's opinion unanimous. Since the matter arose at a time when Dr. Mitchell was leaving the office for a trip of several days duration, he delegated to me the responsibility of writing you and Dr. Clement as the members of the Personnel Committee.

All this should have been clear in my letter, and I apologize for the confusion.

We were glad to receive a copy of your speech to the YWCA group in Columbia. Grace Hamilton has read it and found it good. I'm sure I will share her opinion and will undertake to have it reproduced as you request. Incidentally, Miss Doris Wilson, student YWCA secretary headquartered here, has requested a dozen copies of the speech, which we will supply.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:rnf

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 21, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have your letters of March 8 and 14 with regard to the talk which I made in New Orleans. It will be entirely agreeable with me for New South to run this talk if you think it worthy of reproduction. Please always consider my material entirely on its merits. I did not submit it with a view to publication, and your judgment on whether or not it should be published is always final with me.

The changes which you made in the manuscript are entirely agreeable. I return it herewith with one or two minor corrections of my own.

× With reference to the employment of Mr. Constable, I would suggest that the proper procedure would be for you to write to the members of the Personnel Committee in letter similar to the one written me, and that committee might extend approval by mail or act upon your recommendation at its next meeting. His qualifications seem to make him eminently desirable as a member of your staff.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

Enclosure

× P.S. Protocol would suggest that the request perhaps come from Dr. Mitchell, seeking approval of Constable's appointment.

March 24, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have just read your speech to the YWCA Student Conference and we expect to have it mimeographed as soon as we can get to it. Just before it came I was talking to Miss Doris Wilson who had called to express her appreciation for your contribution to the conference. She asked for several copies whenever it is mimeographed which we will be glad to supply her. It is her wish and mine that the national YWCA magazine may reprint it. With its emphasis upon the role and responsibilities of women it seems particularly appropriate for the YWCA audience -- and especially so at this time as they prepare for their national convention. The responsibility for school integration is a major item on the convention agenda.

I have just returned from the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference held in Washington last week. Father Shean and I were participants on the panel concerned with school integration. During the conference several references were made to the speech of Mr. Robert Hutchins to the National Press Club and I picked up several copies of it. In case you haven't seen it, I'm sending one of them to you under separate cover.

With my good wishes always.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) G.T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH:rnf

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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 28, 1955

MAR 30 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The young lady who does my typing for me is quite occupied with her seasonal duties for her principal employer. Hence I am putting off writing letters of any especial length until such time as her rush season is over. I leave tomorrow morning for Washington and hope that by the time I get back her time may be less occupied and I may have the opportunity to write you fully. Meanwhile, receipt of various communications is acknowledged.

Best wishes,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 29, 1955

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

The speech by Dr. Hutchins before the National Press Club is one of the best things I have run across in a long time. I am returning it herewith with my thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

Language which I have marked on pages 6 and 7 indicates that, whether they like it or not, foundations are having to pay some attention to the influences which affect their beneficiaries. I have always been sure such was the case, but Dr. Hutchins' statements make that point clear.

I am so glad that you and Father Shean went up to New York for the panel discussion.

Best regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:sgd

Speech sent under separate cover.

M. A. W.

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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 18, 1955

APR 21 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks for a copy of the quarterly report to Mr. Freeman, which I have read with great interest and admiration.

I am sure that you must have had good reasons for not suggesting under "Lapses" the alternative of diverting to the central office all lapsed funds to be used by that office during the current year. I merely mentioned the alternative to be sure that it was considered by you.

I appreciate your suggestion that I might possibly run down to Atlanta for the meeting with the finance committee. I am sure that my presence could not contribute to such a meeting and I am strongly indisposed to leave this spot during the summer months. Hence, I will not come down unless a situation should develop which, in your opinion,

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would make my attendance imperative.

I plan to attend a meeting of the North Carolina division in Raleigh on April 26th and will try to give you some report on what happens there.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW/EJG

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APR 29 1955

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 28, 1955

Dear George:

I would like to have staff criticisms of the enclosed. Please return manuscript with any desirable interlineations, accompanied by more general observations.

Thanks.

M. G. W.

WCF says
[illegible]

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 28, 1955

MAY 2 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am just back from the Raleigh meeting of the North Carolina Council where I had the pleasure of seeing both Parrish and Rauth. They contributed greatly to the success of the meeting. I have acquired a rather high admiration for your vision in setting up our work. The state units are essential and they are made effective by the kind of personal contacts which Parrish and Rauth afford. I think that little would be accomplished if we did not have these strong connecting links between Atlanta and the various states.

The Newsletter is an excellent idea in that it will give each state some opportunity to compare itself with every other state. Duke Endowment has used the same plan with great success in its relations with hospitals which it supports. By virtue of frequent reports from the Endowment, every hospital is able to compare itself in every item of its operations with every other hospital receiving Duke

aid.

I presume, of course, that you will receive, or are receiving monthly reports from each of the organizations.

I will mention a few matters which occur to me as perhaps being worthy of consideration. If you attach any importance to them, you might pass them on to other memb ers of the staff or to the state organizations.

1. It seems obvious that the final action to be taken by the Supreme Court will call for plans of desegregation to be submitted by each of the affected states. I doubt seriously that any of the states will go to work on such a plan before the decree comes down and some of them may be a little slow even after the decree.

I wonder if each of the state units might not begin now to get the best brains of the state into the devising of a suitable plan. If a state came up with something which looked practicable, a committee from the organization might submit that plan to the Governor or other state authority. Conceivably, it would be accepted in toto. Or it might modify the plan which the state had under consideration. Or our plan might be rejected in toto.

In the last event, if the state took the position in court that it had been unable to devise a suitable plan, then our group might be able to show that the state was acting in a dilatory manner. It might be of great help to the plaintiffs in pending suits.

Another view is that we are taking the position that the state could devise a suitable plan. The burden might be upon us to show that our position is demonstrably correct because we have ourselves devised such plan.

2. Might not the suggestion be passed to all the state units that they should draw into their organizations some strong leaders from the Negro teacher association. North Carolina has done this and other states may have done so. I have in mind that Negro teachers almost to a man or woman should be members of SRC. They have the largest stake in what we are doing. Naturally until this time their first loyalty has been to NAACP. From this point on, it seems to me, they should see that the work of our group has become of prime importance to them.

3. We are all urging the integration of PTAs. A woman from

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sweet Briar College writes that her group would be glad to admit Negroes if they applied for membership. Of course, the invitation should come from the whites. But the matter ought not to go begging because each group is waiting for the other to make the first move.

I wonder if our state units might not get our colored friends to swallow their natural pride and petition for membership in local PTAs. I firmly believe that in the great majority of instances they would be accepted. And I also believe that such acceptance would be of great significance.

4. I occasionally see some farm journal--I think The Progressive Farmer. In the Florida area their magazine has a fewpages devoted entirely to Florida. The same is true of North Carolina and of most of the other states where they have circulation.

I wonder if we might not profit by that example. Let New South have its files and general circulation not feature any one state. But in the copies goingto South Carolina, for example, might there not be one or two pages devoted to South Carolina affairs and giving names and addresses of South Carolina offices and the location of the South

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Carolina office? The same thing might be done as to each of the other Southern states. The responsibility would be upon the state units to furnish for each issue somany words of material.

Harold might explode this idea because of technical or printing difficulties. If such can be overcome, I have the feeling each state unit would benefit greatly by our adoption of the experiment. If a state fell down on furnishing material, we could always use material from Southern School News.

5. At the Raleigh meeting, pursuant to my suggestion, Dr. C. F. McRae of Burnsville was placed on the board of directors. I had a motive in this. Dr. McRae has been a strong friend of ours for some years and he is public health officer for Mitchell, Avery and Yancey counties. From Menafee's notes I can conclude two of those three counties would have been willing to integrate their schools this year. They are ideal counties in which to begin the experiment and Dr. McRae can be of great help.

I believe, though I am not sure, that the North Carolina Legislature has put each county on its own in school affairs. If so, I propose that we begin at once with those three counties. With that

in mind, I wonder, if Dr. McRae and I could get together a mailing list of, say, 200 names in the three counties. We might send them New South and other materials complimentary. This would greatly facilitate our efforts.

The movement would be further helped along if the indefatigible and resourceful Anna Holden should go over all of Menefee's material and give us abstracts of everything he reported as to those three counties. I would like for her, also, to correspond fully with Menefee and get him to give all the advice and suggestions he can. We would also want thenames of all present and forme r members of SRC living in the three counties.

I would have strong hopes that, by intensive work, we might land those three countieson the right side for the next school term.

- - - - -

There comes to my mind the matter of our tax exempt status. This matter is so important that I do not wish us to make any mistake. While I am sure that Leonard Haas has been consulted, I should like to be assured that it is in such shape that he feels professional respon-

sibility for the outcome; that is, that the matter is entirely in his hands for handling as he thinks best rather than merely formally assenting to our views. He is our general counsel and this is an important issue. He should thoroughly understand that we want him to furnish complete guidance in what ever we do.

This is long but it is an accumulation.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/EJG

May 3, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Harold and I found your manuscript instructive and unexceptionable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 7, 1955.

Dear Harold:

The True or False gimmick seems excellent.

One suggestion: Date future issues. For example, your #10 answer reflects the situation now. It could change.

M. A. W.

MAY 12 1955 THE WRIGHT COMPANY
CONWAY, S. C.

Lincoln Falls, N.C.
May 11, 1955

Dear George:

I enclose copy of remarks I propose to make in N.Y. on May 18. Will you and the staff give this a going-over. I will probably not have time to hear from you before leaving, so please write me, care Park Sheraton Hotel (I do not have the street address) where I will check in Monday afternoon. I should greatly appreciate your having one of the girls make me a half dozen copies, double spaced like the enclosed, to be sent with your letter. The copies should reflect any corrections you deem necessary.

I believe the point I have marginally indicated at bottom of page 7 and top of 8 is important for Southern consumption. The habit of trustees' employing relatives became such a scandal that S.C. — I imagine other states — banned it by law. The public deeply resented the practice. Both the professionally competent white teachers and the patrons should respond favorably to the argument.

See "Kentucky" Page 2 Southern School News for May 4 for reference to NS.

Best regards,

M.G.W.

TRAINING INSTITUTE
of
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKER'S UNION
New York, May 18, 1955

FILE COPY

By

Marion A. Wright

I am happy to speak before this Institute. Indeed, I must admit undiplomatically, I would be happy to speak before any group labelled Institute. There is something enormously flattering about an invitation such as you have extended. It carries with it, to me, at least -- I am quick to perceive such hidden meanings -- the suggestion that I am qualified to give you guidance and advice. Certainly, the presumption must be indulged, however generously, that those enrolled in a group so awesomely entitled are seriously concerned not only with their futures but the future of the world about them. It appeals to my vanity to have anyone think that any word of mine could ever so slightly influence either future.

It has been a long, long time since I was enrolled in anything like an institute or institution. But I am able to scoop up certain dredgings from Memory's capacious deeps. And I have a distinct and uniform impression of all the men in the decade from 1910 to 1920 who came to give us guidance and advice. They seemed to be old. How they ever reached the campus under their own power was a mystery to the student body. Yet they stood there without crutches and thundered their admonitions at us. Having now arrived, thanks to vitamins and antibiotics, where they were then, my pride in being here is tempered by the conviction that you must be reflecting on another miracle wrought by gerontology.

I recall, too, that the stock definition of education in that early and conservative day was that it was a process which enabled one to adapt

himself to his environment, properly to connect and associate his activities with the activities of those about him. All that one had to do, it seemed, to lead a normal and satisfactory existence was to adjust himself comfortably to the world as he found it, to flow like molten wax into the confining space in which he moved. Well, that definition has gone by the boards. I am sure that every one at this Institute now has the conviction that the function of education is not to preserve the world as is, but to change it for the better, that it is the mission of the educated, not to adapt themselves to their environments, but to adapt their environments to themselves. Personality develops as it is brought to bear upon the existing status.

Happily for the South, there were men then teaching in its institutions who held present day views. There were men like Frank Graham and Howard Odum at the University of North Carolina, S. C. Mitchell and Josiah Morse at the University of South Carolina, Charles Gardner Murphy at the University of Alabama, and others found here and there throughout the South. They were all connected with institutions. Insofar as they were able to control the result, their institutions were at grips with conditions.

Such is the historic mission of an institution or an institute. I am assured that it is your conception of your own mission.

Now, since a large segment of Southern affairs involved the relations of the two races with each other, the significant efforts of the teachers mentioned had to do with that sensitive area. I should like to have the time to tell you how courageous these men were: How Dr. Mitchell resigned his position as president of the University of South Carolina rather than take dictation from Governor Blease, and how Dr. Frank Graham informed the trustees of the University of North Carolina that they would have his resignation if they fired a professor for dining with a Negro. In times more parlous than these, they exhibited fortitude that has borne fruit in men and women who came within their orbit.

While I am not here to tell you of things that happened in the South decades ago, I think it well that we all be reminded that courage under fire on the race issue did not originate in the 1950s, but that for long years the natural habitat of that virtue has been in halls of learning.

I am here, I presume, to tell you of more recent developments on the Southern scene. If I undertook to enumerate items, even since the historic date of May 17, 1954, the task would be an impossible one within reasonable time limits. Events move with dizzying rapidity. An event which seemed important six months ago was eclipsed a month or two later. A collection which I might have made a month ago would now be superseded. An Asheville, N. C. paper of May 9 tells that the North Carolina Medical Society removed all racial restrictions on membership on the day when eight North Carolina cities were electing Negroes to city councils. A Negro in Fayetteville, by the way, headed the ticket. You may be fascinated to know that when Dr. Frank Graham was being defeated for re-election to the United States Senate his Negro chauffeur was being elected to the Chapel Hill city council. I imagine that Dr. Graham's natural disappointment at his own loss was largely tempered by this display of breadth of spirit by his fellow townsmen -- a breadth of spirit to which he had made such large contribution.

So, you can see that any mere catalogue made from this whirling welter of events would involve a selective undertaking of first magnitude. When completed, what would you have? It would be made out of date by tomorrow's paper or radio. My belief is that if we had spread out before us all Southern newspapers published tomorrow morning, we would find a record of events which, for moving, thrilling content, would excel what we had compiled today.

Now, events have importance because they mark trends. They are results, rather than causes; thermometers, rather than temperatures. An isolated event

may not be important in itself. It becomes important when appearing in a chain, when associated with other events so that a fixed pattern of conduct emerges.

Let me make a preliminary observation. Perhaps you in the North are disposed to think of the sprawling area beyond the Mason-Dixon line as a homogeneous region of one mind, un-segmented, monolithic, in its attitude on racial problems. I must concede that we in the South have fostered that belief on your part, if it exists. We have a highly developed sectional consciousness, largely defensive in origin and, at least in part, developing as the aftermath of military defeat. We spread the old gag that the Southerner was fully grown before he realized that damn yankee was two words. We couldn't lick you, so we "sass" you. This fairly general attitude toward an ex-enemy gave rise to the belief that Southerners were of one mind, one type.

That belief is wide the mark. No section of the country exhibits greater diversity. We are a heterogeneous people. States differ from each other in their levels of intelligence, their culture, the extent to which they are civilized. Even within states, the mountain counties, with traces of their quaint Elizabethan speech and customs, differ from the industrial Piedmont, the Piedmont from the coastal plains and the Delta. The proportion of Negro population ranges from 1% or less in a tenth of the Southern counties to a high of 84%. The problem of adjustment of the two races varies in difficulty and complexity throughout the region. We need to keep constantly in mind that we are dealing with a situation of infinite variety, with extremes in resistance to change.

There is another point we must appreciate. No one discounts the monumental importance of the Supreme Court's decision of a year ago. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that no single decision in our history has so strongly affected for good the lives of so many people. But a problem in human

relations -- a problem of such magnitude involving the customs of millions of people -- is not entirely soluble by strictly judicial means. There will remain an area of activity apart from the merely judicial, the merely legal. In that area every citizen of good will may play a part.

It is one thing to do what is right because the law says so, because a pistol is aimed at your head. It is something entirely different and much finer to do so because it is right. The task of the citizen of good will is to stir the consciences of us all to the point that we act in response to the claims of decent behavior.

Fundamentally, the decision has made, or will make this drastic change in the South. Heretofore, it was actually illegal for men and women of different races in the South, in certain situations, to be decent to each other. They may now be decent in accordance with law. Those of us who were opposed to segregation were on the defensive because the law was against us. Now, the segregationist is on the defensive because the law is against him. It was one thing to attack a custom buttressed by law. It is something entirely different, and much easier, to attack a custom condemned by law.

How has the decision been received?

There is its official reception and its non-official reception. The former is a matter of record. The latter is a matter of deduction to be drawn from available data.

First, as to the official reception: there has as yet been no final decree. Nothing compelling action by the District of Columbia or the one city and three counties involved in the suits. Bear in mind that technically those were the only defendents. No state and no other counties or cities were directly affected. Yet what has happened? Without awaiting a final decree which would still not be operative upon them, Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri and the District of Columbia began or completed desegregation in the current school year. States in the "wait and see" or "look the other

way" class are Maryland, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas, and Alabama. The "unyielding resistance" states include Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. School desegregation is proceeding quietly, effectively, successfully, in 80 out of 129 border counties. Please bear in mind that at the moment, not a single one of those 80 counties was compelled to act. They did so, I am sure, in response to a desire long entertained by many of their citizens. The decisions gave the needed impetus.

A year or so ago throughout the South hot and rash words were heard in official circles -- words implying if not actually pledging, resistance to any desegregation decree. Now, the volume of such utterances has subsided to a trickle and their vocal tone has been reduced by many decibels. By contrast Gov. Clement of Tennessee sends to his legislature a strongly worded veto of a resolution protesting the decisions -- a veto more than incidentally upheld by the legislature. In the recent arguments on implementing the decree, only one state had the temerity to threaten non-compliance. Ironically, that was the state which produced the judge who, in dissenting, gave segregation its mortal thrust. I refer with great pride to my fellow South Carolinian, Judge Waring. Well, this isn't the first time they have fired on Fort Sumter.

Another part of the official reaction to the decrees is that certain of the Southern states are planning some major operations upon their public school systems. The core of their plan is the conveyance or leasing of all school property to private individuals or corporations which will conduct private, segregated schools. Ancillary to the plan is the grant of tuition to pupils to attend such schools. In order to remove all evidence of the crime, the state would repeal all compulsory education, bus transportion, teacher certification and supervision laws. In short, what is proposed is a turning back of the hands of the clock for fifty years. You see the 14th

Amendment bans only State discriminatory action. Certain of the states are planning to say with complete show of outraged innocence "Those are private schools. We don't have a thing in the world to do with them."

Of course, under such a scheme the opportunities for graft would be limitless. School property worth hundreds of millions of dollars would be involved. Teachers would be arbitrarily deprived of tenure and of benefits under pension funds. They would be left to seek employment from these newly created, unsupervised and unstandardized "private"schools. You know who will get those jobs, don't you? Why, the wives, sisters, nieces and cousins of the operators. There would be not the slightest guarantee of the character or quality of education provided by such schools or of value received for the tuition dollar. Surely, the diplomas of none of them would be recognized by institutions of higher education anywhere in the land.

But, leaving aside the economics and the morals of such slick strategems, would they, in fact, meet the constitutional test? Come with me on a little excursion into legal history, if you please.

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution forbids a state from abridging any of the rights of its citizens because of their race or color. The state of Texas had on its books certain statutes which authorized political parties to prescribe rules to determine who might vote in their primaries. Pursuant to such authority, the Democratic party set up rules excluding Negroes from membership in the party. The United States Supreme Court in 1944 held such action unconstitutional.

The governor of South Carolina convened a special session of the legislature to repeal all statutes of that state relating to primary elections. Without them, the Democratic Party, it was argued, would be to no extent a creature, agent, or instrumentality of the state, but on the contrary, would be a mere private club, like the Elks or D.A.R., completely free to prescribe qualifications of its members. That bright bubble lasted just long enough

for a case to reach the courts. The light of truth pierced this hastily created smoke screen of legal fiction. Under protection of law Negroes voted in Democratic primaries.

Doesn't the parallel strike this unsophisticated group full in the face? Now, certain of our politicians are saying: "We will repeal all laws relating to public education. We will convey or lease our school property to private citizens. They will run private schools. They will determine who shall be enrolled." If you will merely substitute "school" for "Democratic party," you have the identical legislative procedure formerly and ignobly and ingloriously employed.

Any high school student would be able to tell our legislators that a private school will last no longer than the party lasted as a private club.

You may ask is this my individual, unsupported view? It is not.

It is to the great credit of the University of South Carolina that its law journal in the Fall, 1954, issue printed a scholarly article by Professor Francis B. Nicholson in which all of these schemes were dissected and found to be unconstitutional. The same conclusions have been reached by the Dean of the Law School of George Washington University and a Professor of law at the University of North Carolina. Bear in mind that these articles were not by "outsiders meddling in southern affairs" but were by southerners subjecting the institutions of the South to dispassionate analysis. Their conclusion is that, however sophisticated the scheme may be, the court will reach its decision by considering the motives behind it and the objective it is designed to attain.

Such is the official reaction to the decrees. What about the non-official reaction?

Here I should like to loiter and dally for a time. The field is such a pleasant and congenial one. There is so much to give a lift to our feelings. But the remorseless demands of time require me to touch lightly as I go.

The churches, belatedly, I admit, have been magnificent. I think the nature of the decision helped greatly to bring them around. The decision rests upon a firm moral base. The church would, indeed, be laggard if it permitted the law to take a more advanced moral position than the church. So the churches at all levels are by resolution supporting integration in the schools. Their own doors are swinging open to all men and women of faith.

The parochial schools, some private schools and the seminaries, with rare exceptions, accept all qualified students. The Episcopal Seminary of the South showed what resolute and embattled scholars may do. You will recall that two or three years ago the trustees rejected the application of a Negro student. Several faculty members resigned in protest, public opinion in the church was aroused, and a year later the trustees overwhelmingly reversed their position.

The state colleges and universities into which Negroes have been admitted certify boldly and cheerfully to the success of the experiment. Their testimony has great weight because it so sharply denies the somber predictions of certain politicians of the dire results of integration. And their law schools, as I stated, have fulfilled their historic mission by telling the politicians to their teeth that their evasive schemes won't hold water.

Professional groups everywhere integrate -- doctors, nurses, lawyers and all the rest. This summer at North Carolina State College for the first time all county agents of both races receive their short course together under identical conditions.

So I might go on indefinitely. I am not oblivious to the occasional disagreeable incident which makes your headlines and which seems perhaps to you to belie my rosy recital. But remember we are concerned with trends, rather than isolated events. Even the most arrant Southern segregationist

would admit, I believe, that the trends clearly spell the doom of a segregated society in the South.

These trends are not entirely self-created. They receive some nurture and direction.

The fund for the Advancement of Education gave a sizeable grant to a commission of Southern editors. With it they publish monthly Southern School News which gives a blow-by-blow account of what is transpiring on the education front in the South. It is factual, objective. Some of the news is bad, some good, after the manner of news. But the unfolding panorama is one of progress all along the line. They are giving us the truth which will set us free.

Then there is the organization with which I am connected, The Southern Regional Council. If Southern School News gives people the facts, our purpose is to get them to act upon the facts. For ten years we have tried to bring public opinion to the point of ready acceptance of a new social structure in the South, one in which segregation would be banned as a needless and callous infliction on the human spirit. It has, or will have divisions in every Southern state. Its composition has always been integrated, thereby setting an example to all Southerners. Its twin tools have been reason and persuasion. But above all, it has laid the problem of race upon the Southern conscience.

So these agencies nurture and direct the developing trends.

There is no comparable opposing agency. The opposition has the funds. It has some political spearheads. But perhaps a sense of shame has kept down openly disclosed organization. Shame and a conviction that their money and efforts would be wasted. For in opposing integration, they would be trying to sweep back a resistless tide.

FILE COPY

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RURAL SCHOOLS

New York
May 17, 1955

Marion A. Wright

I suppose it may plausibly be argued that every judicial decision has its moral overtones. Since they all deal with human rights in one form or another, and since human rights spring from moral obligations or responsibilities, the opinions declaring such rights rest ultimately upon a moral base. But the field of morals and the field of law are technically distinct, though usually associated by a common penumbra. The constant effort of the wise judge is to bring the two fields into harmony with each other.

Seldom has it happened in judicial history that law and morals completely occupy the same space at the same time. (You see, Einstein taught us all to deal irreverantly with axioms). The Dred Scott decision and Plessy vs. Ferguson are somber illustrations of the fact that good morals have occasionally been subordinated to bad law. Perhaps it would be fairer to say, not that the clay of the law was bad, but that the hand of the poster was uncertain and infirm. Well, society advances by trial and error. It seems almost symbolic that the lone dissenter in the Plessy case now has a grandson upon the same court; he, at least for the present, will not have to dissent upon a moral issue.

A year ago today the historic decision was handed down. It was an inevitable decision. Many factors made it inevitable. The American conscience had been disturbed by the patent conflict between the national profession and the national reality. The virus of democracy had spread throughout the body politic, destroying

artificial distinctions. The eyes of the world, as never before, were upon us; in our birth-cry as a nation we had proclaimed a decent regard to the opinions of mankind. We had come to that rare juncture in human history where the law of the land could become completely synonymous with public decency and good morals.

I suppose that I have the lawyer's usual high regard for the lengthy opinion heavily loaded with authority and bristling with foot notes. (That is a kind of occupational disease of lawyers.) But I am sure all of us are glad that Mr. Warren did not give us such an opinion. He stuck to the moral issue: the right of a child to the unlimited development of his personality upon the same terms as every other child. Such ground is unassailable. Happy the lot of the judge who finds in the case before him this fusion, this rare occlusion, this wedding, of the legal and the ethical.

Law students a hundred years from now will learn more than law from this decision. They will learn how in three generations the minds of men had broadened. They will grasp the unique genius of our constitution which gives it application to the urgencies of every age. They will learn of law's absorption and utilization of all that is modern and proven in the field of human behavior. More important than all the rest, they will learn that conscience has the final word in human affairs.

I do not suppose that Mr. Warren planned it that way, but the <u>nature</u> of the decision has greatly strengthened the hand of those in the South who seek to bring about general and ungrudging acceptance of the result. The decision lifted the issue out of the ruck of the merely legalistic, over which men might have interminably quibbled. Its core is the finding of a fact - that segregation is damaging to personality - a fact long known to men who have thought upon the point but for the first time now judicially asserted by the nation's highest court. From that finding of fact the inevitable conclusion that segregation means discrimination followed.

You may perhaps have observed the confusion which the decision has created in the disintegrating camp of the segregationists. In the cases before the court they had been unable to produce a shred of reputable professional evidence that segregation does not damage personality. Nor in all of the welter of statements since May 17 has such evidence been presented. Being unable to procure such opinion, they have made vituperative attacks upon the court, transferring to statecraft the ball player's dubious privilege of "cussing" the umpire, and they have assailed the reliance by the court upon evidence furnished by students of human behavior.

Now, kicking on the umpire's decision doesn't win friends and influence people. Nor will the American people be won by a plea that courts should blind and deafen themselves to the revelations of science. We would not want our doctors to treat pneumonia by bleeding as in Washington's day, or our astronomers to teach that the world is flat. No more do we want our courts to keep us shackled to the knowledge and thinking of the 19th century. That way the law would be a dead and static thing. Its life and growth as Justice Holmes pointed out, is experience. Experience begins with experiment.

The firm moral base upon which the decision rests has brought to the side of law observance the most potent force in the South, the force of organized religion. Mr. Mencken, is a mood not particularly reverent, -was Mr. Mencken ever reverent?- called the South "the Bible belt". Let us extract what comfort we can from the appelation. Let us plead guilty to the not too soft impeachment. In proportion to income, the South spends more per capita than any other section in support of its churches. And, though this could not be proved, I believe that the Southern minister has influence and authority beyond that of his brethren anywhere else in the land.

Now, if the decision had rested upon naked legal considerations, it would have afforded no special stimulus to religious action. But here is the law asser-

ting a moral obligation. The church would indeed be laggard if it left the field of morals to the courts. So, throughout the South, belatedly it is true, but none the less effectively, the authoritative voice of the church is heard. From the upper echelons to the rear ranks there is a ferment, the throb of life along the keel. Quietly and without headlines, church doors are swinging open to all men of faith.

This phenomenon has presented the dwindling company of Southern demagogues with a novel dilemma. The Southern church, to its great shame, gave ecclesiastical support to the cause of slavery. It was quiescent when the issue of "white supremacy" agitated the Southern voter. By default or by non-action, it supported the existing order and, hence, the demagogues who championed that order. Now, for the first time in his experience, the white supremacist finds ecclesiastical support greatly divided in some areas and entirely lacking in others. Still elsewhere he encounters organized denominational opposition. When you buck the Southern church, your doom as a politician is sealed.

Not only is the dwindling company of Southern demagogues victim of the awakened Southern church. It is also beset by an aroused local level scholarship. The law journals of George Washington University and the Universities of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia and Alabama - there may be others - have printed able briefs, analyzing the evasive schemes suggested by certain perverted mentalities and concluding that all are completely vulnerable on constitutional grounds. Even before the court has spoken its final work and before the slick stratagems have been adopted, the law schools are fulfilling their historic and traditional mission of revealing the truth to the people it is sought to debauch.

This combination of the forces of religion and scholarship accentuates the growing isolation and loneliness of the decreasing number of race demagogues now in practice. They are revealed starkly as shabby and discredited figures, a little self-conscious, a trifle pathetic, quaintly amusing.

But perhaps by reference to these gentry, we may nurture the idea that they are typical of the region. I hope it may not be mere local pride which causes me to reject that idea. Perhaps it may not be inappropriate to remind you that Southern Senators and congressman have, perhaps more than those from other sections, been sensitive to our obligations as member of the family of nations. The League of Nations, the World Court, United Nations, Point IV, in short, all forms of international co-operation, have had from the South their strongest endorsement and support. In the field of foreign affairs, if Sen. George may be said to speak for the South and Sen. Knowland for the West and Sen. Bridges for New England, we of the South will be content with history's verdict.

The Southern politician presents an irreconcilable paradox. He is a kind of governmental schizophrenic. By long tradition and instinct, in international affairs he is almost invariably a liberal world citizen. In the field of civil rights, because of slavery and its aftermath and because of a constituency easily inflamed, he is too often a reactionary. Now, it is quite evident to everybody else, if not to him, that he lives in a cold war with himself. One side or the other of his dual nature must give in. Since men are largely fashioned by the pressures which society imposes upon them, and since the powerful social pressures of this age back to the hilt men's normal demands for complete equality, we may confidently predict a favorable outcome of this inner conflict.

I have faith that the forces which move Southerners in Congress to take exalted positions in world affairs must already assail some of them with doubt as to their positions on civil rights. Doubt is the prelude to conversion.

Not only are the powers of religion and scholarship on our side. There is also the matter of the pocket book. I don't know whether you know it or not, but your mills have been moving down our way. There are certain little things like pay rolls and dividends that go with the mills. We like those little things. We could use more of them. Our governors like them. Our legislatures like them.

Now, I think we may assume that mills would prefer to go where their property and personnel are safe. That means they like to go where laws are observed - all laws - where the spirit of law observance characterizes the people. The employees will want their children to attend schools free from turmoil, public schools, which may still proudly fly the flag of the United States, as symbol of allegiance to the government, including its courts.

I have a friend in Atlanta whose files show the millions the South lost in invested capital as result of the Leo Frank case. That was an isolated instance of mob violence without official sanction - indeed, in defiance of it. Now, if it should become policy of a Southern state to defy the law of the land, whether overtly or by finesse,Northern capital may justifiably be timorous in making Southern investment. The handful of governors who advocate such policies thereby erect their quarantine sign.

There is no rush of desirable migrants to Phoenix City, Alabama.

It is considerations such as these -considerations based upon the influence of religion, scholarship and economics- which cause us in the South heavily to discount the power of leadership exerted by some of our more blatant politicians. I dwell upon these matters since you in the North may hear more often the words of the politicians than the quieter utterances of the deeper and more powerful forces.

There is another factor which operates to discredit the type of political leadership to which we have been subjected. It is the factor of history. For some decades now at various times the politician has assured the people: This grandfather clause will keep Negroes from voting. This Boswell amendment will keep Negroes from voting. This Democratic party as a private club idea will keep Negroes from voting. Trustingly, the people went along with the politicians. All of those bright bubbles burst when they reached the court. The private club idea exploded under the remorseless analysis of your president and my fellow South Carolinian, Judge Warring. The

enormous range of fecundity of a people is illustrated in the fact that the same state which produced Cole Blease, Cotton Ed Smith and Jimmy Byrnes also produced J. Waties Waring. Perhaps it is true in government as sometimes in medicine that a body manufactures its own antidote for a poison.

Much more recently - with the school suit pending - Governor Byrnes prevailed upon the legislature of South Carolina to issue $100,000,000 in bonds to equalize schools of the two races. The promise was implied, if not expressed, that the "separate but equal" doctrine would prevail. Well, we meet today to celebrate the first anniversary of the obsequies of that illusion. I believe Judge Waring was the principal pall bearer and Gov. Byrnes the chief mourner. Incidentally, the commission to equalize the schools did not have a single Negro member and, until exposed by Mr. Thurgood Marshall, not a single Negro employee.

Well, what is the cumulative effect of all of these reversals of fortune upon careers of the segregationist leaders? Their prestige is at an all time low. They stand naked and discredited before the people whom they deceived. When they mouth their glib promises about their evasive schemes, thoughtful Southerners are remarking "Look who's talking".

In considering these dark schemes there is a point which will not be lost upon Southern people. The schemes are devised to attain a limited objective - to deprive a Negro minority of its right to public education. There are other minority groups. They have a stake in the issue. Depriving a color minority of its rights under law would be the first step toward depriving other minorities of their rights under law. The share croppers, the Catholics, the Jews, the labor unions - any group which does not hold in its hands the power of government - would stand in mortal jeopardy. In morals and in law there is no such thing as a local infection. The brush fire, if not stamped out, becomes a conflagration.

When I seek to evade one law I do not like, I weaken the strength of all others laws I do like. What dragon's teeth are sowed by men who advocate evasion of law !

If public officials today may wink at denial of your rights, tomorrow they may wink at denial of mine. Winking may become a habit, you know.

The rights and liberties of none of us are safe under a government which deprives any one of us of his rights and liberties. The bell tolls for us, too.

Now, perhaps an ugly question may be forming in your minds. I hope not. But you may be asking: Do Southern people hear the kind of things you are telling us, or is this something for foreign consumption only: I assure you that throughout the South such presentations of the issue are commonplace. For ten years from its headquarters in Atlanta, the Southern Regional Council, drawing its membership almost equally from the two races, has been relentlessly seeking to bring public opinion into accord with universally accepted standards of public morals and decency. Though, of course, I am biased, I think the Council is as bold, imaginative and resourceful as you would wish it to be.

The battle goes well - despite the headlines. Without awaiting the court's final decree, three states and the District of Columbia have desegregated their schools. Ten others apparently concede the ultimate result. They merely ask for time - how little, how much, they don't say. In only four, apparently is there official defiance of the court, and in those states the monolith begins to crack. Innumerable border counties, parochial and private schools have taken the step in an atmosphere as calm as a morning in May. The moving finger writes.

But I think the result is better foretold by little, non-official, unheralded acts, which reveal the true temper of our people.

A year or so ago a Negro professional baseball player made his debut in Columbia. He was so tumultuously received by the largely white spectators that the sporting editor of one of the papers was moved to remind his readers that, after all, the player was but a man and should be applauded on his merits and not because he happened to be Negro.

You would never believe it but I happen to be a devotee of folk dancing. (Do not be alarmed. I shall not give an exhibition. My interest is that of the front row spectator only.) A year ago I went over to Asheville for a competition between high school dancing teams. A Negro group which gave a superb rendition of Danish folk dancing captured the audience.

Those were unplanned, unrehearsed, spontaneous tributes to merit, a little weighted, I am convinced, in favor of the Negro. They came from the hearts of Southern White people.

In the last analysis, not out of the Supreme Court, not out of the governor's office, not out of the legislature, but out of the heart are the real issues of life.

May 19, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We will look into the PTA suggestion.

Thanks for the warm remarks about the North Carolina meeting. I have some uneasiness about what seems to us the slowness of accomplishment within the state, but I would like to discuss it with you.

We do get a monthly narrative report as well as a monthly finance report from each state organization.

We have long-standing links with the organizations of Negro teachers, and continually try to bring the teachers into what we do. We will work at it more.

We will use part of the meeting coming up June 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, near Chapel Hill, to stimulate the states into detailed planning about school desegregation. Incidentally, we all greatly hope that you will be at that meeting.

Harold will explore the idea of state inserts in New South.

Glad that the man from Burnsville came on to the North Carolina Board. Whatever you and Harry Jones and the North Carolina Board will agree to, we would want to help. Two hundred copies of New South is a good number, and we would hope that the state could find some way to pay for them.

We will get together what we can find in Menefee's material about Mitchell, Avery, and Yancey counties and send it to you.

The Treasury has notified the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation that the officers of the Treasury will receive and confer with Guy Wells and George Mitchell, June 8th, in the afternoon. In anticipation of that we have been hurrying along the Kentucky application for tax exemption, and it went in from Kentucky several days ago in a form which had Leonard

Haas' approval. The Treasury's instructions as to appeals (and we are making what amounts to an appeal) made it seem quite an act of grace on the part of Treasury to admit Mitchell along with Guy Wells to the interview. Wherefore we didn't press for an invitation for Leonard Haas to go up to it at the time we applied for a hearing. You and I should consider the matter when you are here next week, and talk with Leonard about it.

Try to make your stay here for the Executive Committee meeting as lengthy as you can.

There is so much to go over, and I would like for us to have time for constructive conversation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 5, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAY 7 1955

Dear George:

You will recall that in my talk at New Orleans and elsewhere I have suggested the consolidation of Parent Teacher Associations preliminary to integration of school systems. A wise friend has pointed out to me a technical difficulty in connection with the procedure. He says that the Association represents a particular school; for example, if there were a colored high school and a white high school at Linville, as the organizations are now set up, there would be one association of teachers and parents for the colored school and another for the white school.

Under their present plan, there could be no one organization of parents and teachers representing the two schools. The point is purely technical but its existence, if a point, may give two kindly disposed associations the one hurdle which would prevent consolidation.

Of course, the situation would be entirely different if the PTAs changed their set up so that all schools operated under the supervision of one local board of trustees ~~and~~ be represented by one PTA. Apparently that is what they should do anyhow and that change would accomplish what we have in mind.

If consolidation is important, as I believe most of us agree, would it not be highly desirable if the state PTA would adopt aresolution suggesting to its constituent members this modification of their by-laws? And would it not be further desirable if possible that local PTA make that change in their by-laws?

My friend assures me under the present arrangement we would get nowhere by having PTAs say that race was not a qualification for membership, since only the teachers and parents of a particular school are now eligible and they will be all white or all colored since their schools fit that description. This was a new idea to me.

Since, I assume, the great majority of members of PTAs are women, I am wondering if Mrs. Tilley might not undertake the task of getting the necessary resolutions prepared and adopted by both state and local PTAs. It seems to me to be a highly important job which might be worth some serious effort on our part.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW/EHG

My apologies for the typing

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 20, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Ave. N.E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Sometime ago I wrote George Mitchell an idea to be passed along to you in connection with New South. I have not heard from him on the point and would like to be sure it had your consideration, although I think there may be practical difficulties which would make the idea unworkable.

I refer to the suggestion of having in each issue in the copies going to South Carolina a page or two of special significance for that state, and the copies going to North Carolina a page or two for that state, and so on. The idea is stated a little more fully in my letter to George and I shall be very glad to have your reaction.

The magazine continues to improve with every issue. I think the reproduction of the editorial from the Montgomery Advertiser was an

excellent idea. We probably ought to pick up every wellwritten favorable Southern editorial and give it circulation. It helps us to show that we do not stand alone but that other Southerners also adhere to our opinions.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/EJG

Beaufort, S.C.
5/23/55

You will receive a film from some outfit in N.Y. This is sent at my request so please hold pending my arrival.

M. G. W.

MAY 25 1955

May 23, 1955

Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In regard to your letter of May 2, I have been asked to correspond with you concerning Mitchell, Avery, and Yancey counties in North Carolina.

I have taken those portions from the Menefee report that I think are pertinent to these counties and am forwarding the information to you. The list of persons contacted in each of the counties is included with the exception of Mitchell County. As far as I can determine from the reports, Jason B. Deyton, superintendent of the county schools, was the principal contact there. Dr. Mitchell tells me that this information was gathered with the understanding that it be kept confidential and asks me to remind you of that aspect of the report.

Also, I have mailed a letter to Mr. Menefee asking him for any additional information or suggestions he may have. I will write you again as soon as I hear from him.

In regard to SRC members, Dr. Mitchell suggests that the Rev. Harry S. Jones be contacted as to the proper people in the counties to aid in this work.

Please let me know if there is any additional information I can send along.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 31, 1955

Mr. John Constable
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for your letter of May 23 enclosing extracts from Mr. Menefee's report.

I plan to take this matter up at once with Mr. Harry Jones and will no doubt write you further from time to time.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/EJG

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 1, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for calling me yesterday about the Supreme Court decision. I thought that the statement you had prepared was superb. If you have not already done so, I should like to urge that copies of the statement with a covering letter be sent to each state organization. The statement may well serve as a model for anything which they should like to issue.

What you have done is far better than what I wrote for the South Carolina organization in that it is more temperate and less belligerent.

I will greatly appreciate your having my name entered as a subscriber to Southern School News in accordance with your letter of May 27th.

With kind regards, I am

Yours Sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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JUN 8 1955

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 6, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is just a suggestion for your consideration:

I think one of the most effective things which New South has done has been from time to time to print lists of cities and towns employing Negro policemen and lists of cities and towns maintaining integrated library service. No doubt there are other such lists which will occur to you.

I now suggest that we print in an early issue a list of all counties in the Southern states which have integrated their school systems. I have seen the naked figures (80 out of 129, or something like that) but the bare figures do not produce the impact which would be produced by a list of the counties involved.

It may be that in some instances, such as Baltimore and St. Louis, you would have to list cities rather than counties.

Anyhow, it might be greatly encouraging to counties which are mak-

ing up their minds to see that others similarly situated have already taken the plunge; illogically, everybody's doing it is a stronger argument than we ought to do it.

For the psychological effect this list might be entitled "Honor Roll of Southern Counties."

Along a parallel line I should like to see an occasional article under the caption "Call to Leadership", or something like that. It stresses the point that National distinction awaits those counties which take the lead in voluntarily integrating their schools without awaiting the compulsion of legal action.

I have been considering everything which might favorably influence the result of our effort in three North Carolina counties. In that connection, it occured to me that material of the sort above described would be of great value. If it would have value in those three counties, it would have value everywhere else.

The decision as to what goes into New South involves a selective process. There may b e other material of greater value. But I would like for you, Harold and Constable to pass your judgment upon what I propose.

Another matter: When I was in Atlanta Rauth came up with the news that Governor Folsom's floor leader had phoned for a copy of a model act creating a state council on human relations. If by any chance the Alabama legislature took favorable action on that measure, I should like very much to see such action reported in New South. I believe Delaware recently took that step. Since we ultimately hope that all Southern states may make this move, it might help our cause to exploit as far

as we can such action when taken by any Southern state.

Being unable to locate you on Saturday, I talked with Harold about some effort to influence what Governor Hodges may say tonight. I sent him a personal, not official, telegram and also forwarded to him a copy of the fine statement which Harold prepared for me. The Governor is to use radio and t.v. tonight. I am hoping for the best.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW/EJG

GSM

June 7, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is my last day in the office. I have been at work on my suggested answers to the questions raised in my report for consideration by the Executive Committee. I feel that it will be best for me to complete its final form and send it to the committee members the end of June and no later than the first of July. I am taking off for a two-week rest and would like for it to simmer a bit.

It would seem to be useful for the long meeting of the Executive Committee proposed at the last meeting to come during July. If it could be scheduled sometime in the period between July 15th and 31st, there would be an opportunity for its decisions to be taken into account in the request for support for a second year's work. I will keep in mind the possibility that the meeting may be arranged during the last weeks in July in my efforts to complete the material which may be helpful for the Committee's work.

We were sorry that you were not able to get to the New Hope meeting. I feel that it was a very revealing and worthwhile occasion. There were clear indications of what must be the Council's responsibility to affiliated state organizations if we are going to be able to make a contribution toward increasing integration in this time.

With all good wishes.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

GTH:rmf

June 8, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I was out in San Francisco for a speech Monday, May 30th. No sooner through with the speech than your brother Preston came up to the platform. Along with a coffee cup and the morning paper he had read that Mitchell was to do a speech and he hurried down for it. That was most faithful of him. They asked me home to supper that night but I had been tied up with some conference engagement and couldn't go. I did have a visit with Preston and Mrs. Wright at their apartment that afternoon, and we reminisced rattlingly about the University of South Carolina and Colcock and Broadus, etc.

They were both spry and well and infinitely hospitable.

The New Hope occasion went well. People there from all the states except Tennessee and Florida. Each state reviewed what it was doing and the Atlanta staff gave in the remaining time a lot of advice on next steps. The gathering on Dr. Alexander's front porch achieved all I expected from it. Many of the new staff people said that it strengthened them to go through with Dr. Will the process by which thirty-five years ago and more he had reached for opportunity and purpose.

We are exploring a two-day meeting of the Executive Committee at Gatlinburg for July 27 and 28. Can't lock it until we hear about the hotel. But I hope you won't give away those dates. How nice that for once you can drive across six mountains and be there! Bring Mrs. Wright if you can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

JUN 13 1955

June 9th, 1955.

Copy

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Many thanks for your letter of June 6th. It just happens that we did not get the mimeographed copies of your talk put together until yesterday afternoon. You will find one copy enclosed; a number of additional copies are being sent under separate cover. We are also sending Mr. Mitchell a number of copies.

Our new class will be on the job here at the Institute next Monday. Naturally we are looking forward to having either Mr. Mitchell or you speak to this new group at one time or another during the year.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur A. Elder, Director
ILGWU Training Institute.

AAE:LLS
oeiu:153

"Progress In The South"

Address

To

I. L. G. W. U. Training Institute Students

By

Marion A. Wright, President

Southern Regional Council

New York City, N. Y.

May 18, 1955

oeiu:153

The stock definition of education in the early and conservative days was that it was a process which enabled one to adapt himself to his environment, properly to connect and associate his activities with the activities of those about him. All that one had to do, it seemed, to lead a normal and satisfactory existence was to adjust himself comfortably to the world as he found it, to flow like molten wax into the confining space in which he moved. Well, that definition has gone by the boards. I am sure that every one at this Institute now has the conviction that the function of education is not to preserve the world as is, but to change it for the better, that it is the mission of the educated, not to adapt themselves to their environments, but to adapt their environments to themselves. Personality develops as it is brought to bear upon the existing status.

Happily for the South, there were men then teaching in its institutions who held the present day view. There were men like Frank Graham and Howard Odum at the University of North Carolina, S. C. Mitchell and Josiah Morse at the University of Alabama, and others found here and there throughout the South. They were all connected with institutions. Insofar as they were able to control the result, their institutions were at grips with conditions.

Such is the historic mission of an institution or an institute. I am assured that it is your conception of your own mission.

Now, since a large segment of Southern affairs involved the relations of the two races with each other, the significant efforts of the teachers mentioned had to do with that sensitive area. I should like to have the time to tell you how courageous these men were: How Dr. Mitchell resigned his position as President of the University of South Carolina rather than take dictation from Governor

Blease, and how Dr. Frank Graham informed the trustees of the University of North Carolina they would have his resignation if they fired a professor for dining with a Negro. In times more parlous than these, they exhibited fortitude that has borne fruit in men and women who came within their orbit.

While I am not here to tell you of things that happened in the South decades ago, I think it well that we all be reminded that courage under fire on the race issue did not originate in the 1950s, but that for long years the natural habitat of that virtue has been in halls of learning.

I am here, I presume, to tell you of more recent developments on the Southern scene. If I undertook to enumerate items, even since the historic date of May 17, 1954, the task would be an impossible one within reasonable time limits. Events move with dizzying rapidity. An event which seemed important six months ago was eclipsed a mongh or two later. A collection which I might have made a month ago would now be superseded. An Asheville, N. C. paper of May 9 tells that the North Carolina Medical Society removed all racial restrictions on membership on the day when eight North Carolina cities were electing Negroes to city councils. A Negro in Fayetteville, by the way, headed the ticket. You may be fascinated to know that when Dr. Frank Graham was being defeated for re-election to the United States Senate his Negro chauffeur was being elected to the Chapel Hill city council I imagine that Dr. Graham's natural disappointment at his own loss was largely tempered by this display of breadth of spirit by his fellow townsmen--a breadth of spirit to which he had made such large contribution.

So, you can see that any mere catalogue made from this whirling welter of events would involve a selective undertaking of first magnitude. When completed, what would you have? It would be made out of date by tomorrow's paper or radio. My belief is that if we had spread out before us all Southern newspapers published tomorrow morning, we would find a record of events which, for moving, thrilling content, would excel what we had compiled today.

Now, events have importance because they mark trends. They are results, rather than causes; thermometers, rather than temperatures. An isolated event may not be important in itself. It becomes important when appearing in a chain, when associated with other events so that a fixed pattern of conduct emerges.

Let me make a preliminary observation. Perhaps you in the North are disposed to think of the sprawling area beyond the Mason-Dixon line as a homogeneous region of one mind, un-segmented, monolithic, in its attitude on racial problems. I must concede that we in the South have fostered that belief on your part, if it exists. We have a highly developed sectional consciousness, largely defensive in origin and, at least in part, developing as the aftermath of military defeat. We spread the old gag that the Southerner was fully grown before he realized that damn yankee was two words. We couldn't lick you, so we "sass" you. This fairly general attitude toward an ex-enemy gave rise to the belief that Southerners were of one mind, one type.

That belief is wide the mark. No section of the country exhibits greater diversity. We are a heterogeneous people. States differ from each other in their levels of intelligence, their culture, the extent to which they are civilized. Even within states, the mountain counties, with traces of their quaint Elizabethan speech and customs, differ from the industrial Piedmont, the Piedmont from the coastal plains and the delta. The proportion of Negro population ranges from 1% or less in 145 counties to 60%. The problem of adjustment of the two races varies in difficulty and complexity throughout the region. We need to keep constantly in mind that we are dealing with a situation of infinite variety, with extreme in resistance to change.

There is another point we must appreciate. No one discounts the monumental importance of the Supreme Court's decision of a year ago. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that no single decision in our history has so strongly affected for good the lives of so many people. But a problem in human relations—a problem of such magnitude involving the customs of millions of people—is not

entirely soluble by strictly judicial means. There will remain an area of activity apart from the merely judicial, the merely legal. In that area every citizen of good will may play a part.

It is one thing to do what is right because the law says so, because a pistol is aimed at your head. It is something entirely different and much finer to do so because it is right. The task of the citizen of good will is to stir the consciences of us all to the point that we act in response to the claims of decent behavior.

Fundamentally, the decision has made, or will make this drastic change in the South. Heretofore, it was actually illegal for men and women of different races in the South, in certain situations, to be decent to each other. They may now be decent in accordance with law. Those of us who were opposed to segregation were on the defensive because the law was against us. Now, the segregationist is on the defensive because the law is against him. It was one thing to attack a custom buttressed by law. It is something entirely different, and much easier, to attack a custom condemned by law.

How has the decision been received?

There is its official reception and its non-official reception. The former is a matter of record. The latter is a matter of deduction to be drawn from available data.

First, as to the official reception: there has as yet been no final decree. Nothing compelling action by the District of Columbia or the one city and three counties involved in the suits. Bear in mind that technically those were the only defendants. No state and no other counties or cities were directly affected. Yet what has happened? Without awaiting a final decree which would still not be operative upon them, Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri and the District of Columbia began or completed desegregation in the current school year. States in the "wait and see" or "look the other way" class are Maryland, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, Arkansas and Alabama. The "unyielding resistance" states include Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. School desegregation is proceeding quietly, effectively, successfully, in 80 out of 129 border counties. Please bear in mind that at the moment, not a single one of those 80 counties was compelled to act. They did so, I am sure, in response to a desire long entertained by many of their citizens. The decisions gave the needed impetus.

A year or so ago throughout the South hot and rash words were heard in official circles--words implying if not actually pledging, resistance to any desegregation decree. Now, the volume of such utterances has subsided to a trickle and their vocal tone has been reduced by many decibels. By contrast Gov. Clement of Tennessee sends to his legislature a strongly worded veto of a resolution protesting the decisions--a veto more than incidentally upheld by the legislature. In the recent arguments on implementing the decree, only one state had the temerity to threaten non-compliance. Ironically, that was the state which produced the judge who, in dissenting, gave segregation its mortal thrust. I refer with great pride to my fellow South Carolinian, Judge Waring. Well, this isn't the first time they have fired on Fort Sumter.

Another part of the official reaction to the decrees is that certain of the Southern states are planning some major operations upon their public school systems. The core of their plan is the conveyance or leasing of all school property to private individuals or corporations which will conduct private, segregated schools. Ancillary to the plan is the grant of tuition to pupils to attend such schools. In order to remove all evidence of the crime, the state would repeal all compulsory education, bus transportation, teacher certificatin and supervision laws. In short, what is proposed is a turning back of the hands of the clock for fifty years. You see the 14th Amendment bans only State discriminatory action. Certain of the states are planning to say with complete show of outraged innocence "Those are private schools. We don't have a thing in the world to do with them".

Of course, under such a scheme the opportunities for graft would be limitless. School property worth hundreds of millions of dollars would be involved. Teachers would be arbitrarily deprived of tenure and of benefits under pension funds. They would be left to seek employment from these newly created, unsupervised and unstandardized "private" schools. You know who will get those jobs, don't you? Why, the wives, sisters, nieces and cousins of the operators. There would be not the slightest guarantee of the character or quality of education provided by such schools or of value received for the tuition dollar. Surely, the diplomas of none of them would be recognized by institutions of higher education anywhere in the land.

But, leaving aside the economics and the morals of such slick stratagems, would they, in fact, meet the constitutional test? Come with me on a little excursion into legal history, if you please.

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution forbids a state from a-bridging any of the rights of its citizens because of their race or color. The state of Texas had on its books certain statutes which authorized political parties to prescribe rules to determine who might vote in their primaries. Pursuant to such authority, the Democratic party set up rules excluding Negroes from membership in the party. The United States Supreme Court promptly held such action unconstitutional.

The governor of South Carolina then convened a special session of the legislature to repeal all statutes of that state relating to primary elections. Without them, the Democratic party, it was argued, would be to no extent a creature, agent, or instrumentality of the state, but on the contrary, would be a mere private club, like the Elks or D.A.R., completely free to prescribe qualifications of its members. That bright bubble lasted just long enough for a case to reach the courts. The light of truth pierced this hastily created smoke screen of legal fiction. Under protection of law Negroes voted in Democratic primaries.

Doesn't the parallel strike this unsophisticated group full in the face? Now, certain of our politicians are saying: "We will repeal all laws relating to public education. We will convey or lease our school property to private citizens. They will run private schools. They will determine who shall be enrolled." If you will merely substitute "school" for "Democratic party," you have the identical legislative procedure formerly and ignobly and ingloriously employed.

Any high school student would be able to tell our legislators that a private school will last no longer than the party lasted as a private club.

You may ask is this my individual, unsupported view? It is not.

It is to the great credit of the University of South Carolina that its law journal in the Fall, 1954, issue printed a scholarly article by Professor Francis B. Nicholson in which all of these schemes were dissected and found to be unconstitutional. The same conclusions have been reached by the Dean of the Law School of George Washington University and Professors of law at the University of North Carolina and the University of Alabama. Bear in mind that these articles were not by "outsiders meddling in southern affairs" but were by southerners subjecting the institutions of the South to dispassionate analysis. Their conclusion is that, however sophisticated the scheme may be, the court will reach its decision by considering the motives behind it and the objectives it is designed to attain.

Such is the official reaction to the decrees. What about the non-official reaction?

Here I should like to loiter and dally for a long time. The field is such a pleasant and congenial one. There is so much to give a lift to our feelings. But the remorseless demands of time require me to touch lightly as I go.

The churches, belatedly, I admit, have been magnificent. I think the nature of the decision helped greatly to bring them around. The decision rests upon a firm moral base. The church would, indeed, be laggard if it permitted the law to take a more advanced moral position than the church. So the churches at all levels are by resolution supporting integration in the schools. Their own doors are swinging open to all men and women of faith.

The parochial schools, some private schools and the seminaries, with rare exceptions, accept all qualified students. The Episcopal Seminary of the South showed what resolute and embattled scholars may do. You will recall that two or three years ago the trustees rejected the application of a Negro student. Several faculty members resigned in protest, public opinion in the church was aroused, and a year later the trustees overwhelmingly reversed their position.

The state colleges and universities into which Negroes have been admitted certify boldly and cheerfully to the success of the experiment. Their testimony has great weight because it so sharply denies the somber predictions of certain politicians of the dire results of integration. And their law schools, as I stated, have fulfilled their historic mission by telling the politicians to their teeth that their evasive schemes won't hold water.

Professional groups everywhere integrate--doctors, nurses, lawyers and all the rest. This summer at North Carolina State College for the first time all county agents of both races receive their short course together under identical conditions.

So I might go on indefinitely. I am not oblivious to the occasional disagreeable incident which makes your headlines and which seems perhaps to you to belie my rosy recital. But remember we are concerned with trends, rather than isolated events. Even the most arrant Southern segregationist would admit, I believe, that the trends clearly spell the doom of a segregated society in the South.

There remains the question of whether or not I have read the signs aright, drawn correct inferences from available data. There exist, of course, the dangers of misinterpretation and over-statement. Let me give you a few of the exhibits in support of my conclusions. From the May 4 issue of one Southern school magazine I lift the following items:

From Kentucky

> .... Next day a department representing 85 percent (16,000) of the KEA membership, the Department of Classroom Teachers, voted approval by a 3-to-1 majority of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling as being "a reaffirmation of our fundamental belief in the principles of a democratic society," and as carrying out "principles clearly defined in the preamble of the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights."
>
> In Frankfort on March 31 the 10th Kentucky Youth Assembly by majority vote urged that Negro youths be invited to attend the 1956 assembly. Some 565 delegates were congratulated by their president, 18-year-old University of Louisville student John F. Stewart, on their decision.

From Missouri

> One Missouri area where school desegregation was expected to prove most difficult is the Central section known as "Little Dixie." This bloc of counties along the Missouri River to the west of Jefferson City, about midway across the state, was settled by southerners from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and the section has retained some of the flavor and feeling of the South, including a strong tendency to vote straight and usually conservative Democratic.
>
> Since the Supreme Court opinion last year, school districts have successfully and quietly carried out integration in "Little Dixie", just as they have in other sections of Missouri. Not all districts acted during the first year, and the number of Negroes still attending segregated schools in this area exceeds the number in mixed schools. But enough experience has been gained, principally in high school integration, to suggest that the transition in this part of the state may not be much different from the general Missouri pattern.

From Georgia

The item from Georgia is short but significant.

> But April, 1955, was a quiet month in that comparatively few officials publicly reiterated their opposition to integregation.

Negative, but indicative. When Georgia politicians stop talking, real progress is being made.

From Oklahoma

> Meanwhile, Bill Shipley of Okmulgee, House education chairman who has consistently opposed immediate integration, washed his hands of the whole job. "I'm sick and tired of fighting," Shipley told reporters. "I've worked night and day for the school people of this state, and all I hear is blame for the things I've done wrong."

From West Virginia

> Integration had been effected completely in 12 counties; partially in 13 other counties. Eighteen counties had taken no action on the issue; 11 had no Negro pupils; and integration in one county had been delayed by protest actions.
>
> There are prospects, though, that with the opening of a new school year next September more counties will join the list of the "integrated."
>
> Studies toward this consolidation are being made in several counties at present, and in others school officials report that integration should proceed without difficulty or protests when the Supreme Court makes a final definite decision on its implementation.

From Virginia

> Lieut. Gov. A. E. S. Stephens, in a speech at Alexandria, Va., on April 16, declared it was "unthinkable" that Virginia should consider eliminating its public school system. "Regardless of how violently we as a people, or as individuals, may have reacted to this decision (of the Supreme Court), the fact remains that our court of last resort has spoken and we must, each and every one of us, give prayerful consideration to determining what is the right and proper thing to do under the circumstances." he said.
>
> The Virginia division of the American Association of University Women, meeting in Staunton April 14-16, urged public officials of this state to "make every effort to provide orderly compliance with the momentous decision" of the Supreme Court.

From Florida

> The Dade County Council on Community Relations has been holding neighborhood forums at which white and Negro leaders discuss the issues raised by integration. This is an educational program.
>
> The new program just getting under way is a departure. It is a conscious effort to provide leadership in carrying out the Supreme Court mandate--whatever it may be.

I could continue these quotations beyond the limits of your generous patience. I hope you will agree, however, that when these items appear in one issue of a monthly magazine, there exist trends of tidal proportions.

These trends are not entirely self-created. They receive some nurture and direction.

The Fund for Advancement of Education gave a sizeable grant to a commission of Southern editors. With it they publish monthly Southern School News, from which I have extensively quoted, which gives a blow-by-blow account of what is transpiring on the education front in the South. It is factual, objective. Some of the news is bad, some good, after the manner of news. But the unfolding panorama is one of progress all along the line. They are giving us the truth which will set us free.

Then there is the organization with which I am connected, The Southern Regional Council. If Southern School News gives people the facts, our purpose is to get them to act upon the facts. For ten years we have tried to bring public opinion to the point of ready acceptance of a new social structure in the South, one in which segregation would be banned as a needless and callous infliction on the human spirit. It has, or will have, divisions in every Southern State. Its composition has always been integrated, thereby setting an example to all Southerners. Its twin tools have been reason and persuasion. But above all, it has laid the problem of race upon the Southern conscience.

So these agencies nurture and direct the developing trends.

There is no comparable opposing agency. The opposition has the funds. It has some political spearheads. But perhaps a sense of shame has kept down openly disclosed organization. Shame and a conviction that their money and efforts would be wasted. For in opposing integration, they would be trying to sweep back a resistless tide.

June 10, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I am to be at Lee Hall at Blue Ridge from Sunday evening June 12th through Friday the 17th. CIO labor school. Alice has the car up East somewhere, but intends to come to Black Mountain on Friday the 17th and pick me up. If she should get there on the 16th, she and I will drive over to see you. But that is unlikely.

You may count on my being on the grounds (as distinct from being on top of a mountain) at Blue Ridge, if circumstances should lead you over there during the coming week.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

June 13, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

A letter came in this morning's mail from Robert Menefee concerning his report on Yancey, Mitchell, and Avery counties in North Carolina. I am sending a copy of the letter to you, but I am afraid that Mr. Menefee does not add much to the information we have on the counties. He does, however, sound an optimistic note on the situation.

I am sorry you were not able to make it to Camp New Hope for the staff meeting. It was most interesting and informative.

If there is any additional information I can get for you concerning the three North Carolina counties, please let me know. I am interested in following future developments there.

Also, I read with pleasure the action in Asheville. It is a very hopeful note. With a little pushing, perhaps North Carolina can lead the way.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

encl.

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

June 16, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Here are various items that I have been planning to write you about:

1. You may be interested in the several enclosures. You may keep them if you wish, since we have other copies. I quoted our ~~[illegible]~~ letter, of course, to the lady in Arkansas, but I have not yet had a reply from her.

2. We appreciated your calling to alert us to the impending speech of Governor Hodges. Unfortunately all my efforts to reach appropriate North Carolina people were unsuccessful. I would be interested in your reaction to the Monday night speech. Judging by the newspaper reports, it was not the wholly constructive statement we had hoped for, despite the wise decision not to call the legislature into special session.

3. Dr. Mitchell asked me to write you about the suggestion for New South in your letter of June 6th. I agree enthusiastically with your idea of a cumulative list of Southern counties integrating their school systems. My feeling is that we should exclude the border states from this listing, for two reasons. First, we have always put our main emphasis on the thirteen states regarded as the South proper and officially included in the Council's area; the theory being that precedents there carry the greatest weight within the South. Second, and more important perhaps, better than fifty of the eighty counties cited in our recent statement are in West Virginia; I doubt that a listing by name of this many counties in one border state would accomplish our purpose. I should appreciate your views on the modified idea of instituting a cumulative list of the communities of the thirteen Southern states which now proceed to conform to the Supreme Court's decision. As a beginning, we are summarizing in the forthcoming issue of New South such favorable reactions as the Ashville and Charlotte Boards' statements. Your suggestion that we stress the "call to leadership" will also be used, with thanks.

4. Fred Routh tells me that the model act requested by the Alabama floor leader was supplied but has not yet been used as a basis for proposed legislation. When and if it is, we will let you know at once. Meanwhile, the other state staff people have been supplied with copies of the same model act.

5. The statement which you approved on the heels of the Supreme Court decision was not only released promptly to the press, but was also mailed out the same day to each of the state groups for possible guidance. A good many of them got out statements of their own as evidenced to some extent in the state by state reports in the latest issue of Southern School News. Incidentally, Katherine Stoney is entering your subscription on the new paid basis with Southern School News.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for Information

HCF/cab
Encls.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 20, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of June 16 touching upon various matters. Your paragraph 3 seems to be the only one that would require comment from me.

As to that paragraph, I will go along very cheerfully with your views. The argument for including counties of the border states would seem to be that we could now print fairly impressive lists of counties, which printing may perhaps tend to influence the undecided. I am afraid if we wait for a list of counties in the 13 states, we may be delayed sometime.

However, your judgment in such matters is better than mine and I gladly defer.

Please extend my congratulations to Constable on his baseball article. It sounded good to an old bleacher fan.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 20, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am delighted to receive copy of your memorandum in regard to "And So They Grow" addressed to all State Executive Directors. I hope that many of them will avail themselves of the use of this film.

The New York office has written suggesting that the film be returned. Will you please see that it is sent promptly to Miss Adele S. Mossler, Director, The Play Schools Association, 119 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

c c to Miss Mossler

inclosing memorandum refered to

June 21, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I am sensible of the weight of your letter of June 9th, and, as I told you the other day when I was at Linville Falls, will do my best to work in that way. As far as the staff is concerned, I think policy people on the staff have been pretty thoroughly consulted and have usually been able to get their special and general views into decisions made.

On the letter to the Ford people, it is to be considered that the main issues concerned have been pretty thoroughly discussed by Mrs. Hamilton and others in meetings of the Program Planning Committee, and I believe that her final report to the Executive Committee made it plain that numerous points, which had been so thrashed out in the Program Planning Committee meetings, had found their way into the letter to the Fund for the Republic. I sent it off without convening a meeting of the Executive Committee because (a) it appeared urgent to know as far ahead of time as possible whether there would be funds for the employment of Associate Directors in the various states, and (b) because we had no way of knowing how long it would take the machinery of the Fund for the Republic to act on the matter. As it turned out, they were pleasantly prompt.

I say these things not to escape or turn your general points, which I agree with fully.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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JUN 13 1955

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 9, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Let me preface what I have to say by observing that, for most of my professional life, I was associated rather intimately with corporations. This fact may pre-dispose me to value too highly the corporate plan of procedure. Also, in an organization such as ours, there may be substantial resons why we cannot operate as does the ordinary private corporation. I do b elieve, however, that we should draw upon corporate experience.

Hence, ever since the Ford grant I have exerted myself to set up our organization to the fullest extent possible upon lines followed by successful corporations. In this endeavour you have seen eye to eye with me and, as a result, I think our set-up on paper is excellent.

Now, up until the Ford grant SRC had to be, and largely was, a one man show. We had little money, practically all of which you raised. The natural tendency was for the board to leave everything largely in your hands. You did a magnificent job.

The Ford grant was, of course, the most significant thing that ever happened to us. For the first time in our existence we were comfortable on the financial side; we had a strong, capable board and an enlarged and competent staff. These developments caused us to cease being a one man show. Your judgment, theretofore largely unaided, could now be nourished by advice and suggestions from the board on the one hand and from the staff on the other.

I am concerned that you shall draw upon the board and staff as fully as possible. We may still make mistakes in judgment, but the chances are that the number and the gravity of such mistakes will be greatly reduced where your judgment is fed from the bottom and from the top.

The staff, b eing human, will have a larger loyalty in executing a policy which its members have had a hand in fashioning. The interest of the board will be kept keener and more productive if its members have likewise been thoroughly consulted in advance of decisions on policy matters. It was for this reason that some months ago I suggested, that, with each of your written reports to the Executive Committee or to the full board, there should go the invitation to advance suggestions as to program. I have the idea that few such invitations would be accepted but the doctrine of estoppel might apply to those who were invited and did not respond.

The whole question of the proper relationship between board, Executive Director and staff has been raised in my mind by the recent negotiations with the Ford people concerning disposition of a possible $50,000.00 surplus. As I see it, the question of use to be made of such fund, if we can salvage it, is the most important decision to be made since the orginal grant. I, certainly, would not wish the responsibility

to decide on my own and without conference with my associates just how this potential asset might best be used.

This would seem to have been the classie opportunity for full deliberation by the staff, followed by your recommendation to the Executive Committee and final action by that committee before any proposal was submitted to Ford. Your proposal to the Ford people may be exactly the correct one, but the point is that it was submitted without prior consideration by the Executive Committee. When it came before that committee it was in the status of a fait accompli. It would be embarrassing, if not prejudicial, for the Executive Committee to undertake to modify your proposal.

You will know whetheror not the proposal had been thoroughly considered and discussed by the staff. If not, there would seem to me to be the grave risk that the staff might be lukewarm in its support of the proposal.

I do not wish for a moment to imply that a vote should be taken in the staff on questions of policy with your feeling bound by the result of such votes. As I see it, the staff is your cabinet and you are at liberty to reject views of its members. But, if the staff is to discharge one of its most important functions, you should be given the full benefit of their views. To fail to receive such views, or to reject them arbitrarily, is to invite resignation.

A director is in much stronger position when he goes before his board with the solid baaking of his staff than when he goes alone. His position is still strong if every member of the staff has had full opportunity to air his views in advance of decisions.

The Ford matter is behind us. Other equally important decisions will be made in the future. The point herein made is presented in order that it may have consideration by you as questions may later arise.

Another matter: you will be confronted with filling vacancies created by resignations of Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Stoney and Miss Holden. In order that it may not be overlooked, I remind you of the creation of a personnel committee to pass upon staff membership above the stenographic level. This would imply, it seems to me, that you should make no arrangements or commitments as to employment but that you should first transmit to the personnel committee your recommendations as to filling these vacancies. Only after action by that committee should employment be offered or accepted.

I am moved to make this point because apparently some arrangement with Mr. Parrish has been concluded for the summer months. I yield to no one in my admiration for Mr. Parrish. He is probably an ideal choice for the work you have in mind. But my impression is that protocol would suggest that his employment should have been approved in advance by the personnel committee.

This is a most extended letter. It is not intended to be critical. It is intended to suggest that, while our organization is in excellent shape on paper, we may, by force of long habit lapse into our former and more informal procedure. My only disire is that both the staff and the board may be of all help possible to you in the discharge of your duties.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

June 22, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We have been trying to work out dates for an Executive Committee meeting in late July, but simply couldn't get the space at Gatlinburg. The next time it suits the convenience of staff people is thought to be a dead period at the last of August and those first days of September before Labor Day. So we are trying to book space at Mammoth Cave for a meeting which would begin with supper the night of August 31st and continue during September 1, and be over after breakfast September 2nd. We are told that there is a comfortable little hotel there that would take us all in.

Meanwhile, in search of a meeting place for the Board, November 9th, I have been stumped by Cassandra's requirement of unsegregated housing. Vigo tells me it could not be had in New Orleans. Dillard or Xavier would love to have us, but will be chock full of students. Parrish suggested Dorothy Hall at Tuskegee, which is a blooming good suggestion. Hotel rooms a'plenty. Meals prepared by Tuskegee's school of chef cooking. Not as far West as we would like, but as far as we could go and feel sure of meeting Cassandra's requirement. We are writing Tuskegee to see if that can be had.

We are counter-proposing to the Quakers that we pay them $5,000 for Osborne's salary for twelve months, and that they put Osborne on leave for six months, during which six months she would work for us at and out of this office. I have checked this with Rufus, who approves. Do not know whether Quakers will agree. The $10,000 this would cost is the only $10,000 available for three area meetings of staff and state volunteer personnel. I want both, but I feel most obligated on the Osborne arrangement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

P.S. The Quakers had counter-proposed that Osborne be on their payroll all year, travel out of Philadelphia, and be available to us under their direction 180 days. We have not liked this.

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 27, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The idea of the Mammoth Cave meeting appeals to me very strongly. Deus volens, I shall be there.

You will recall that, ex post facto, you were to write Dr. Clement and me letters requesting approval of employment of Mr. Parrish and Miss Osborne. I am not too much concerned about the forms of such letters but it seems to me that these and similar letters should contain:

1. Name of applicant and pertinent biographical data.
2. The duties to which the applicant will be assigned.
3. Compensation and tenure.

Since some responsibility is placed upon Dr. Clement and myself in connection with such appointments, I think that we should have before us a written record giving the facts which you feel justified the appointments.

Best regards

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG
c c to Dr. Clement

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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 5, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Please let me know if the reel "And So They Grow" has gone back to New York. Those people were very kind to let me have it and I do hope that it has been sent to them or that we have arranged to keep it on a commercial basis.

Best regards

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

c c to Miss Mossler

July 7, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Since Fred is away from the office until Monday, July 11, I would like to say that I, personally, mailed the film "And So They Grow" back to the New York office on June 21.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander

rha

Thanks -
FBR.

July 12, 1955.

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for the remarkable editorial from the Florence Morning News. We plan to reproduce it in the next issue of New South.

I have written today to Mrs. Spearman requesting her views on the best way to give the editorial wider distribution within South Carolina. I will let you know what is done.

I agree whole heartedly with you suggestion that we give recognition to the individual behind bold community action. As you know that may not always be possible, since the origins of such communities actions are frequently obscure, often deliberately so. However, we will be alert to every opportunity to accord credit for individual initiative and courage.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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Act - For action & reply

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 5, 1955

JUL 7 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I recently sent you copy of an editorial appearing in the Florence (S.C.) Morning News which I hope that you and Fleming may find worthy of reproduction in New South. In my opinion, it is the sanest piece of writing emanating from that state since Judge Waring's decision in the Clarendon case.

If you share my enthusiasm for the article, I should like for you and Harold to deside upon ways and means by which we may give it in South Carolina for larger circulation then would be afforded by New South. It has occured to me that the South Carolina council might be induced to have a few thousand copies photostated and circulated where it would do the most good. But your judgment on the merits of the article and the method of giving it circulation will be better than mine.

Another matter on which I would like to get the views of you and Harold:

We are properly giving publicity in New South to bold and imaginative action taken by Southern cities, counties, school districts, etc. That encourages other communities.

Back of the action are individuals--a city councilman here, a school trustee there, and so on. I should like to extend our idea alittle further and give recognition to the bold individuals behind the bold action. If hesitant communities are encouraged to move because of bold action by other communities, hesitant individuals will be encouraged to move by bold action of other individuals. Time has a page entitled "Names Make News". I imagine it is widely read. Certainly it comforms to good journalistic practices. So, when we report action, if it is possible for us to do so, I should like to see us print the names of key individuals associated with that action.

You and Harold think this over and let me know how you feel.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

July 15, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

A couple of weeks ago we had an airmail letter from a gentlemen in New York who described himself as secretary to J. David Stern and asked for information about SRC.

We answered compressedly in reply. Today came a hundred dollars and this note from Mr. Stern, which I have answered as enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Copy

JUL 22 1955

July 20, 1955

Mr. D. David Stern
880 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Stern:

Mr. George Mitchell has kindly informed me of your contribution to Southern Regional Council. I should like to add my own expression of appreciation to Mr. Mitchell's.

The contribution is the more valued because of the situation with which we are now confronted. A grant from the Fund for the Republic placed us under the obligation of raising $60,000.00 in one year from private sources. The wealth of the South, or elsewhere, I imagine, is largely in conservative hands. The conservatives of the South are pretty generally satisfied with the present status and suspicious of any organization which tries to change that status. The Southern Regional Council is engaged in that sort of an undertaking.

So dollars from Southern sources come hard these days. We have to go to liberal friends elsewhere for a part of our needed support.

We are quite grateful that you have remembered us.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. WRIGHT

MAW:EJG

GSM - F.Y.I.

LINVILLE FALLS, N. C.

July 20, 1955
(Personal stationery)

Governor Luther Hodges

Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Sir:

I am sure you will agree that a public official should not be above criticism. Indeed, if he is properly to discharge the duties of his office, he is in honor bound to heed, though not necessarily to adopt, the views of his constituents. Out of the presentation of conflicting views is all wise public policy fashioned.

When you speak as Governor of North Carolina you are regarded as spokesman for the people of North Carolina. Your views, rightly or wrongly, are supposed to be the views of North Carolinians. When you grossly misrepresent the views of a citizen it is his duty to inform you; from his silence you may feel entitled to assume his endorsement. Your recent statements on segregation have so grossly misrepresented the views of myself and a substantial number of North Carolinians that I feel impelled to express my resentment. I believe:

North Carolinians wish to observe the law. The Supreme Court is the constitutional and sole agency for declaring the law.

They are loyal to their government. The Supreme Court is an integral part of their government.

They regard the public school as essential to democratic government and enlightenment of all people, not the few who are able to employ tutors or governesses or to patronize private schools. Since the establishment of the public school system, so far as I know, you have the dubious distinction of being the only governor to give "serious consideration" to its abolition.

Of course, I must concede that a substantial number of our people believe strongly in segregation. But when the preservation of segregation means violation of law and disloyalty to government on the one hand, or the third rate civilization flowing from abolition of public schools on the other, I do not believe the state is prepared to pay such price. Only the very minimum of statesmanship could prompt such a suggestion.

I am quite sure you would disclaim advocacy of either violation of law or disloyalty to government. That may be a matter of definition. You would have in mind the classic example of maintaining segregated schools after a specific decree affecting a particular district. (I am certain you would not advocate that.) But you do seem to advise or encourage North Carolinians to take no action until confronted with that extremity. We now know what justice requires. Justice delayed is justice denied. Then, when you advocate delay, what do you also advocate? What, if not denial?

There is a policy with which your name is associated that seems to me to be profoundly immoral. The State has decentralized its school system. (It will take many years to undo that single act of folly.) The obvious--indeed, the proclaimed--motive was to detach the state from the system to the end that the enforcement of justice would involve a multiplicity of suits and interminable delay. But, having granted a paper autonomy to the counties which, on the surface, would enable each to determine its own course, you create an advisory commission which advises all of them this year not to comply with the law. Very slick--and very dishonest. I do not want my state to practice that kind of morality.

I talked yesterday with a county superintendent of education who was prepared this year to integrate the twenty Negro pupils of his county into four schools having several hundred white pupils. Then came the "advice" from Raleigh. While he shares my nausea, he has a future in education to consider. The type of mentality which would devise the policy would also indulge in reprisals.

While you have not yet advocated establishment of private schools (necessary only if public schools are abolished) you have not rebuked your Assistant Attorney General who did so. You endorsed the fiction that he spoke only as a private citizen when, of course, his words have weight and significance only because of the office he fills. And you rebuked the NAACP for resenting this mischievous abuse of official position.

The characterization of NAACP as a "pressure group" betrays a bent of mind. Churches, chambers of commerce, PTAs, the American Legion, the DAR and a host of other organizations may do all they can to influence public policy. So does NAACP. But only it is a "prassure group".

Recently, I believe you headed a North Carolina delegation to Washington to secure repeal of tolls on the Blue Ridge Parkway--a matter of peculiar selfish concern to North Carolinians. What did you try to bring to bear on the Secretary of the Interior? What kind of a group were you anyway? And I believe you are now setting up a group to secure favorable tariff rates for textile mills. They will exert what? Is there anything reprehensible in what you have done?

The South has long looked to North Carolina for leadership in every liberal cause. North Carolina for many years has looked with

pride to its governor for such leadership. From you at this critical juncture I had expected a shining example. Recently you have used the Neanderthal gutterals of Byrnes and Talmadge.

I know of nothing more detrimental to North Carolina than for the American people to indentify you in outlook and attitude with that shabby pair.

You may still have time to lead--but time is running out.

Yours truly,

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

July 20, 1955.

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a memorandum describing a proposed legal reporting service on desegregation under consideration by the Fund for the Republic. As you will see, it is completely independent of the Council's program and approach. However, in the process of formulating it, Adam Yarmolinsky, a consultant to the Fund in legal matters, sought the advice of Morris Abram and myself, and now he asks that we solicit the confidential views of other appropriate persons. You are obviously highly appropriate.

I would greatly appreciate any comments, criticisms, or suggestions that you might find time to send me. You will understand that for obvious reasons, the Fund wishes to explore the idea discreetly.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc
Enc.

July 29, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I am back from Charlottesville to find your good stout letter to Governor Hodges. Surely it will help him to swing around to the honorable North Carolina tradition.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 1, 1955

Mr. Marion W. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Since Harold is on vacation, I am taking the liberty of mailing you a copy of your letter concerning the legal reporting service.

Harold mailed a copy of this letter to Adam Yarmolinsky. I liked the idea very much.

Looking forward to seeing you at Mammoth Caves, with best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Editorial Assistant

JC/vc

August 10, 1955.

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for your letter of August 8. I am enclosing a clipping of the resolution of the United Church Women. You will note the only change is the deletion of Eugene Cook's name.

In regard to the follow up of your telephone conversation with me to have Harry Jones take steps to influence the public expressions of your Governor, I am enclosing a copy of a letter I just received from him, which answers that question. Certainly, the Governor's position was not an enlightened one; I am constantly amazed that people who supposedly have good minds and wide experience can have such narrow view.

From what I know about Happy Chandler, too much should not be expected. He was a part of the Dixiecrat movement in 1948 and is now regarded as a part of the more liberal element of the Democratic party in Kentucky. I am enclosing an editorial from the Courrier-Journal (compliments of Dr. Parrish) which explains the point of view of a newspaper which opposes Chandler.

We are preparing for the meeting at Atlanta University tonight and tomorrow and hope to come out of that conference with some well founded suggestions for expanded services from the central office. I am sorry it was not possible for you to come.

Best personal regards to you and Mrs. Wright.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Encs.
FBR?vc

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 8, 1955

Mr. Fred B. Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me copy of the proposed resolution prepared for the church group, as well copies of certain other material.

I hope very much that the resolution may have been adopted without change. It seemed to me to b e a perfect expression of what should be the sentiments of Georgia church women.

Was there any follow-up of my telephone conversation with you proposing that Harry Jones might take steps to influence the public expressions of our Governor? He speaks tonight over radio and TV.

What do you know about Happy Chandler? Surely we can't expect too much from him.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

August 11, 1955

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Mrs. Hamilton's report was sent to every member of the Executive Committee. It has a leisurely place on the agenda, and we all want it cordially discussed.

We would like to concentrate the promotion effort on a particular individual, and even have such an individual in mind. The budget for next year will be considerably in excess of prospective revenue, and the Committee will need to consider staffing all jobs in the light of money. But I do think a promotion job would be nearly self-liquidating.

I agree with you one hundred per cent about the importance of my staying in this office. I have already written to the labor groups and told them that I just wouldn't be available to do next summer what I did this summer. Indeed, I have told them that I could be available for only one week in the whole summer; named them some substitutes to start looking into. But great as the cost has been, I think the gain has quite possibly been worth it this summer -- maybe not.

Parrish has had in last night and today eighteen or twenty main social science people and some of our state people to talk about ways of getting more successful programs out of our state groups. Going on now and quite fruitful.

I much hope you will come to Mammoth Cave. The very quorum is in danger.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 9, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.C.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AUG 11 1955

Dear George:

1. Mrs. Hamilton has done an excellent job in the written report which came to me some days ago. That report reflects a great deal of care and thought in its preparation. I hope that, in advance of the Mammoth Cave meeting, a copy may be in the hands of each member of the Executive Committee and the staff with the requests that it be given careful study. I further suggest that it be an important item on our agenda with ample time for leisurely discussion.

2. Her recommendation that our information service have a staff member whose sole task it would be to promote the circulation of New South and the distribution of our literature, as well as larger use of other media of communication is an idea which I have entertained for some time. You will recall that several months ago I discussed it with you and Harold. Recently I wrote Harold on the point and would like to refer you to that letter as expressing my point of view.

The conviction grows upon me that we are reaching only a fractional part of our potential reading public. All that we have to sell is in-

formation and ideas. To have a great fund of information and carefully developed ideas availeth naught if they are not gotten across to others. In my opinion the next new position to be created should be that of assistant in charge of promotion.

3. I congratulate you on the very excellent report dated July 27th. It gives a fine over-all picture of developments in the central office and in the states.

I note that you may have some doubt as to the wisdom of your absence on so many occasions to represent us at significant meetings. As important as these meetings may be and as valuable to us as the contacts which you establish, I have the feeling that the best administration during the past year would have required, and during the coming year will require, your remaining on the job in Atlanta every minute that you possibly can. The organization is young, green and moving into uncharted territory. Until each member is thoroughly schooled as to his or her precise duties, I feel that you should be there to give answers and direction. I am afraid that eruptions within the staff involving Miss Holden, Miss Stoney, and Mrs. Hamilton may have occured because of some fuzziness as to the precise responsibility resting upon each of them. Complete staff loyalty is intimately associated with absolute clarity as to what is expected of each employee. That clarity is attained by constant day-to-day, rather than by sporadic, guidance.

Similarly, questions will constantly arise as to the relative duties and obligations of the central office and the state divisions. If such questions are not promptly and authoritatively answered, several situations may arise which can lead to misunderstanding and friction.

I think that a part, at least, of our lack of success in the study of criminal sentences was due to the fact that there was no one constantly in Atlanta to give immediate answers to questions which developed as the young men were filling out their questionnaires.

As I see it, our problems are now not so much those of fixing major goals, but of handling immediately and correctly a host of details. We do not seem to have worked out a system by which those can be delegated to others. Unless and until we do, I know of no solution better than that of George Mitchell constantly accessible by telephone and constantly writing letters to those who seek answers to their perplexities.

I do not know precisely what I mean when I say that we must "keep a firm grip" on our state divisions, but I am sure that a part of the measure of their effectiveness will be found in your ready accessibility at any time a question arises.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

File

Review to HCF
GSM

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 12, 1955

Rec'd
GSM

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

AUG 15 1955

Dear George:

I know that your embarrassment over the incident with Mrs. Hamilton must have been acute. I believe, however, that her interest in our work is so genuine that she will not let this fairly trivial occurrence produce any permanent alienation.

With reference to the forthcoming meeting if I may express myself about the agenda, I should like to see items included as follows:

1. Application to FFR for funds to make awards to Southern communities and individuals. In order that we may have something before us on that point, I enclose draft of a proposed memorandum. If you think well of the idea I suggest that you have copies made for distribution among the members in order that it may serve as a starting point for discussion.

2. Application to FFR for funds to establish the legal reporting service. The memorandum which Harold prepared (or at least which he sent me) and my letter to Harold commenting upon the plan might serve as a starting point for discussion for that topic.

I think that the idea of the legal reporting service is excellent and that there are cogent reasons for our handling it. Every new agency set up in our field may tend to weaken us. Our strength and prestige are increased and enhanced every time responsible Southern leaders turn to us as being the authority in our field.

3. Mrs. Hamilton's report. This is a very scholarly and thorough piece of work which we requested her to furnish. I think that her ideas should receive our very careful consideration. Here is an entirely new idea which has been running around in my mind for some time.

I should like to see us discuss at Mammoth Cave the proposal that New South devote in the very near future an article or issue to costs incurred by Southern states and political subdivisions in defending the civil rights suits. We would have to take a starting point, which might well be the Missouri decision involving scholarships to out of state Universities. From that point (or any better one) we should bring the matter down to date on schools, parks, playgrounds, golf courses, transportation and everything else in the civil rights field. There should be included all private legal fees and all costs paid by the states or subdivisions.

I should like to see it pin-pointed by states. I think that the article would further be strengthened by the names of the attorneys and the amounts received by each. I suggest this for a variety of reasons, not the least malicious of which are (a) the reluctance of nearly everybody to pay attorney fees and (b) the professional jealousy of attorneys resulting from seeing other members of the bar, usually politicians,

pick up easy money out of the public trough.

In addition to private counsel the article should give the names of the official counsel representing the defendants in order that the public may form some idea of the amount of time of their employees which has been spent in futile endeavor.

As to Mr. John W. Davis, I believe that he served without fee but the state of South Carolina made an appropriation, I think of $5000.00, to buy him a gold plated dinner service.

Here is one field for full co-operation between us and NAACP. Their legal staff would know at once the titles of cases, names of counsel and amounts of costs. They might also know the fees involved. At any rate they are in superb position to call upon state treasurers or other proper officials to secure the information. I think we should strike a trade with them by which we would ask them to furnish us the correct data and we would be obligated to give it publicity. This method would be speedy and exact. Otherwise, we would have the laborious process of asking our state directors to round up the information for us. ¶ Such an article would seem to me to have an extremely timely significance. The current issue of Southern School News tells of allocation of funds and employment of attorneys to defend anticipated suits. The people should be fully advised that such funds in the past have gone down the drain. Of course, the big issue is one of morals--using money contributed by taxpayers of all races to thwart compliance with the law of the land. But the pocket-book argument is the one which may appeal more strongly to John Q Public.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG
c c to Dr. Clement

MAW's

Aug. 1955

DRAFT OF PROPOSED MEMORANDUM TO FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this Memorandum is to outline a proposal designed to encourage Southern communities to comply "with all deliberate speed" with the decrees of the Supreme Court in the segregation cases.

While there would be ample reason for such effort if Southern communities were left to their free choices, the reason is the more compelling in many areas because of pressure to preserve the present status. This pressure is both official and non-official.

For example, Louisiana sets aside a fund of $100.000 to employ segregation attorneys to defend local suits, Georgia authorizes use of state funds of an unstated amount for the same purpose, and, additionally, assigns two members of the Attorney General's staff to assist in defending such suits. That State also makes membership in NAACP ground for denying a certificate to teach. North Carolina with State funds creates an advisory commission (all white) to assist communities to institute a program of voluntary segregation. Instances might be multiplied, of the full weight and resources of states being employed to dissuade communities from compliance with the decrees.

In addition, there have been spawned in the South a host of private organizations upon whose shoulders the mantle of the Ku Klux Klan has fallen, such organizations as Citizens Council, White America, Inc., Knights of the White Christians, Southern Gentlemen, Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, Maryland Petition Committee, Baltimore Association for States Rights, States Rights League, National Association for Advancement of White People, Virginia League, Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties and Federation for Constitutional Government. The states represented in

this list are Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia and Tennessee.

There is, then, a truly impressive exhibition of official and privately organized resources and individuals whose sole purpose is to coerce or terrify communities into non-compliance with law. They etch the necessity for counter-action.

THE PLAN

The strategy to be employed in order to defeat this combination of public and private power seems to be self-dictated. If there is to be punishment for non-compliance, there should be reward for compliance, Stated otherwise, if there is to be from some quarters obloquy and reproach for those who seek to uphold the law, there should be from other quarters honor and approbation, If a community is to be subjected to pressure to be craven, there should be upon it an off-setting pressure to be bold. And, since a community may be bold without being wise, the reward should go to communities which exhibit both boldness and wisdom in their approach to integration.

As important as may be words of judicious praise, the reward should not consist of compliments alone. It should be tangible. It should be monetary and in an amount sufficient to be appreciated and striven for.

The plan, in brief, is that to each of ten units of school administration--district, city or county, as may be determined--there should go an award of $10,000.00 for its boldness and wisdom in accomplishing integration in the public schools "with all deliberate speed". Coincidentally, there should be awarded to individuals--trustees, superintendents or othersresponsible--appropriately engraved gold medals.

The plan recognizes that the community is an entity and that the

action is group action. It also makes acknowledgement that behind, and responsible for, the action is an individual or group of individuals.

OBJECTIVES

There would be three major objectives:

1. To accord deserved recognition to communities and individuals who have moved with courage and statesmanship.

2. To encourage hesitant or wavering communities or individuals so to move.

3. By publicizing the policies pursued in successful integration, to educate others as to proper techniques.

The award method possesses certain distinct virtues.

It is positive rather than negative. However deserved adverse criticism for failure to act may be, commendation for those who do act is believed to be more effective as an incentive to move. The carrot should be tried before the stick.

The method lends itself to widespread and favorable publicity. Awards recently made to a community and a library--there may have been others--for liberal action in fields at least tangential to public school integration were widely covered by press, radio and television.

In several Southern states, by operation of newly enacted legislation, counties and districts now have autonomy in assignment of pupils. They can integrate if they want to. Many such counties and districts are pondering their courses. Where the scales are nearly balanced, the distinction and monetary award which came to another Southern community may prove decisive.

Nobel and Pulitzer wisely appealed to men's competitive instinct and

their natural thirst for well grounded approbation. Such would be the reason underlying the plan herein proposed.

Upon the individual, as distinguished from the community, level, there may be division within a board of trustees, or a superintendent may have his moments of doubt. The public recognition and acclaim which have come to other trustees or superintendents may be of crucial importance.

MECHANICS

To effectuate the plan, it is proposed:

1. That the Southern Regional Council should set up a board of seven Southern educators of both races whose respective institutions would be ineligible for any award. The board would determine the recipients. The board would elect from its members a chairman and a secretary. The Southern Regional Council would fill vacancies if any.

2. The board would have complete authority as to its choices, community and individual, for awards, but should select only one community and the individual or individuals concerned at a time and at intervals of not less than one month. It should take into account the resolution and tact displayed; the steps pursued, including their adaptability to other communities, and the results achieved, if results have become evident.

3. The board may make such investigation as it desires and use such evidence, information and reports as it deems credible in arriving at its decisions. Records of the Southern Regional Council shall at all times be available to the board.

4. The board shall make no disclosure of its awards except

to the Southern Regional Council in order that the Council may release at such times and under such circumstances as to secure maximum favorable publicity.

5. Awards shall be delivered only upon receipt by the Council from the responsible school official of a full report of the plans pursued by the community involved, with the views of the official as to merits or demerits of each step takem and suggestions for improvement. The Council shall have the right to publicize such report as it may see fit.

6. Awards to communities shall be ten in number in amount of $10,000.00 each. Individual awards in a number to be determined by the board shall be suitably inscribed gold medals of the value of $50.00 each.

7. The board shall receive travel and maintenance allowance for purposes of conference and a per diem of $25.00 for each day spent in conference.

8. It is estimated that $5000.00 will cover charges of the board and cost of individual awards. Hence, the amount of the grant shouldbe $105.000.00

MAW

8/13/55

Hcf

Marion Wright

August 22, 1955

Mr. Paul Green
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Green:

It is quite good of you to send me copy of your day letter to Governor Hodges and your letter to Jonathan Daniels. I am so glad that you wrote both of them, particularly the Governor. Today I mailed you copy of my letters to the Governor and the Attorney General with the notation that you may keep them for your own.

Of course, you read the stirring Faulkner letter as reprinted in New South. I hope you also read the Sandburg poem in Collier's of September 2nd. Lillian Smith way down in Georgia and Mrs. Boyle at Charlottesville are keeping the pot boiling.

Now for an idea: We have in the South literary figures of stature and reputation. Their words command respect. You must know a dozen or more who feel as you do about this whole business of integration. At present each one writes on that topic only when the spirit moves him, which may mean that he passes up a good many occasions when a public letter might have great value.

Why don't you make an informal compact with men and women of that type by which you will severally agree that when a politician spouts his

nonsense you will immediately blast him in the press? I underscore "immediately" since McCarthy taught us that the way for your stuff to have effect is to get it before the public before the public has completely made up its mind about the suggestion you want to off set. (You grasp this point since your day letter to Governor Hodges went to him within a few hours after his TV and radio appearance.)

Our central office in Atlanta keeps its ear constantly on the railroad iron for utterances such as those of Hodges. It would know each day what had been said by a significant political figure anywhere in the South. We would take a malicious pleasure in phoning at once some literary person in the neck of the woods of the politician in question, calling his attention to what had been said and urging him immediately to go to bat for decency. We should always, of course, know that the person whom we called was sound at heart and would not resent our prodding him. If you had secured the prior commitments of such persons we would have that assurance.

Your telegram to Governor Hodges is reassuring on the point that in these times scholarship knows there is no place for an ivory tower. Surely there are many scholars who agree with that view. If you can corral them into an informal alliance you would place in the hands of your Council one of the ablest weapons it could wield in the fight in which we are now engaged.

What do you think?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

b c to George Mitchell

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 22, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AUG 24 1955

Dear George:

The Mammoth Cave meeting was such a stimulating experience that I shall probably be moved to write you a spate of letters which for convenience, I think it may be better to devote one letter to each topic. This one has to do with the job descriptions as set forth in mimeographed copies placed before members of the Committee.

I make a few suggestions, not because I think they are essential, but because I believe they may to some degree improve our paper work.

1. At the end of the paragraph relating to "Assistant Director For Information And Research" I would add a sentence as follows: "This official has direction and control of the Editorial Assistant and the Research Assistant".

Of course, in practice I am sure that Harold exercices such direction and control but I think that it would be well to spell out his authority in words.

2. Somewhere within the paragraph relating to "Assistant Director For State Organizations" I would insert a phrase as follows: "To Orig-

inate programs of activities suitable for each state and to attempt to secure adoption and execution of such programs".

I think that there is a very general feeling within our organization and within the organizations of the states themselves that we should be a fount of ideas which would be incorporated into their respective programs. One state Director told me that he objected to our attitude--as he construed it--that "you've got the ball, now take it and run with it".

3. Under the heading "Assistant Director For Program" I would like to add a phrase as follows: "To Originate and advise upon suitable programs of activities for the central office".

My idea is that someone in addition to yourself should be charged constantly with the duty of thinking about things which we should be undertaking. Since this official has special knowledge of the capacities of personnel, he will theoretically at least be able to relate our program to such capacities.

4. Under the heading "In charge of Womens Work" I should like to add a phrase substantially as follows: "To Promote state or regional meetings of women, whether church connected or not, with a view of enlisting their aid in support of the Council's activities."

My point is that the description of duties (a) does not refer to the sponsoring of any kind of meetings, though Mrs. Tilly seems to engage extensively and profitably in that activity, and (b) the paragraph refers exclusively to church women, whereas a great many groups of women, not meeting under church auspices, have interest in our work and may contribute greatly to it. In South Carolina, for example, Mrs. Spearman, I am informed, devotes a great deal of time to club women. As important as the church influence may be, I do not wish to concede that

only church people have a stake in what we are doing.

5. The job description of "Secretary-Treasurer" will apparently be revised upon the employment of an administrative assistant, since upon the latter apparently will devolve some of the duties spelled out for Secretary-Treasurer.

6. Under "Editorial Assistant" I would add a sentence as follows: "This official operates under the direction and control of the Assistant Director For Information And Research".

7. Under "Research Assistant" I would add the same sentence mentioned in paragraph 6.

The reason for the last two suggestions, as the reason for the suggestion contained in paragraph 1, is to make the lines of authority completely clear.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Clement as chairman of the Executive Committee. In order that it may be intelligible to him, will you please send him one of the mimeographed copies of the job descriptions. In fact, it might be well to send such copies to all members of the Committee who were not at Mammoth Cave.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

c c to Dr. Clement

August 23, 1955.

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for letting me see Judge Warring's letter re the legal reporting service. I am returning it to you enclosed. I will pass on to you promptly anything further on this matter the Fund may send our way.

It was a great pleasure being withyyou at Mammoth Cave. I thought the meeting, with leisure for full discussion, was very fruitful. I will be in touch with you about follow up on the various actio taken with respect to information.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Directo

HCF/vc
Enc.

August 29, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

As per Dr. Mitchell's instructions, I am sending you a copy of the memo to directors of state organizations re conditions of continued assistance, as set forth by the Executive Committee at the Mammoth Cave meeting.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley,
Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell

eab/

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 22, 1955.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: George S. Mitchell

TO: Directors of State Organizations

The Executive Committee of SRC, at their meeting at Mammoth Cave August 16, 17, 18, 1955, passed the following resolution:

> On motion agreed that any state which at September 30, 1955, has not raised its agreed pro rata quota, would have its assistance cut off until it meets its first year and current requirements.

I am getting this action before you at the earliest practicable moment. If you have questions as to amounts involved they can be answered by later means, but the fact of the action should be of notice to you.

GSM/vc

August 30, 1955

Ltr. from Mitch re Shenandoah for memo prepared for check com. meeting 8/15

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Dr. Mitchell asked that I send you a copy of the attached letter for your information.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

EAB/

Encl.

file "Staff" Folder

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 31, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

For Reference To Harold Fleming

I have sounded out Judge Waring as to his views on the New South article on legal fees and costs in civil rights cases. He is most favorably impressed--to use his expression, "excited". If you think you would need any help in getting NAACP to supply the necessary data, I am sure the Judge would be of great assistance. His address is 952 5th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

If the idea of printing the article is a good one, concerning which I have no doubt, the sooner it is printed the better. Southern communities are now at the point of decision on employing counsel. If such employment in the past has been money thrown away, the moral is plain.

A few nights ago Mrs. Wright and I drove over to Blue Ridge to hear a panel discussion of integration under joint CIO and Unitarian auspices. Of course the entire panel and the audience of some four or five hundred were strongly in favor of integration at the earliest reasonable moment. The question was entirely one of method.

Harold would have felt quite proud at the frequent reference to New South. The chairman, a Unitarian from Winston-Salem, urged that all those present purchase Changing Patterns and one other of our publications, the name of which I did not catch.

An Atlanta Unitarian minister was on the panel. I am sure you can easily get his name. He may advise you how you can secure the names and addresses of all Unitarian and CIO delegates. It struck me that a form letter sent to all of them might produce results.

This experience tended to confirm my faith in the suggestion I have heretofore advanced; that is, that we should arrange to have on display and for sale purposes at meetings such as the copies of our pamphlets which may appeal to those present. I am sure that if we had had two or three hundred copies of Changing Patterns at Blue Ridge, we could have disposed of all of them.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

9/3/55

Dear Harold:

Would it be wise to get the enclosed printed if we could? I think so.

If you agree, could you possibly prevail upon Ralph McGill to run as letter to the editor or otherwise as you and he agree?

I do not believe this is the time to pull any punches.

M. A. W.

P.S. Approve of letter to FFR re awards.

M.

4 - "Top Knot"
8 - Linville Falls
11 - North Carolina
(Dale) 9 - September 12, 1955 12 copies

TO THE EDITOR:

They fished the body of the little Negro boy out of the Tallahatchie River.

He had, it is said (by whom, no one knows), made "ugly remarks" to a white woman. And so, without warrant, arrest, trial, jury, conviction or legal sentence, he is kidnapped and slain and his body dumped into the river. It is doubtful that he had committed any crime. If any, the punishment could not have exceeded thirty days. But they fished his body out of the Tallahatchie.

How many thousands of white men have made "ugly remarks" to Negro women - and still breathe the free air and walk upon the green grass under the blue sky!

The lips upon which turtles have nibbled speak to the capitals of Jackson, Columbia, Atlanta, Baton Rouge and Raleigh.

Hear me, you Governors.

I was your fellow citizen. I lived with you under the same flag and constitution. I had, in theory and on paper, all the rights you enjoy. But I didn't have them in practice and in fact. I am dead and you live.

I charge you, you Governors, with a part of the guilt for my death. Oh, no, you didn't lay hands upon me or pull the trigger. You were in your comfortable offices or homes or elsewhere when my skull was shattered and the red stream mixed with grey spurted from the wound.

But you had planted and nurtured an idea, a belief. Beliefs are the things which cause men to act. Beliefs of illiterate and brutal men may move them to murder. Sow an evil belief deeply enough and widely enough and the harvest of foul deeds is assured. You gave the benediction and prestige

of your office to an idea - an idea which came to fruition along the mud flats of the Pallahatchie.

What is that idea?

It has two prongs. One is that men of one race are somehow superior to men of another race. A German named Adolph Hitler was possessed by that idea. Thousands of men of my race and of yours gave their lives to destroy that idea - came to their deaths on honorable battlefields, not in river slime.

The other prong is that it may be respectable and right to evade the law. Since May 17, 1954, you or your predecessors have preached that doctrine to your people. On that day a court of white men, interpreting a constitution written by white men, decreed that my people have a certain right under that constitution, a constitution you are sworn to uphold. You are equally sworn to uphold all rights of all people living under that constitution. But you have spat upon my rights.

You have devoted all of your cunning and guile to thwarting the law. You have taught your people that they may select the laws by which they will abide and flout those they do not select. The law you chose to flout had to do with school attendance. The law two Mississippians chose to flout had to do with trial by jury and punishment for crime. Surely their right of selection is as good as yours.

The same constitution guaranteed the right of trial by jury and attendance upon a school of my choice. Can you complain if you choose to ~~evade~~ deny the one and some of your Constituents choose to ~~evade~~ deny the other?

Some of you rail against the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan doesn't take you seriously. You are its best allies. Because, in essence, you and the Klan preach the same doctrine.

If you will look closely, you Governors, you will see more than a thread of connection between what you say and what two Mississippians did.

Beliefs may be the prelude to murder. Think upon that, my Governors, before you next use air waves or printer's ink to spread your poison.

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

Linville Falls,
North Carolina.

Office Tuesday Sep. 6

Dear Marion,

I have to do one last (CIO) School, the week of September 11-16. This one's at Junaluska. I expect we will be staying in what is called the Junaluska Apartments, and teaching in a building nearby. I haven't decided on transportation as yet, but will probably take my own car up there. Which means I can drive over to Linville Falls for a visit; but the problem is to predict when. Sometimes they put me in for morning classes, sometimes for afternoon ones. In the latter, it is hard to get away in time for the drive over to you and back at any reasonable hour. Will you try to get word to me here, by Friday, or at 906 Lullwater Road, NE, Atlanta 7, Ga., by Saturday or Sunday morning on your plans for this coming week. If I could find my best time (early probably in the week) that suits me best; but you may well be planning to be away.

Sincerely,

George

You and Mrs. Wright would be delightfully welcome at Junaluska for any part of the meeting; it's just that it makes a long drive for you and too long to be away from critters.

Wednesday

George:

Glad you are coming over. We have no plans to be away.

If you will phone Poplar 5-2569, Spruce Pine, N.C. and give them a message, they will get it to us.

Hurriedly,

M. A. W.

P.S. Please send some stationery. Have plenty of envelopes.

M

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sept. 6, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am not at all committed to what I now advance but I do want to get you and the staff to begin thinking about it.

Would it be worth while to suggest to each of the state divisions that it set up a highly competent committee to devise a plan of integration applicable to each federal judicial district in each state? For example: I believe North Carolina has an eastern and western district. There are many points of difference between the two--differences of ratio of white to colored population, relation of industry to agriculture, per capita wealth, etc. If there are 50 counties to each district, there will be great differences existing between counties in many instances.

To do a thorough job such committee would have to make its recommendations fit each county, though some of them may properly receive identical recommendations.

I am probably wrong as to several border states, but, with those exceptions, I know of no official state agencies which are charged with the duty of doing what I have in mind. In North Carolina, for example, the Governor's Advisory Commission is instructed to push his plan of

voluntary ~~integration~~ segregation. If we undertook the job we would be filling the vacuum created by state non-action.

Some months or a year from now the federal courts should be calling upon the states for some plan to look to compliance with the Supreme Court's decree. The states will probably say that the problem is so complicated they have been unable to reach many decisions and ask for time for further study. Our state group, if it has been diligent and thorough, at that time would be able to say "here is a plan". We would be affording some yardstick at least by which to measure the zeal of state officials.

Our service would be even more valuable if our job could be concluded before the state has to answer in court and if, before that time, we could submit the plan to the state officials. The burden will apparently be upon them to adopt our plan or to show wherein it was impractical or non-workable.

I do not know what the resources in capacity of each state organization to undertake such a job may be. If they number among their membership, or may secure as volunteers, trained and competent people for such a job, they would be fortunate. That question may be answered if the state organizations would now canvass the available personnel within each state and say whether or not a committee of real ability and zeal could be secured to undertake the task.

What we are undertaking to do is to bring about integration "with deliberate speed". The burden may be upon us to make a bona fide showing that the end result can be secured by following a certain course of action.

What do you think?

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
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LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sept. 6, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SEP 8 1955

Dear George:

For Attention of HCF

An idea or two for New South over which you and Harold may mull:

1. Although the last decision of the Supreme Court was handed down in May and this is September I have seen no article on the meaning of "deliberate speed". This is somewhat surprising, since the entire effect of the Court's decision hangs upon the meaning of those words. I strongly suspect that a great many people in the South are over-stressing the word "deliberate" and some of the rest of us may be over-stressing "speed".

It seems to me that New South might perform a real service in running a rather full and scholarly treatment of the phrase in question. Material would be quite easy to obtain. In nearly every lawyer's library there is a monumental set of books entitled "Words and Phrases". At the time that I left the practice there were two series of some 8 or 12 volumes each. I imagine that there are now three or four series. The volumes contain nothing except definitions of words and phrases as they have been given by the courts.

My guess would be that, merely by consulting the appropriate volumes you would find that 50 or more times the courts of last resort of this country have spelt out precisely what the words mean. I think that the printing of several significant definitions with enough original editorial work scattered between the definitions would prove of great interest and value to lawyers, judges and editors in particular, as well as the general public to a lesser extent.

From a reading of the definitions it might appear that the facts in certain cases were closely analogous to the present school situation. If so, it might be worth while to get the reports of such cases and give them fairly full treatment.

I am sure that Mr. Haas would be glad to lend us the volumes and perhaps steer the work of composition. In any event, after the job had been concluded, I would certainly urge that a draft be put before Mr. Haas in order that he could be sure that, from the lawyers viewpoint, we had made no serious error.

My idea would be in an early issue to run the full article. Thereafter, in succeeding issues, run an occasional definition as a filler at the bottom of the page. It may be that many people would not read the long article but would read such short quotations.

If I am correct in my view that nothing like this has been attempted, I think the Times, the Monitor and probably other papers would be glad to pick it up.

2. Speaking of fillers, would it not be a good idea to run in the next several issues one or two short quotations from American statesmen on the v alue of public schools, particularly in a democracy? I am sure that from colonial days to the present many of our ablest men have spoken

clearly and with conviction on the point. For our purposes, as valuable as other opinion may be, I think we would secure greater benefit from quoting Southern statesmen, such as Thomas Jefferson, Robert E. Lee, Woodrow Wilson, John C. Calhoun, Zeb Vance, Governor Aycock, Henry W. Grady, Oscar W. Underwood, John Sharp Williams and many others whose names will occur to us. I am sure that before May, 1954, practically every Southern politician must have had something kind to say about the public schools. The words which they used then might prove effective now.

In that connection I enclose a very thoughtful letter which appeared in the Asheville Citizen. It may be too long and too localized to run in New South. If that is your view, I would suggest that you might refer it to the North Carolina Council for reprint in whole or in part in the next bulletin which that Council issues to its members.

3. I was delighted to see in a recent issue of New South a list of honor communities. It might be that the action of the Guilford citizens will hardly fit into such a list (I express no opinion) but I am sure you will not want to overlook this most significant action. I think it is more important than all of the formal resolutions which have been adopted. Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

September 8, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for the various items you have sent recently. Your letter to Paul Green was very good and I am looking forward with interest to word of his reply. The same applies to the letter to Governor Hodges which I will return, although I don't suppose that a satisfactory answer is likely.

I have just received the copy of your very eloquent and forceful article on the Mississippi Lynching. I certainly think that it would be wise to get it published and will see what I can do that end.

We have written to the N.A.A.C.P. regarding the proposed article on Legal Expenses in the Effort to Preserve Segregation. We outlined the proposal to the N.A.A.C.P. and asked them to advise us of the pertinent information which they will be able to supply. I will pass on to you their reaction.

Best regards.

Very sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

Clear Copy Onionskin

September 8, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I raise a minor puzzler, to give you time to ponder it before we talk, next week.

The Executive Committee at Mammoth Cave ordered "closed" (to staff) meetings of its number. The language of your dictated minutes of the Mammoth Cave meeting, on this point, is:

> "It was declared to be the sense of the Committee that at future meetings, only the members of the Executive Committee (including the Executive Director) should be present, with the qualification that the Committee reserves the right to invite the attendance of any staff member for the purpose of making a report upon his or her activities, or for such other purposes as the Executive Committee may determine."

The by-laws were amended back at the November, 1954, meeting to remove the position of Associate Director, and (uniformly) to substitute for that office the office of Assistant Directors, (to a number of Assistant Directors purposely not stated). Thus the Assistant Directors, instead of an Associate Director are listed among the "Officers," and as among the officers subject to annual confirmation by the Board. Also, and here's the point, ARTICLE V, Section 1, on Executive Committee was similarly amended by substituting for the Associate Director the Assistant Directors in the phrase which now, as amended, reads "The executive director and the assistant directors shall also be ex-officio members of the Committee [meaning the Executive Committee], but without the right to vote."

I have had no representations of wounded pride on this point. I only need direction.

My suggestion is that pursuant to the action of the Executive Committee at Mammoth Cave no one from the staff attend the next meeting of the Executive Committee except GSM, and that the Executive Committee at that time either resolve that the existing as-amended by-laws are agreeable to it, or

that they, the Executive Committee, wish to recommend to the November 9th Board meeting a further(appropriate) change in the by-laws.

If you will let me know what you think best I will be governed accordingly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: HCF
FBR
CHP

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

September 9, 1955

A I R M A I L

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Frank Loescher writes me September 8th that you should be alerted to the possibility that the Fund for the Republic's Committee on Awards may ask for a meeting with you at 9:00 a.m., on Thursday, September 15th. Loescher says "The chances are that the Committee will not think it necessary, but just in case, will you post Mr. Wright on this?"

I have your card of the 8th, saying that you are to go down to Durham Monday afternoon. A telephone which would reach me at Junaluska is GLendale 6-3611. That would not be immediate, but it would reach me within a couple of hours I should think. I will be residing at something called the Junaluska Apartments, which is a motel owned and operated on the Assembly grounds by the Assembly itself.

Best thing would be for you to get word to me on Wednesday that you are coming over, either Thursday or Friday.

If they pull you up to New York, I suppose our meeting is off.

I expect to get away from Junaluska Friday evening, or at the latest, Saturday morning.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Re[redacted]c.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]GIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

9/12/55

Dear Harold:

I don't believe I would make any further effort to secure publication for the Mississippi lynching article. It might have been effective if published promptly but I think now it would do no good. Thanks, anyhow.

Pardon the late point.

Regards

M. A. Wright

September 13, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

One or two matters:

(1) We have sent copies of your letter on the Mississippi Lynching to editors of some dozen southern newspapers. I am doubtful that Ralph McGill, who was included, will see his way clear to print it in view of his publisher's attitude. However, we will hope for its publication in at least some of the papers approached.

(2) I am returning the copy of your good letter to Governor Hodges.

(3) We will research "Words and Phrases" for any references to the phrase "deliberate speed." I was under the impression that the phrase was a new coinage, but I may well be mistaken.

(4) I read with interest the copy of Judge Waring's letter to the Fund for the Republic. My pleasure at his praise of the Southern Regional Council was tainted slightly by personal embarrassment. As I believe I wrote you in forwarding Yarmolinsky's Memorandum, the Fund was eager to keep the word of this proposed project quite confidential. I was asked to solicit the views of a limited number of specific persons, among whom you were included at my suggestion. I am sorry that I did not make this limitation clearer in my letter to you. No harm has been done, I am sure, but naturally I would not like the Fund to feel that I or the Council generally is a garrulous confidant.

(5) I like your idea of historic quotes on the value of public school systems and will try to find and run some appropriate ones. We will use at least part of the letter from the Ashville Citizen, and I will pass the full text on to Harry Jones with the suggestion that he disseminate it further.

(6) We are quite pleased at the further publicity received by William Faulkner's letter--especially since it results from the New South printing. Ben Price, who sent it out on the AP Wire, is an old friend who began his investigation in this office.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys
Enclosure

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sept. 19, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I must apologize to you for having acted contrary to your instructions with regard to the legal reporting service, to which breach you called my attention in your letter of September 13. The only explanation I have is that so much time had elapsed since receipt of your letter to me with regard to the service and since I had only the most rudimentary filing system, I had completely overlooked the fact that you wished this matter treated in confidence. I am most regretful.

I do not wish to divert attention ~~to~~ from my shortcomings but will use this reply as a vehicle for airing a point at which I believe that my views are a little at variance from your own. I do not seek to convert you but I should like for you to have my own position clearly in mind.

I feel that you consider that the Council has a particular function to perform--largely educational and persuasive. To have taken on the legal reporting service, and, indeed any new commitments, would wrench the Council out of and away from its primary task. If we chase every elusive scent which we cross, we will lose the main trail and, ulti-

mately, the quarry. That view has my profoundest respect. Itmay not be your own but that is the impression I have formed.

My own view is that no function is so sacred that it cannot be altered to fit the necessities of the times. We are dealing with a fluid, catch-as-catch-can, day-to-day situation. A strategy which is not elastic and flexible can't cope with that kind of a situation.

If there is any group of people in the South which should be influenced above all other groups it is the lawyers and judges. The lawyers will be advising clients, suing and defending in the civil rights field, and the judges will be deciding the questions raised by the lawyers. The law, as represented by those two groups, is the force which must be reckoned with. Hence the idea of the legal reporting service, which, I am sure, you agree is a good idea.

Your feeling, as I have gathered it, is that this kind of thing is foreign to our purposes and had better be left in other hands. My position is that nothing is foreign to our purposes if it leads to the result we are trying to accomplish.

Prestige for the mere sake of prestige may be unworthy; but we shall accomplish but little without it. I think that for us to have dealt generally with lawyers and judges throughout the South would have given us a prestige which we will hardly be able to acquire by any other means. A large percentage of these lawyers and judges are politicians. Certainly they have political influence. We hope ultimately--if I understand--to have each Southern state set up its own official council on human relations. Important political support will be necessary at any time that matter is before a governor or a state legislature. It was and is my feeling that we might have built up some of that support through the contacts we have established by the service.

If you will view our situation coldly, we are a group of teachers, preachers, social workers and idealists generally. There are few hard heads in our aggregation or among those who are backing us up. I saw this as a chance to get the support of hard-headed, practical, shrewd men who know their way about in the field of politics.

I have gone to this length in stating my position for a reason, among others, that I should like us all to be thinking of ways and means by which we may draw to ourselves the confidence and support of the kind of people to whom ultimately we will have to turn for official action.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

September 23, 1955

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Here is a piece of pleasant news. We have just received word from Frank Loescher at the Fund for the Republic that they would like to distribute fifty copies of your speech to the National Committee for the Rural Schools. They have asked us to secure your approval and the approval ofthe National Committee. I am writing Arthur Elder today.

Please let me know if the distribution will be satisfactory to you. In expectation of a favorable reply we are proceeding to mimeograph the copies requested, but we will not mail them until word has been received from you and Mr. Elder.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sept. 27, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Covering two or three letters from you at one time:

1. Permission for giving Fund For The Republic 50 copies of my talk before the National Committee for Rural Schools is hereby cheerfully extended. It is encouraging to know they have this interest.

2. I am quite surprised to learn that the phrase "deliberate speed" seems to be a new one in judicial circles. Although it was new to me, I had assumed that there was history of usage. I should still like to see what could be produced by a study of definitions of the words "deliberate" and "speed". Surely they must have been defined many times and a little ingenuity might bring out what was in the minds of the Court when the phrase was used.

3. I appreciate your suggestion about phoning Harry Jones direct, which has obvious merit. However, "a" I am afraid that Mr. Jones would feel that a suggestion from me came from the Council rather from me as an individual, and "b" I think I should be careful not to make any suggestions to state staffs which might not be completely approved by the

central staff. By the device of phoning Atlanta, I can get my suggestion screened, vetoed, or modified, and then transmitted as an actual suggestion from the Atlanta office.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

October 6, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Not long after the first grant from the Fund for the Republic came, you suggested that we obtain from each affiliated state organization at the end of each grant period a certificate, on the signature of its chairman, that it had not engaged in propaganda or attempted to influence legislation, or engaged in political activity during the fiscal year. Such certificates have now been obtained for the twelve state organizations. They are variously dated between September 29th and October 2nd. All are on file in this office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 7, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Later and in length on other things. Meanwhile, a few scraps. Audit figures not fully in, but it looks as though we enter this fiscal year with $2,500 cash balance on hand in the central office. That is money left over from last fiscal year. And it will help. First time I ever heard of us doing that!

I have got Mr. Alexander working hard on a budget, and I hope to get a budget out to the Executive Committee before October 22nd.

Request for deliberation and possible action. When I was in New York a couple of days last week, I saw Loescher and Freeman. Loescher indicated that he would value another opportunity to come South and see us in action again. I suggested the Board meeting at Tuskegee, November 9th. He said "Fine, write Freeman a letter and ask for me and maybe it will come through."

It seems to me wiser if you write the letter . It is really your meeting; not mine.

And there is the minor matter of whether the presence of Loescher would impede the free interchange that the Board members should have sacredly guarded for them. I don't think it would at all. And, whoever introduces Loescher could say that Loescher is a man who has gone through all of the throes of organizational growth before.

If you feel we are justified in inviting Frank, I hope you will write Freeman and so ask for Loescher to come. I doubt that we have the authority to name specifically the individual for whose attendance we make the request. So I would ask for them to send anyone down that they will -- perhaps recalling our pleasure in having Frank Loescher on an earlier occasion.

Anyway, there is that delicate little point in there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

October 7, 1955

OCT 10 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

While we discussed at my home here two questions raised in letters from you to me, I think your file should have from me replys to the questions.

1. It is my view that it was the sentiment of the Executive Committee at the Mammoth Cave meeting that if we had to choose between an admin. assistant and a planning person, the Committee would prefer the former. This is in reply to your letter of September 2nd.

2. In reply to your letter of September 8th, my feeling would be that you alone from the staff should sit in on the next meeting of the Executive Committee, though other staff members should be available on call. I feel that the by-laws should be amended with the result that, from the staff, you would be the only ex-officio member of the Executive Committee. I think that to have the assistant Directors also members would make us top-heavy with staff representation.

3. Your letter of September 8th with reference to job description of administrative assistant was covered in my letter of yesterday to Dr. Clement with a copy to you.

attached

I acknowledge yours of October 6th stating that you have a certificate from 12 state organizations on the subject of political activity. I believe that this should be standard procedure with us.

When you were recently at Linville Falls you were apparently under the impression that the Executiv e Committee at the Mammoth Cave meeting disapproved of the idea of our handling the legal reporting service of Fund For The Republic. It was not at all my impression. I am relieved to note on page 33 of the minutes of that meeting the following:

> Upon motion it was unanimously agreed that if opportunity is presented to the Southern Regional Council to sponsor a legal reporting service, the Executive Director is authorized to set it up.

Can you give me any late developments on the matter of awards to communities? I haven't heard nothing on the point since our proposal was filed. On what date was it filed? → aug 31, '55, see attached file copy.

In the week or 10 days after the Mammoth Cave meeting I wrote you a series of letters discussing certain questions for your consideration which had been suggested by that meeting. I do not have any files before me so I cannot state in detail the matters which were somewhat fully discussed in the letters. While they may have been touched upon in our recent conversation, I should like very much to have replys from you in order that my records may show that they received the careful consideration which I am sure they had. → have attached man's letter 8/22/55

Today I mailed you clippings from the Asheville paper reporting speeches made by Jonathan Daniels and Hiden Ramsey. Those are, as you know, influential figures. If you can get copies of the speeches and, if Harold approves, I think we might use substantial excerpts in New South. If Rauth and Parrish approve, I should like to see them recommend to Jones that the North Carolina Council give the pertinent parts

of these speeches wide circulation in this state.

Best Regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:EJG

P.S. Mrs. Spearman might wisely circulate the Daniels speech in S.C.

M.

Pardon spelling + typing.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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Stationary?

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

October 10, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

OCT 12 1955

Dear George:

I am glad to have your letter of October 7th and to learn we came to the end of the year with a few dollars in our pocket.

The possibility of having Mr. Loescher sit in on our board meeting on November 9th raises a question of the delicacy of which your letter shows you are aware. I am not at all sure the correct answer but give you my views.

I can see that there might be distinct advantages in having Mr. Loescher become acquainted with the men and women who constitute our board. I think he would be favorably impressed. There would be advantages, also, in having him grasp at first hand some of the questions with which we deal and to observe the earnestness with which those questions are approached. I discount none of this.

The arguments on the other side seem to be:

Board members might very reasonably be under some restraint in Mr. Loescher's presence in discussing anything which involved our relations with FFR, or even which indicated divisions of opinion within the board. I am not at all sure that we would be relaxed, informal and entirely

frank in his presence. It would be difficult to proceed as if he were not there.

Upon reflection, I doubt that Mr. Loescher would himself like to be present. I am sure he would not like to participate in the discussion, since his views would receive unduly respectful consideration, inevitably associated with the views of a benefactor or wealthy uncle. If he said nothing and we reached decisions on policy he would be placed in a very awkward position later to express himself.

The great virtue of the grant from the Fund is that we have complete liberty of action as to what we shall do with the grant. That liberty might well be questioned if a representative of the Fund were present when the action was taken. I believe that it is important, both from the viewpoint of the Fund and our own viewpoint for us to maintain the position that the grant was made in complete reliance upon our making wise use of the grant, uninfluenced to any degree by the source from which it came.

My feeling is that it would probably be unwise to invite Mr. Loescher to sit in on our meeting. I would see no objection to his having lunch or dinner with us, giving him opportunity to meet the personnel and form some opinion of their capabilities.

The possibility of our giving offence by not inviting him must be considered in the light of what has passed between you and him. I suggest that that angle of the matter and other points raised in this letter might be discussed with the staff. I will not have the slightest objection if my own views, having been carefully considered, are rejected.

Best regards.

Yours very truly,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

P.S. Please send S.R.C. stationery requested some weeks ago. M.

MAW:EJG

mar '55

FILE COPY

October 18, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Operation inclusive reply -- your letters of October 7th, August 22nd (must have been previously answered), and further on our conversation.

As to choice between an Administrative Assistant (working since October 1st) and a program man, it looks as though we can get both. I will have written you that C. H. Parrish recommended using the dangle of $10,000-$12,000 of last year's state money partly to engage John Hope and other ad hoc field-use consultants. I have sent you documents re John Hope, and will send others.

On the forthcoming Executive Committee meeting I'll sit in à seul, and the Committee can make what arrangements it may wish about the future.

I will consult with Mr. Clement re job description for G. S. Alexander. Off-hand, I think it takes too much away from the Secretary-Treasurer.

I have set up a tickler to remind us in 1956 to ask for the no-politics certificates.

On the legal reporting service: I agree that the Executive Committee said SRC would take it if it were offered, but I don't agree that the members of the Executive Committee were well disposed toward going out to get it.

On awards, we sent the proposal to the Fund for the Republic (August 31st, copy to you?) and have heard (only informally) that awards went over to some future Board meeting of the Fund for the Republic, and we will be further consulted if need be.

The letter we find after the Mammoth Cave meeting was dated August 22nd. It was entirely about proposed changes in various job descriptions. All of the changes you proposed were ordered to be made in the job descriptions.

Other topics we raised in conversation, or by letter from you:

We did send to the Fund for the Republic, in the business about awards, a list of opposition groups which have appeared in the South.

On measuring effectiveness of state groups, we all wish to, and will and do, but the statistical criteria are few.

We will do our best to get documents to the Executive Committee and Board ahead of time.

The Nominating Committee's report has reached you. Correction at USC, C. Travelstead. (!)

We continue to be interested in the proposal about federal judicial districts, and plans for school desegregation in each, modified to meet local situations, as you and I discussed.

Harold will have written you about deliberate speed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encl: copy of ltr to FFR re awards to Southern communities. Dtd 8/31/55

October 19, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Yesterday we got word that today at 2:30 the Attorney General of Georgia blows off commeci.

Here are two answers as released to the latter-part language fussing at us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls:
Statement of the Ga. Committee
Statement of SRC
Attorney Cook's statement

October 31, 1955

Mr. Paul Webb
Fulton County Courthouse
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Webb:

Two or three days ago we completed this rather extended manuscript on the history of the Southern Regional Council, with some reference to the present attack by the Attorney General of Georgia. I take pleasure in sending you a copy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Pp. 2+10

Wright, Speeches

A

PRESIDENTS ANNUAL ADDRESS
Southern Regional Council
Tuskegee, Alabama
November 9, 1955
Marion Wright

Our annual meetings offer convenient occasions for glimpses backward and forward. It is heartening to see how far we have come; it is sobering to see how far we have to go. The record of the past may be read with much greater assurance than may the stars which foretell the future. Reasonable men may agree as to history, though you may have noted a few minor differences in Northern and Southern versions of the War Between The States, for example. But in the field of prognostication there will be found an infinite variety of opinion. Certainly, this is inevitable; perhaps it is all to the good. The very fact that there is this diversity of guess on so wide a scale leads only to the view that the future is not a fixed, definite and inflexible thing, but rather that it is malleable and in human hands to form. Therein lies the incentive to each of us to exert his tiny pressure, to throw his small weight into the scale, to leave his fleeting image upon the form of tomorrow.

I doubt that ten years ago there was within the membership of the Southern Regional Council anyone so gifted with prophecy that he could

have foretold that in the year 1955 segregation as a part of the policy of Southern States would be making its last embattled stand. Our program dealt with the periphery of the segregation issue--better schools, parks, playgrounds, housing, employment--generally, fairer treatment--for a minority group. ~~Our approach to segregation was cautious, discreet, gingerly, oblique.~~ I am not at all sure that, in the context of the times, that approach was unwise or wrong. It may be likened to the military strategy of reducing the outposts before assaulting the citadel. Certainly, segregation will topple the more easily because Southern people have come to see that, in application to specific situations, it was costly, foolish and, in its results, always unfair, to the minority. We may, I believe, in all modesty, claim to have played at least a minor role in ~~conditioning~~ preparing the Southern intelligence and conscience to accept the view that separateness is the natural enemy of equality.

At any rate, such was the Council's conception of its role--attacking the manifestations, the end results , of segregation rather than attacking segregation itself. That view prevailed until December 12, 1951.

Put a star on that date. It is memorable in the Council's history;

it may well be memorable in the history of the South. For on that date the Council adopted a Statement of Policy from which moving document I lift one shining sentence:

"The South of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South....where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed."

There, at last, was the frontal attack, without evasion, without apology. "Needless penalty on the human spirit." How prophetic of language of Justice Warren on May 17, 1954: "To separate (school children) from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

It is to the great credit of the Southern Negro and white men and women who composed this Council that four years ago they possessed this degree of boldness and imagination. It is equally to their credit that, as an organization, they had this flexibility of policy. And once again has that flexibility been demonstrated. With the handing down of the Supreme Court's decision, we have adopted the view that, for the

immediate future, our natural role is to aid the South to get along with the business of integrating its schools. To that high purpose all else is secondary and subordinate.

While all the circumstances of our history and purposes as an organization cast us in that role, there is an extraneous factor which forces the role upon us. We must fill a vacuum. Let me enlarge upon that idea.

Every Southern public official is in duty bound to follow and observe the Court's mandate--every governor, every attorney general, every school official, every legislator, and all the rest. Let me be quick to say many of them have done so. To them all praise and honor. History will deal kindly with them.

I refer to another and less distinguished group--vocal, strident, enbittered men, determined to keep the past on the throne and regarding the ability to rouse a rabble as fit substitute for character and statesmanship. They control certain states or areas of states. It is their sworn duty to furnish wise leadership in moving with deliberate speed to integrate their schools. In their cases there is a leadership vacuum or worse. If there are to be wisdom and honor in appraach by such states to solution of the school problem those qualities must be supplied

by private citizens and organizations. We may only speak for ourselves. Assuredly, it is our job.

How may we do this?

Those men have power only as they have public opinion behind them. They must, in effect, each day have a vote of confidence from their constituents. While, to some extent, they create public opinion, it is equally true that they are created by public opinion. It is our task to develop that quality and volume of public opinion which will will sustain that kind of ~~the political~~ appeal. ~~de-throne those officials or cause them to modify their courses.~~

Let us not gloss over any fact. In certain states, not necessary here to name, they have gone far in stifling any dissent. Clemenceau remarked that "It has always been easy to find men to resist tyrants; it is much harder to find men to resist the tyranny of public opinion." Here and there throughout the South the real heroes of this epic struggle emerge, men who brave the dark threat of reprisal or boycott--an editor at Florence, South Carolina; those who sign their names to letters to the editor; a minister who may be unfrocked by his congregation; those who openly join the NAACP; school patrons in Greensboro who petition for integrated schools with loss of jobs in prospect; church boards who invite members of another race to fill their pulpits; two men in Mississ-

ippi who scornfully reject the invitation to leave their communities. It is our business to give to such elect spirits the assurance that they do not stand alone in their hour of crisis.

~~It is our business also to drive a wedge between the people and those who would debauch them.~~ It may be pointed out that those who now assure ~~them~~ the people that white schools may be kept open and Negroes kept out are the same ones, or spiritual legatees of the ones, who assured them that Negroes may be kept from voting in primaries by Boswell amendments, grandfather clauses and the like; that Negroes may be kept off juries, off cars in inter-state commerce and out of law, graduate and undergraduate schools, out of parks, playgrounds and golf courses, and so on. Surely, this record of seductive promise and dismal performance is not calculated to inspire confidence or further grant of power.

As to the stratagems presently under consideration in certain Southern states, it may be pointed out that all have been analyzed by the most competent Southern legal scholarship--not some Philadelphia lawyer or Mr. Thurgood Marshall, if you please--and have been found completely vulnerable on naked constitutional grounds. Law journals of South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia--no doubt there are

others--have flatly declared these petty schemes won't hold water. These law editors aren't running for office. They are concerned only with telling the people the truth.

But perhaps the most powerful argument of all, as expressed by the Florence, South Carolina, editor, is "You can't win." Arrayed against the segregationist are: the full power of the federal government, including the courts; both political parties; the labor unions; all major religious denominations; all responsible legal scholarship and the overwhelming sentiment of three fourths of the nation. Segregation, in George Mitchell's phrase, is curling up at the edges. It was at its high water mark May 17, 1954. Border states and counties have taken, or are taking the step in stride. Even within the so-called resistance states, literate counties and cities recognize their obligation and move with dignity to discharge their duty. Every such advance must bring pause to those long accustomed to respond to the argument "Everbody's doing it" more quickly than to the argument "You ought to do it."

Chattanooga brought down the wrath of Georgia upon its head when that city acted, Attorney General Cook lamenting that Tennessee was no longer the friend of Georgia. Surely, that must have produced gnashing of teeth

across the border. I hear they are thinking of spelling Nashville with a G.

So our task is set for us in the arena of public opinion. We are embarked upon a struggle for the empire of men's minds. That we shall win no intelligent person may doubt. How quickly and with what aftermath of bitterness--there's the rub.

Not only is it true that the evil which men do lives after them; one evil often begets another and a greater evil. Segregation is an evil thing. Any effort to preserve it would be evil. But the effort now being made in some areas of the South employs a method and device even more wicked than segregation itself. It is the method of repression, of boycott, of threat, of intimidation--the lost job, the withheld credit, the foreclosed mortgage, the warning muttered in the night. For what purpose? To convert one who should stand erect and unafraid in natural and conscious dignity into a cringing, fawning, shaken and broken caricature of a man. With what sought-after result? That opinions may wither unuttered in the breast, that dissent may be strangled at birth, that man's struggle through the centuries to achieve and preserve the right to freedom of thought and of speech shall come

to an inglorious end in this fifth decade of the Twentieth Century.

The penalties attendant upon segregation fall most heavily upon the Negro. The penalties attendant upon this effort to mute the voices of protest shall fall with icy impartiality upon every man, woman and child in the South. For no State may survive as a civilized entity--and it shall not deserve to survive--if it employs the ancient and primitive weapon of Fear to slay men's right to think and to speak. States have waxed great, and men have lived in happy estate, only when without impunity the prevailing opinion may be freely challenged.

It is a part of our job to lay these somber truths upon the minds and hearts of Southern people.

We may, perhaps, extract one bit of comfort from the nature of our opposition. When they resort to use of fear they concede their mental bankruptcy. Intimidation is the substitute for logical argument. When it is employed we may be sure that those who employ it know they can make no appeal to reason.

You remember Woodrow Wilson's college debate at Davidson. He was pitted against some hulking football player and was methodically reducing his opponent's arguments to absurdity, when a fan of the football player

in the audience shouted this word of advice to Woodrow's opponent: "Call Wilson a liar and turn it into a fight."

I said a moment ago that we are called upon to fill a leadership vacuum. (It may be a bit indelicate to suggest anatomically where that vacuum is, but I believe it is above the neck.) A specific task of that leadership is to prepare plans of integration which may later be submitted to courts for approval, modification or rejection. In some areas that has been done promptly and with wisdom. In others--well, you read the papers.

Sooner or later these officials will be before the courts. You know what they will say. "The task is difficult and complicated. It must receive much thought. It will take time, say another five years."

I should like to see the Southern Regional Council now, in every federal judicial district, by counties and school districts, encourage local groups to make their begin ~~making its~~ own plans of desegregation--using the best brains of both races and engaging experts for advice on technical points. For the record, as each unit is completed, the plan should be filed with the appropriate school authorities and its adoption urged. The burden would seem thereupon to pass to the authorities to adopt the plan or point out wherein

it was deficient. If neither course were followed, there would exist a prima facie case of lack of good faith. That might have some effect when the issue finally came before the court.

Of course, the States should officially and now be following such a course. Where they are not, there exists a leadership vacuum which we may help to fill.

We have now an adequate staff ~~and machinery~~ affiliated organizations in all the states. I hope we may say of every member of all of these staffs that he is receptive to, eager for, new ideas. None of us is sufficiently expert in this uncharted area that he may fail to heed advice from any quarter. It is peculiarly the function of the board to advance suggestions as to policy and methods. I hope that we may have occasion during this meeting to give to the staffs the benefit of our thinking on the problems which beset them.

The most powerful force which any of us could contribute to this cause is an idea. Ideas are the stuff of which all reforms are made.

We should feel complimented by the attacks which are made upon us. If we were futile or ineffective, we should not draw enemy fire. The ground of attack is that we are disturbing an established order, "a way

of life," ignoring the fact that the only way of life worth preserving is one in which dissent may be freely expressed, a way of life in which change is the key note.

Two thousand years ago the charge which was brought against Paul and Silas was that they were "turning the world upside down." That is the exact, Biblical language. What was meant, of course, was that they were disturbing an established and corrupt order, a way of life which had been kind only to the accusers and those they represented. It is easy to equate one's special and privileged interest with the best interests of all mankind, as seven tailors on one street in London did when they addressed a petition to Parliament beginning "we, the British people."

Surely, we should not complain if we are put in the good company of Paul and Silas.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Marion Wright
Gen Corres 1955

Southern Re[redacted] INC.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]IA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 11, 1955

NOV 14 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I believe I stated to you, Fred Rauth and Mrs. Alexander that I was quite sure the stenographer who took the record of the Tuskegee meeting got very little of what transpired. I hope that the memories of all of us may help to fill in the gaps.

My recollection on one point is that Dr. Clement, you and I were charged with the task of approaching the Fund about a legal opinion on the Journal American article and the Fulton Lewis broadcast. Perhaps both of these should be plural. I suggest, in addition, that Mr. Haas be advised exactly what we have in mind.

Of course, we should have copies of the Journal American and, if we can get it, a transcript of the Lewis broadcast.

Armed with these, it would seem to be proper that a letter be written to our contact with the Fund stating that some ofus would like to come up to New York to discuss a proper course of action. I do not believe that the letter should indicate that we have any opinion as yet

about a proper course of action, but that, in view of the Fund's interest and in view of the similar plight of other beneficiaries of the Fund, there should be some concert on policy. Upon hearing from the Fund, we could then decide just who should go. I will have engagements from November 23rd through the 27th but would be available on any other dates, if it should be felt that it would be desirable for me to go.

I am writing this soon as possible in order that the matter may receive prompt handling. Later I will probably write you fully in the wake of the Tuskegee meeting, which was, I thought about the best we have ever held.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

P.S. I have yours of the 10th.
My suggestion is you now write or phone the Fund for an appointment. I would go to Atlanta a day or so ahead of time for conference with you, Clement and Haas and Arnold, at which time we would agree just what our approach should be and just who would go to N.Y.

M.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Nov. 19, 1955

Dear Harold:

Upon reflection, while I think it would be proper and desirable for N.S. to state, in connection with my Tuskegee talk, that it was approved by the Board as being an expression of S.R.C.'s sentiments or aims, it might be unwise to state that action was upon Dr. Dent's motion. A member ought always to feel free to make such motion as he chose without the feeling that he might be spotlighted later as the author. The making of motions might be inhibited by such a course. And, in the instant case, Dr. Dent might have solid reasons for not wishing his name to receive undue recognition for what was group action.

This is for your consideration without attempting to control your decision.

M.A.W.

P.S. My point is that a board member should always be free to present his views while retaining his anonymity.

M.

Marion Wright

LINVILLE FALLS, N. C.

November 26, 1955

Dr. Donald Russell, President,
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Sir:

As a native South Carolinian and an alumnus of the University of South Carolina, or merely as an American citizen, I feel privileged to write you this letter.

The morning paper tells of the discharge of Dr. Travelstead from the University because he publicly expressed an opinion. It is almost irrelevant that the opinion was in support of plain morality and observance of law. The real significance of the incident is that a professor of education has been fired for expressing in parliamentary language an opinion upon a question of public policy in the field of education.

You have not dissociated yourself from this action, or repudiated it in any way, so I must assume that you were a party to the deed or, at least, condoned it. Surely, on so grave an issue you would have publicly protested if your convictions had been contrary the action taken.

The trustees and you appear to have grossly misconceived one function of a university. Your view, apparently, is that a university, through its faculty, should sustain and support the public policy of a state, whatever that policy may be. The view which is held by rational men everywhere is that it is the function of a university, through its faculty, to serve as loyal critics of the state's public policy, suggesting changes which will bring it more nearly into accord with sound principles of morality and social justice. The whole theory upon which public education rests is that the educated shall contribute to the improvement of the society which provided the education.

A university which mutes the voices of its faculty members, or invokes reprisals when the members speak their minds, forfeits all claim to public support, is recreant to all its great traditions, and will surely lose its respect for itself. It is not merely insisting that the faculty shall not speak with candor; it is inviting them to stop thinking entirely. For, as Prof. Wardlaw observed, "where all seem to be thinking alike, no one is actually thinking at all". Thoughts thrive in an atmosphere where they may be freely exchanged.

All of this leaves out of consideration the nature of the opinions Dr. Travelstead expressed. They would, in a thoroughly literate and civilized society, be regarded as commonplace, almost as platitudes. The law of the land should be observed; public officials should act in accordance with their oaths of office; no state should follow the path of dishonor; segregation is condemned by world opinion: is one to be censured for proclaiming the obvious?

The least that a university teaches the student is found in text books and laboratories. Its major lessons are in the field of conduct as a citizen. It has to do with the ideals which will motivate his life when he has left university halls. Ideals are instilled by example. When the University fired Dr. Travelstead, what did it say to the youthful and plastic student? "Play it safe. Listen to what the majority is saying and add your voice to the chorus. See which way the crowd is travelling and lock step, even if it is going backward. Your ideas should never be black or white; they should be grey, for grey is inconspicuous, indistinguishable. Let the chameleon be your mascot and model and thereby assure your vegetable-like existence. Conform, conform and perish as a personality but survive as a creature."

With me, there is a nostalgic note about this firing. In 1914 the University of South Carolina lost one of its really able presidents because Dr. Mitchell spoke his mind on the rights of the Negro. It was

the highest price the State paid for the luxury of Cole Blease. When the State now loses another able man in order to keep the peace with other demagogues, I feel that this is where I came in forty years ago.

Isn't it about time we put on a new record or re-wrote the script?

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

North Carolina Council On Human Relations

Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

HARRY S. JONES
Executive Secretary

November 26, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I appreciate very much your letter of November 22, and the proposals you have made. Copies of your letter have been sent to members of our Executive Committee.

Mr. Chance and I will discuss your proposals more fully the early part of next week, and I will write you again. I am in full agreement with your idea that a statement along the lines of the Virginia Council statement should be made in North Carolins.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Jones

Harry S. Jones

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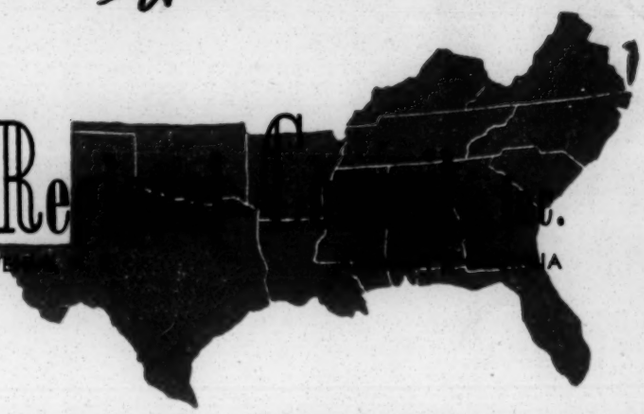

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 28, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

NOV 30 1955

Dear George:

For Reference to Harold Fleming

On page 18 of Time magazine for November 28th there is an article on the Fund for the Republic which mentions us.

The New Yorker of November 26th on page 57 begins a very long profile on the Ford Foundation. It might be well for some one person on the staff to assume responsibility for reading every word of all the instalments of that profile. It might be useful as background material now or later.

Harry Jones got out an excellent bulletin this month. I see only the North Carolina and South Carolina bulletins but will assume that all of them at intervals have material worthy of reprint in New South. Would it be well for us to run as a regular feature a page or less of quotations from these bulletins, giving them proper credit? It seems to me that for us to take note publicly of what they are doing might act as an incentive to keep their standards high. I am always delighted when I see credit given to New South. I think that those responsible

for the state bulletins might be equally pleased to have their publications receive credit. Just an idea that you might think over.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

November 29, 1955

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter of November 19 giving your second thoughts on the way in which your speech should be characterized in New South. I think your reservations are sound, and we are going to press with the simple statement that your speech was adopted in principle as expressing the views of the Annual Meeting.

Two items have been sent to you under separate cover: (1) A copy of my memo to the 21 Board Members; (2) a copy of Mr. Haas' letter to Dr. Mitchell summarizing his preliminary view of the legal aspects of the Journal-American attack.

My understanding is that you plan to discuss the matter with Paul Williams. You will note in my memorandum a brief reference to the possibility of Catholic influence being brought to bear. It seems to us unwise to emphasize the point any more then that, but I am sure that Paul will readily understand the situation.

We will keep you advised of further developments as they occur.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Mr. Marion A. Wright,
Linville Falls,
North Carolina.

November 29th, 1955.

Dear Marion,

Leonard gave us this opinion, a copy of which I have sent on to the F. for R. Here's one for you, and I am sending another to Rufus Clement.

Sincerely yours,

GSM:rl.
Encl.

November 29,1955

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Reference is made to your letter of November 24, 1955 addressed to Dr. Mitchell.

The arrangement for setting up the SRC Finance Committee as proposed in our recent letters to the twelve (12) State Chairmen is recorded in the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee meeting on October 28-29, 1955. The proposal for giving each State Council one-half of the funds raised in its particular state is also shown as being approved by the Executive Committee.

You will recall in our letter to each State Chairman that we stated as follows, "It was agreed also that each state council would receive one-half of the funds raised in its particular state by this proposed SRC Committee." However the questions which you raise as to clarity of this point seem to be very important and should be cleared up now.

After a consultation with the staff we have decided to send out a follow-up memorandum to each State Chairman giving further clarification on division of funds raised in a particular state. We are enclosing a copy of this memorandum for your information and criticism.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

c.c. Fred Routh

Could one of the girls make me a dozen or so copies of This?

NOV 30 1955

M.

See: Time of Nov. 28, Page 18
New Yorker of Nov. 26, Page 57
Harvard Law Review for Nov. 1955, Page 1.

Done
HCF

Mr. Marion A. Wright,
Linville Falls,
NORTH CAROLINA.

December 2nd., 1955.

Dear Marion,

So glad you wrote Russell. Just right.

Travelstead was elected to our Board. While I have seen that he shortly goes out to NM, my inclination is to invite him on to the Board. It ought to be a compliment, and one he can afford to accept! It would involve only a few months of actual membership, but still proper.

Sincerely yours,

GSM:rl.

December 2, 1955

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have read your letter of November 28 with interest.

I am a faithful reader of the New Yorker and will thoroughly digest the profile on the Ford Foundation, after which it will be kept on file here.

I have an aging commitment from Fred Routh to do a full dress review of the work and achievements of our Affiliate State Organizations. Your proposal that we excerpt material from several newsletters ties in nicely. We will watch for quotable material.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

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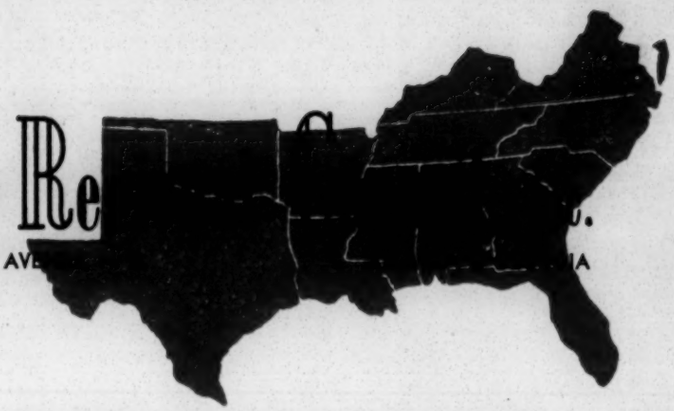

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 5, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 10 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks for sending me copy of the opinion by Mr. Haas. I have today written him, expressing my appreciation and admiration.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 5, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
SouthernRegional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of November 29th and copy of the Lukas letter of November 22nd to you as well as your memorandum.

I now have in a call for Paul Williams and hope to see him within the next day or so with a view to carrying out the suggestion contained in paragraph 4 of your memorandum. I think all of the points stated in the memorandum are excellent.

In conversation with you when I was last in Atlanta you thought that it would be well to have some formal recognition of the fact that defense against the attacks made upon us was a necessaryfunction of SRC. Since, by common consent, such defense in the area of public relations is in your hands, I wonder if your real point is that you would like some official expression from the Board, or the Executive Committee, devolving and concentrating such duties upon you. I think this would perhaps be a wise step.

Assuming that I have correctly interpreted your views, the procedure would apparently be for Dr. Mitchell to issue to you directive to that effect. If either you or he would like the backing of the

Executive Committee for such a directive in advance of our next meeting, I am sure it would be gladly furnished by mail. A better idea is expressed below.

Since ordinarily your primary duties ~~of~~ are the dissemination of information of a positive nature and not countering libels, I can see that you might properly wish this new and larger task to be spelled out in detail. I do not have before me a statement of your duties as found in your job analysis but my recollection is that analysis would not include this new function. If so the job analysis should be broadened to take it in. Dr. Mitchell could phrase the additional language needed and get it immediate approval by the personnel committee with approval by the Executive Committee at its next meeting. On second thought this seems to me to be the proper mechanics.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

P.S. I have marked clipping from News-Leader. Please refer to F.S.M. on question of ~~the~~ political activity I mentioned to him on phone today.

12/8/55 M

December 14, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was glad to learn that you had a satisfactory meeting with Paul Williams. We will look forward to Paul's further report.

As to your second point, I don't feel that it is necessary for the Personnel Committee to bother with a revision of my job description. I believe it is quite broad enough as it stands to encompass the function of counter attacks on the Council in the area of public relations. The existing language includes the following:

"Maintain contacts with the daily, weekly, and periodical press, and, upon occasion, to prepare and circulate news releases. Conduct negotiations with organs of opinion, including the press, radio, television, etc. ... and inform them on matters Southern and matters relating directly to SRC."

The point I meant to convey in our conversation is simply that it would be well for us to realize that defense of the SRC's reputation is likely to be a larger and more important function then it has been in the past. I don't feel that any formal action is called for, but simply awareness by all of us that a substantial amount of staff time and resources are going to be claimed by this unhappy function.

On the whole, I think our public relations are doing well. I have several recent exhibits which I will pass along to you as soon as I can get them reproduced.

Best regards.

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

December 7, 1955

Several board members of the Alabama Council and staff discussed the possibility of offering "the good offices" of the Alabama Council to bring together the opposing factors in the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott. Agreement was reached that this should be done. The Rev. Thomas Thrasher, Episcopal minister, representing the Alabama Council talked with the leadership of the Negro group who are protesting the treatment of Negro passengers on Montgomery buses and who proposed that a policy of seating by the rule of "first come first served" be followed and that Negro bus drivers be employed for those routes that serve the Negro district. This group agreed to sit down and discuss with the bus company and city officials their grievances and their proposals for rectifying the same.

Contact was made with the management of the bus company. The management expressed regret about the situation as it then existed but held they were merely "obeying the law". They further said there was no sense in negotiating unless the city was willing to interpret the law in a manner other then the bus companies attorneys then understood it. The Secretary of the Mayor of Montgomery was then contacted (the Mayor being inaccessible) and it was proposed that the city government call together the opposing factions to work out like grownups a solution to the problem. The Mayor's secretary promised to fully inform the mayor of this proposal and of the offer of the "good offices" of the Alabama Council.

December 9, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

The Executive Committee will be meeting at Dillard in New Orleans January 20th and 21st. What do you wish done about staff representation at the meeting?

I have been going on the assumption that the Committee wanted only me present from the staff. My preference would be for some others to be there also. But my main wish is to do what the Committee wants done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

HCFV
FR

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 9, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED DEC 12 1955

Dear George:

From some point in Virginia I phoned you of my concern about the activities of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. This morning I sent in an envelope to Harold a clipping from a Richmond paper that tells of those activities.

I will not be at all dogmatic about what constitutes political action, but I do feel that our well-meaning group is so close to the edge that it should get legal advice from its Virginia counsel. I do not think it would be presumptuous of you to suggest that they have close legal scrutiny of every step they take during this campaign, the scrutiny being directed to the degree to which their activities may jeopardize their tax exempt status.

- - - - -

I have received copy of the A.P. letter to you concerning the story which it sent to the Chattanooga paper. Under the circumstances, I do not think we can be too critical of them. I am glad to see that they speak well of us.

Assuming that they may feel that they have unwittingly done us

some harm, I wonder if they might not be disposed, so far as possible, to repair the damage. If so, might not the time and circumstances be propitious for you to suggest that they carry a somewhat full s tory upon our activities.

W. D. Workman did a very good job for the South Carolina Council. A copy might be sent to A.P. as illustrative of the sort of thing we would have in mind as to ourselves.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

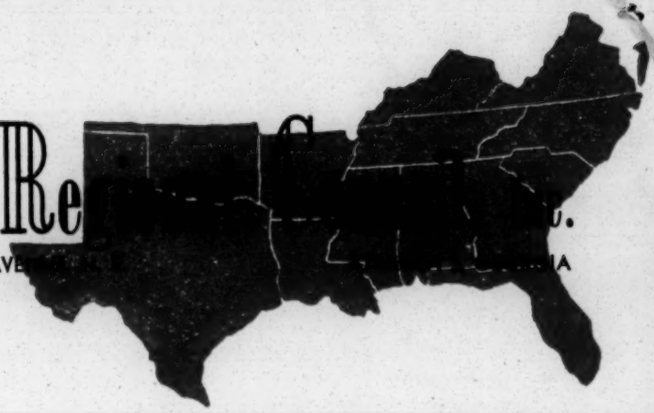
M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 13, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.

RECEIVED DEC 15 1955

Dear George:

For Attention of Fred Rauth

In the last issue of SRC bulletin we urged the state affiliates to furnish full reports of their activities to Southern School News. I should like heartily to second that suggestion. I go through every issue in the hope of finding some evidence of the activities of the state organizations.

I am usually disappointed.

In our work it is highly important, not only that we shall perform, but that others must know we are performing. I do hope that Rauth can follow up the suggestion with the result that activities are more fully reported.

Some weeks have now gone by since I suggested to Harry Jones that the North Carolina Council follow the Virginia example and that it focus its efforts upon the mountain counties. I believe I sent you copy of the letter to Jones and original of his encouraging reply. If the suggestion which I made was worthy of adoption, it should have been acted upon before this time. Every day now counts. Is there anything

that Rauth can do by way of seeing that the proposed action is promptly taken? I know that we cannot compel action but there may be appropriate measures short of compulsion.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]
A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 13, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED DEC 15 1955

Dear George:

For Attention of Harold Fleming

There is a point about the Travelstead incident which I did not make in my letter to Dr. Russell but which I think we should constantly keep in mind and develop upon every appropriate occasion. That is, that, when the voices of educators are muted, the public is deprived of the point of view of the only class of people who are expert in the field and the discussion is kept in the hands of those who have a vested interest in retaining segregation. If they did not have segregation as their issue, politicians of the Griffin stripe would have no capital on which to operate.

- - - - -

Some days ago I sent in a page from The Gamecock containing excellent editorial material on the Travelstead incident. As a former editor of that publication, I had undue pride in the stand it took. I hear that the paper at the University of Georgia has likewise spoken out with vigor.

This leads me to revive an idea which I advanced some months ago

on the wisdom of our running a fairly comprehensive article which would contain a symposium of the Southern college press on the segregation issue. I do not have in mind mere quotations but an article of the type occasionally done by the New Yorker in which it gives the handling by a score or more of papers of some ev~~idence~~ent of importance in the day's news. Of course, there are quotations, but they are held together and elucidated by comments of the author.

The general reading public very rarely sees a college newspaper. Hence, the public is probably unaware of the extent to which the thinking upon campuses is at variance with, or in advance of, the thinking reported in the press of general circulation.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

S S E TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY TELEPHONE

MARION NC DEC 14 NL PD SIG

RECEIVED DEC 16 1955

1955 DEC 14 PM 4 18

PAUL G HOFFMAN
STUDEBAKER PACKARD CORP 4530 LOMA VISTA AVE LOSA

THOSE OF US WHO KNOW AT FIRST HAND SOME OF THE MAGNIFICENT RESULTS ALREADY ACHIEVED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC HOPE THAT ILL-CONSIDERED AND UNINFORMED CRITICISM WILL NOT DEFLECT IT FROM ITS CHOSEN COURSE . IN THE SOUTH ESPECIALLY IS THERE NEED FOR CONTINUANCE OF THE WISE SUPPORT WHICH THE FUND HAS GIVEN TO FORCES SEEKING TO SECURE FOR ALL CITIZENS RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION . SUCH FORCES ARE UNDAUNTED IN THE FACE OF THREATS AND OFFICIAL REPRISAL. WE HAVE FAITH IN YOUR OWN

WU 550 (1-51)

DATE
CHECK
TEL. NO.
DEST'N
SIGNATURE
SUB.

S S E TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY TELEPHONE

HIGH PURPOSE
AND RESOLVE UNDER SIMILAR UNJUSTIFIED ATTACKS
M A WRIGHT PRESIDENT/SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
LINVILLE FALLS NC.

WU 550 (1-51)

DATE
CHECK
TEL. NO.
DEST'N
SIGNATURE
SUB.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED DEC 16 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Dec. 15, 1955.

Dear George:

Pardon the pen. I am saving time.

For the consideration of you and the staff and to be governed by your decision, I suggest it might be a good gesture to send something in the nature of Christmas greetings to a substantial number of people who have helped us directly or indirectly this year. Preachers, teachers, Mississippi farmers, editors, NAACP officials - the list could be indefinitely extended. It would not be limited to our members or contributors but ideally would include everyone who has helped to "crush the infamy."

All of us need bolstering to the same degree as Mr. Hoffman. A word of thanks and praise might help. Your father taught me that.

Enclosed is a suggested form letter, to be altered or modified as you please.

If the idea is approved, I would suggest that form of printing (?) which closely approximates typing so as to convey as nearly as possible the idea of individuality.

My name may be signed by anyone in the office.

The list to whom sent should be carefully preserved. I should ~~to~~ like a copy and about fifty of the letters for my own use. The list would prevent my duplicating.

M. A. W.

Write letter.

Linville Falls, N. C.
Dec. 14, 1955

Paul G. Hoffman
Studebaker-Packard Corporation
4530 Loma Vista Avenue,
Los Angeles 58,
California

Those of us who know at first hand some of the magnificent results already achieved by the Fund for the Republic hope that ill-considered and uninformed criticism will not deflect it from its chosen course. In the South especially is there need for continuance of the wise support which the Fund has given to forces seeking to secure for all ~~the~~ citizens rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Such forces are unhamstrung in the face of threats and official reprisal. We have faith ~~that~~ in your own high purpose and resolve under similar unjustified attack.

M. A. Wright
Pres. Sou. Reg. Council.

Rd. Charge to
M. A. W.

G. S. M.:
This was phoned to Western Union, Marion, N. C.
~~A~~ at 4:30 P.M. today.

M. A. W.

New Year, 1956
~~Christmas, 1955.~~

It would be proper, if it were possible, to present a suitable award, a citation of merit, to ~~these~~ each of those elect spirits who during the past year have made their voices heard, their influence felt, in the South, in the cause of respect for law and ~~morals~~ public morality. We of the Southern Regional Council number you in that distinguished group. As such, you have placed us, the South, and, indeed, the nation in your debt.

Will you not accept this letter as being in lieu of more formal evidence of our recognition of your services, our appreciation of your worth as a citizen, and our pride in consciousness that you are linked with us in aspiration that the South shall meet with honor the obligations of this hour?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

Mr. Marion A. Wright,
Top Knot,
Linville Falls,
NORTH CAROLINA.

December 19th, 1955.

Dear Marion,

On the North Carolina thing, I don't wish to give State people orders. I have always thought, as I said to you, that you can successfully wear in North Carolina the toga of a member of their Board, making it clear that you carry no special weapons as President of the Council. And ultimately the matter has to be solved in the North Carolina Board. It must wish action, and wish it to the point of getting the present man to act, or of getting another man who will. If we "tell" them what to do, it will be pro forma, bloodless, and ineffective.

But in deference to your interest, I have asked Fred to go up there between Christmas and New Year (it has been three months since he was there), and check over the situation again.

Meanwhile I have sent to Harry, as to all the State Directors, some account of the Va. experience, and have urged him (and the others) to show some imagination and follow, in ways that may suit their own State circumstances.

Sincerely yours,

Clear Copy Non Stick
MADE IN U.S.A.

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director).

GSM:rl.

Wright.
9C -
1955

?

December 27, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have your letter of December 16th which was sent to Atlanta rather than to Linville Falls, North Carolina and, hence, was somewhat delayed

Perhaps the idea which I wished to discuss with you may be adequately presented by letter.

The Southern Regional Council as you probably know, is a biracial organization operating throughout the South. Always interested in the cause of equal justice, for the Negro, since the Supreme Court's decisions and the segregation cases its primary concern has been and is to accomplish integration of the public school systems "with deliberate speed." I am sure that you are aware of the opposition, private and official, which we encounter in some sections of the South.

The average Southerner finds it difficult to realize that on this issue, the South is a distinct minority, that in three-fourths of the nation--equally as civilized as we are--it has been the established practice for many decades.

The average Southerner also has had but slight contact with the

really able Negro men and women living in the South. He still thinks of Negroes as being wash women, shoe shine boys, waiters, chauffeurs, and the like.

Television is the one agency which can effectively dissipate both ideas. You did a magnificent job on Dr. Bunche's series of lectures to a Kansas high school class. The job was splendid because at one and the same time it showed high school students of both races in a completely natural relationship in the class room and introduced to Southerners one of the race spirits of the country who incidentally happened to be Negro. The program must have been an eye opener to several hundred thousand Southerners.

For a host of Southern communities 1956 will be the year of decision. They will either take steps toward integration or they will go backward. The nation faces no more important task than seeing that correct decisions are made.

I know where your heart is. I merely hope that you will grasp the importance to this section of your using the rich resources of television to aid Southern people in following a wise and honorable course.

My suggestions:

1. That you present as many programs as your conscience and sponsors will permit designed to aid the cause of integration. Your ideas of the nature of the programs will be better than mine but I venture to place mine before you.

2. Any pictures of public school student bodies showing integration at work in the class room, or on the athletic field or in any extra-curricular activities would be helpful.

3. The introduction of Southern Negro personalities would also be helpful. Personally, I would not stress the athletes, singers, orchestra leaders, and stage personalities so much as educators, religious leaders,

scientists and the like--men like Dr. Rufus Clement and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, both of Atlanta, Dr. Albert W. Dent, President of Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana and Dr. Gordon B. Hancock of Richmond, Virginia. My associates in Atlanta, who are better informed than I, could supply you with an impressive list.

4. In any presentation of the school groups or of the Negro personalities, there should be no reference to race and no mention of segregation and integration. The school scenes would have to be presented because of some reason disconnected with race, such as an outstanding glee club or debating team or some accomplishment which of itself makes the presentation news worthy.

The personalities should be presented as individuals whose careers are worthy of public recognition.

5. In your introduction of any groups or individuals of the character mentioned, I should like to have you refer to your birth or boyhood in Greensboro, North Carolina or bring in any other fact which gives you a link with the South.

I hope you will not consider me presumptuous in advancing these suggestions. I know the large audience which you have in the South and I have the conviction that television, wisely used, could easily become one of the really important factors in helping the South in a period of crisis.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to George Mitchell

S S E TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY TELEPHONE

79-2 Xhra

MARION NC DL PD DEC 28 1955

1955 DEC 28 AM 11 25

KERR SCOTT

HAW RIVER NC

SENATOR KEFAUVER'S NORFOLK STATEMENT ON INTEGRATION IS WISEST COMMENT YET MADE ON SUBJECT BY SOUTHERN POLITICAL LEADER . IT ADDED TO KEFAUVER'S STATURE THROUGHOUT NATION . NORTH CAROLINA IS READY FOR LEADERSHIP OF SAME CHARACTER . YOUR FRIENDS FEEL YOU ARE THAT TYPE OF LEADER . A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY YOU STRONGLY CRITICAL OF YESTERDAY'S "SUGGESTION" BY ADVISORY COMMISSION ON EDUCATION WOULD PLACE YOU IN UNDISPUTED LEADERSHIP OF THIS STATE'S SUBSTANTIAL LIBERAL FORCES AND SAVE NORTH CAROLINA FROM DISHONORABLE ACTION

M A WRIGHT LINVILLE FALLS NC

WU 550 (1-51)

RECEIVED DEC 30 1955

DATE

CHECK

TEL. NO.

DEST'N

SIGNATURE

SUB.

December 29, 1955

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Man unknown wrote a pleasant letter. Have sent copy to F of R.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:maf

Encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
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C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

AFV

Wright - gc - 1955

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

December 29, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 31 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am very glad that Frank Loescher will be with us for a part of the New Orleans meeting. If he has no objections, I should like to see an item on the agenda for some 30 minutes of his impressions and suggestions.

Do you think that Mrs. Birnie's mind is closed as to leaving the Executive Committee and the Board? She wrote me under date of December 13th with copy to you. I think it necessary for me to give some answer which I have today done as per enclosed copy.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

December 29, 1955

Marion A. Wright,
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

As you set up the arrangement with Paul, I suggest that you write him, if you deem follow-up desirable.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED DEC 29 1955

THE WRIGHT COMPANY
CONWAY, S. C.

Dec. 28, 1955

Dear George:

I have not heard a word from Paul Williams since I saw him in Washington.

Has he written you?

Please follow up with him.

M. A. W.

ADL SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming
thus turned up in
my mail a week or so
ago. Probably meant for
Alex or Bee Weld.
What's the deal?

Regards
Art Levin

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

New Year, 1956

It would be proper, if it were possible, to present a suitable award, a citation of merit, to each of those elect spirits who during the past year have made their voices heard, their influence felt in the cause of respect for law and public morality in the South. We of the Southern Regional Council number you in that distinguished group. As such, you have placed us, the South, and, indeed, the nation in your debt.

Will you not accept this letter as being in lieu of more formal evidence of our recognition of your services, our appreciation of your worth as a citizen, and our pride in consciousness that you are linked with us in aspiration that the South shall meet with honor the obligations of this hour?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M.A. Wright,
President.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

December 30, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter dated New Year, 1956 - which I have just received. Your kind words are appreciated. They encourage me to continue whatever efforts I have made to promote better human relations and provide democratic opportunities for the citizens of the South.

Best wishes for a happy and prosperous 1956.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

CGG:p

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
SIMON H. RIFKIND, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
RALPH E. SAMUEL, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
MAURICE GLINERT, *Treasurer*
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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice-President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

January 3, 1956

Marion A. Wright, Esq.
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was delighted to receive from you the other day your very kind letter expressing those warm sentiments.

I feel as though my own contribution to the desegregation battle has indeed been feeble. Both my distance from the scene of the battle, as well as the limitations -- organizational and personal -- which are imposed on our activities have militated so far against any more vigorous participation. However, we are eager to move more deeply into the situation, in whatever manner seems most appropriate; and our determination, as of now, is to locate and enter those aspects of the problem in which we can be most effective.

I take this occasion to extend to you the greetings of the season.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin J. Lukas

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

49th Annual Meeting, Jan. 27-29, 1956
Hotel Commodore, New York City

148-2-55

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

3 January 1956

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I appreciate very much your New Year's letter to members of the Board of the Southern Regional Council at the Christmas Season of the year. It is perhaps enough to say that this sentiment is highly valued.

It is an honor to be identified with an organization that is so conspicuously identified with the basic constitutional principles of our government and our Christian ethic.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

C
S
J/vlr

Wright

January 3, 1956

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
617 W. Market Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Tartt:

It is good of you to write me and to transmit the tidings about the effort being made with our Governor. The poor man seems to me to want to do what is right but lacks the backbone to resist pressure. I suppose it is up to us to supply an offsetting pressure and am glad that your group is tackling that job.

Please keep us posted on the church meeting to which you refer. If you come up with a list of suggestions or proposals I should like very much to see them.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to George Mitchell

January 3, 1956

Mr. Paul Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, 22, Va.

Dear Paul:

The boys in Atlanta were very much interested in your proposed visit to Chicago which we discussed in Washington some weeks ago. Is there anything you can tell me about the results of that visit? All of the rest of us are following with great interest the strong fight which is being waged by our friends against the constitutional convention plan in your state. The radio today brought the encouraging news of the united stand taken by AFL and CIO. If our crowd can win this fight in Virginia it will probably be discouraging to other states which are now considering similar moves.

It was a genuine pleasure to see you in Washingtonif only for a few minutes.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Marion

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c c to George Mitchell

BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
15 NORTH McDOWELL STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

January 4, 1956

Mr. M. A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I wish to acknowledge with grateful appreciation your gracious letter of January 1, 1956, and thank you for its complimentary thought.

May the splendid work of the Southern Regional Council grow and prosper with the New Year, and may its influence for good be felt increasingly throughout the entire South.

With best wishes, and thanking you again for your kindness, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

+Vincent S. Waters

Vincent S. Waters
Bishop of Raleigh

Jan. 5, 1956

THIS IS AN ECKCO-CHROME REPRODUCTION

Dear Mr. Wright,

I'd like to thank you by means of this card for the letter of appreciation you were kind enough to send me last week. I am in Raleigh for a health officers' conference today. Hope to see you soon & return your book. We had a good work-shop in High Point last month.

With best wishes for 1956,

C. F. McRae

There are nine circuits supplying the flood lighting system. The four facades are illuminated with special facade banks. The dome is floodlighted with eight 1,000 watt special flood light projectors.

RALEIGH JAN 5 1:30 PM

Published by Raleigh News Agency, Raleigh, N. C. U.S.A. by E.C. Kropp Co., Milwaukee, Wis. — KB

RECEIVED JAN 9 1956

POST CARD

UNITED STATES POSTAGE 2 CENTS 2

MR. MARION A. WRIGHT

LINVILLE FALLS

N. C.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE CAPITOL AT NIGHT, RALEIGH, N. C.—13

LINVILLE FALLS, N. C.

January 6, 1956

Senator Kerr Scott
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Scott:

I am delighted that you are not identified with the chorus of congressional disapproval from North and South Carolina of that part of the President's message dealing with civil rights.

There is a type of Southern politician who reacts automatically and vehemently to every mention of civil rights. The impression which he makes upon the rest of the country is two-fold: first, that the situation is so bad that we do not wish it exposed and, second, that we consider an invasion of the civil rights of a substantial number of people in one section of the country a thing in which there is no proper national interest. Nothing can hurt the South worse than for such impression to be created.

I think the senators and representatives who indulge in this orgy of drivel do not realize how far their constituents have moved away from their traditional prejudices. One strong man with a good backbone and a good pair of lungs who spoke out boldly and liberally on the civil rights issue would find that he had a very substantial following. He would be charting his course by a star that is rising and not by one that is setting .

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg
b c to George Mitchell
b c to Harry Jones

January 3, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have been up to North Carolina and held a lengthy conference with Mr. Jones and Mr. Chance, our two staff members. We reviewed the more recent activities of the North Carolina Council and examined the proposed plans, too.

I discovered that your letter to Mr. Jones and the proposal to do something comparable to the Virginia Plan has been reproduced and sent to the board members of the North Carolina Council. This will be discussed along with other matters at the scheduled meeting of the North Carolina Board in Chapel Hill on Thursday, January 5. (This meeting will be held in Guy Johnson's office.)

I also discovered that Mr. Jones had written to all Superintendents of Education in the state to ascertain the name and address of the chairman of the Study Committees. He had received 36 replies from fairly scattered areas from across the state. He had had follow-up interviews with 8 of these superintendents and found that they were well advanced beyond the politicians. Copies of the story of Desegregation in Baltimore, St. Louis, and Washington and Answers for Action have been sent to the Superintendents and to the Chairman of the Study Committees.

After the recent statement of Mr. Taylor advising the disbandment of local advisory committees, Mr. Jones gathered together, mimeographed, and sent to School Superintendents, and Chairman of Study Committees, editorial comment decrying this action. Further, he, himself, made an excellent statement pointing out the necessity of local Study Committees.

A very excellent workshop was held in High Point where some 64 people from across the state, mostly members of local Human Relations Councils attended and participated. The staff will propose to the Board that similar workshops be held in other strategic areas of the state; in the western section to prepare plans for desegregation; in the eastern section to bring factual information about the Supreme Court decision and how it affects North Carolina and the local community.

I intend to attend the January 5 meeting in Chapel Hill and hope that it will be possible for you to be there. The staff in North Carolina seems to be taking a firmer grasp and to have caught some fire.

Best personal regards to you and Mrs. Wright and the best of New Year wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

P. S. -- I am enclosing the editorial comment which Mr. Jones sent to the School Superintendents and the Chairman of Study Committees.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]IA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 3, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 9 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am thinking of going to Atlanta a day or two in advance of the New Orleans meeting of the Executive Committee and would like your judgment on the advisability of my doing so. My motive would arise out of the following facts:

I freely admit that the opposition which integration has encountered in certain areas of the South is far more violent than I had apprehended. I had expected inertia on the part of public officials but I had not expected their overt hostility. I had expected that public funds would not be employed to aid the cause of integration, but I had not expected that such funds would be employed to aid the cause of segregation. (You see, I credited our politicians with a rudimentary or vestigial sense of decency), nor had I expected the spawning of so many and so strong hate organizations.

The recent meeting at Memphis with Eastland, Thurmond, Wright et al in the saddle is ominous. It should not be overlooked that Thurmond actually carried four Southern states in his race for the presidency.

All of this seems to me to require that we shall seriously reconsider and reappraise the effort we are making. It may be that we shall decide that we are doing no more and no less than it is wise for us to do. But the great strength of the opposition--unanticipated certainly by me--makes me feel that we ought to be dead certain that we are doing the best that we can possibly do with the resources at hand to cope with the situation we now confront.

I should like to see that question squarely raised in the agenda of the New Orleans meeting. This will spur each member of the committee to advance any ideas he may have for overcoming this opposition.

A collateral question would be whether or not we should merely mark time in states of the Mississippi stripe and concentrate our efforts in states of the North Carolina stripe where favorable results may be more reasonably expected. Stated in other words, the question would be whether or not we should limit our activities to the soft spots upon the theory that success in them would spill over upon the hard spots.

Following Harold's trip to New York on the Journal-American situation, he had a letter from a friend--I think Lucas--who made several very practical suggestions. Harold sent me a copy which I gave to Paul Williams. I believe all of those suggestions ought to be very carefully considered and certainly some of them should be adopted.

So if I came to Atlanta it would be for the purpose of having a meeting with the staff at which we put down certain specific items on which we should like the best views of every member of the Executive Committee. Generally, we would reconsider our strategy at that meeting. Specifically we would agree upon the wisdom of pursuing certain methods and using certain agencies not heretofore or fully used.

I am not unmindful that Mr. Loescher will be present for a part of our meeting. I should like for all staff members to be in on that part of the meeting and should like for Mr. Loescher to hear a fairly complete

listing of the strength of the opposition. That would include: official opposition in certain states, embracing use of public funds, employment of counsel, establishment of commissions designed to thwart the law, etc; and non-official opposition of the Citizens Councils type on up to the Memphis group. We ought to try to come up with some picture of the amount of money from public and private sources which is being used against us, the extent to which the press is hostile, and the breadth and depth of reprisals, economic, political, in the area of free expression, and otherwise.

My suggestion would be that Harold begin now an analysis of the opposition and that a day or so before the New Orleans meeting we might have a little dress rehearsal of Harold's analysis. As a result of that dress rehearsal we would agree upon its final form and, in that form, it would be presented at the New Orleans meeting in the hearing of Mr. Loescher.

My reasoning is that Mr. Loescher represents an organization which is trying to be helpful. He should be fully advised of the difficulties which we encounter in trying to use wisely the aid which he has given.

In order that he may not conclude that the difficulties are insuperable, there should also be a full statement in his presence of the bright features of the situation. It seems to me that that would be Rauth's job. I would propose that he do a conscientious job of listing whatever seems to him to be favorable in the Southern outlook.

Then with these two points of views before us the Executive Committee would be in position to decide whether or not there should be any revamping of our strategy. If so, in what respects?

This has been pretty full but I wanted to get my complete idea before you. If you agree that some good might be accomplished by a

full conference with all staff members sitting-in in advance of the New Orleans meeting, I am prepared and will be glad to go to Atlanta for that purpose. What do you think?

Best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

January 4, 1956

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I have been promising myself a visit to Cassandra Birnie during the holidays but have not got it in. Will still try to go and find out what worries her. I suppose it is her failure to get through a resolution anti-The Citizens' Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Wright - 9c -- 1956

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

HF

January 6, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

A day or so ago I sent you copy of a day letter to Senator Kerr Scott, inspired by the recommendations of the Advisory Commission in this state. I now enclose copy of a letter I have written him, inspired by his silence on the presidential message.

We have discussed, though not thoroughly, the idea of having SRC concentrate its efforts on the soft spots among the states. Similarly, I think there would be merit in concentrating our efforts upon the individual soft political spots within the states. Senator Scott has notably remained aloof from the hue and cry in this state. There are probably others here and men similarly disposed in all of the other states. The part of wisdom would seem to be for us to strengthen in every way those political figures who give some indication of sanity.

We can do this in part by giving them all the information we can get on our side of the question and, in part, by giving them our confidence and praise when they have done something good or even when they have not done anything bad.

The blanket indictment of Southern politicians, without crediting the exceptions, may tend to force them all to come within the terms of the indictment. If they are going to be cussed, they might as well deserve the cussing.

So I think that all of us should be quick to thank and praise the politicians who have helped our cause, or, at least, have not publicly hurt it.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c c to Harry Jones

C.H. Parrish - copy

COPY COPY

January 6, 1956

Show to
HCF
FR

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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So I think that all of us should be quick to thank and praise the politicians who have helped our cause, or, at least, have not publicly hurt it.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

(signed)
M.A. Wright

MAW:ejg

cc to Harry Jones

January 6, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Paul Williams called me Friday afternoon from Richmond.

His Chicago trip yielded little but he has since sought and obtained advise in Washington and has a plan with New York contacts which seem promising. He will either be in New York next week or the first week in February. Hopefully next week.

On the issue of the vote in Virginia, he had some indication that opinion is veering around to the stand of our Virginia Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

COPY: CHP

Show to FR and HF

Green Copy

January 8, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Your ideas are good and needed, and it will be well if you can be in Atlanta January 17 and 18.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

COPY: CHP

Show to FR and HF

January 8, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Your ideas are good and needed, and it will be well if you can be in Atlanta January 17 and 18.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

GSM -
from MAW's suggested division of labor Harold and I should change our names to Jerry Micah and Polly Anna respectively - FBR.

Herbert H Lehman

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
NEW YORK

JULIUS C. C. EDELSTEIN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

THOMAS V. BRUNKARD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 18, 1956

Mr. M. A. Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter. I share with you your concern for the Negro people in Mississippi and other parts of the South where they now suffer intimidation and violence.

I recently made a speech in New York City where I presented an analysis of my own conclusions as to where we are in this matter of assuring full protection of the law for each and every citizen, and I am enclosing a copy of this speech for your consideration.

It may be that before this session of Congress is over, some committee of the Senate or House will have hearings to consider some of the various civil rights bills which are now before the Congress. So far I do not know of any such hearings. However, I am hard at work on my own proposal for an Election Commission and when this bill is introduced and referred to the proper committee, I hope there will be prompt hearings. In such a case, I am sure the committee would welcome testimony from citizens from all states. I shall remember and be aware of your interest in this question when the appropriate time for acting on your suggestion comes.

Yours very sincerely,

Herbert H Lehman

Enclosure

From the Office of Senator
Herbert H. Lehman
41 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York
Eldorado 5-1182

FOR RELEASE IN FRIDAY AM's
December 16, 1955

REMARKS OF SENATOR HERBERT H. LEHMAN
AT CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY SPONSORED BY
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
MANHATTAN CENTRE, NEW YORK CITY,
AT 6:30 P. M., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15th,
1955

It is my pleasure and privilege to be here tonight at this rally sponsored by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, in a cause to which I am committed with all my heart.

I began fighting for Federal civil rights legislation six years ago, as soon as I became a Member of the Senate. Your organization, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, was brought into being at about the same time. Our efforts, mine in the Senate, and yours, within the framework of this Leadership Conference, have been both contemporaneous and collaborative.

In these 6 years, marked progress has been made toward the goal of equal human rights for all our citizens. Indeed, we have moved steadily forward during the past 30 years.

One redoubt after another has been captured in the assault against the destructive institutions of discrimination and segregation. One area of activity after another has been liberated, or partly so, from these degrading practices. This progress has been made, and continues to be made, as a result of action by state and local law-making bodies, administrative bodies and officials, and by the courts of the land.

This progress has been made possible -- indeed it has been forced -- by the militancy of the groups you represent, armed with the massive support of public opinion. And to you, and the groups you represent, will belong an important share of the credit for the future progress that will and must be made.

But in giving credit, let us not forget to name one individual -- one very dear to me, and to many of you -- the founding and driving spirit of the Leadership Conference from its inception until his untimely death -- a rare spirit with a dream in his heart and unquenchable courage in his soul -- the late, beloved Walter White.

Yes, there has been progress. But the distance left to go is farther -- much farther -- than that which we have already come.

I believe, with all my heart, that the fight for equal human rights must be pressed, in full vigor, and at all levels -- in the Executive Branch of Government, in the courts, and in every law-making body throughout the land. And I mean to include not only the state legislatures, the city councils, and the school boards, but also, and even primarily, the Congress of the United States.

I believe that the whole struggle for civil rights -- for equal treatment under law and equal opportunity for every man, woman and child, regardless of race, creed or national origin -- must be carried forward relentlessly and tirelessly until victory is won. There must be no delay in this struggle for reasons of political expediency --- or any other.

The demand by one-eighth of our population for the full minimum rights of citizenship -- and for all the protections which our Constitution affords to each and all -- cannot be postponed, denied or repressed.

The electric shock which passed through a major section of our people as a result of the shameful murder of Emmet Till and the acquittal of his assailants has given new meaning to the demand for equal justice under law for every American.

We must and will demand action in the months ahead, including, as I have said, in the Congress of the United States. That is my forum of action -- the Senate. I pledge you my efforts, for what they are worth, up and down the line, on this front.

I have referred to the progress that has been made in the past. Congress has played a role in this progress. Its role has been to supply pressure and to exert, through the threat of national FEP legislation, for instance, a strong impetus for action at other levels and on other fronts.

But it is an astounding fact that Congress has not passed one single piece of major civil rights legislation -- not one -- not only in the last 30 years, but in the last 78 years. Think of that.

You all know the reason for that -- the filibuster, and the threat of the filibuster in the Senate.

That weapon is still available to those who desperately oppose civil rights legislation.

The only cure for the filibuster is a change in the rules of the Senate - an anti-filibuster or cloture rule -- a change in Rule 22. For the past 5 years we have concentrated on getting such a change in the rules -- but thus far, in vain.

There wasn't much of an effort last year, in the first session of the Congress. I doubt whether there will be much more of an effort in the next session.

I hope that in 1956 a Congress will be elected which will make such an effort, and succeed. But that is up to you and to all the voters of the United States. The civil rights issue must be framed in 1956, and the voters much give a clear mandate for action by the Senate on, among other things, its own rules of procedure. If such a mandate is given, an effective anti-filibuster cloture rule can and will be adopted.

But I want to say a few words about the session of Congress that will meet, not in 1957, but next year -- in fact, in about 3 weeks from tonight.

A great number of civil rights bills were introduced in the first session of this Congress which ended last August. These bills are pigeonholed in Committee. With some exceptions and modifications, these are the same civil rights bills which have been before the Congress for a number of years. Included among them are FEP bills, anti-poll tax bills, and anti-lynch bills.

I doubt if any substantial legislation on these subjects will get very far, or even be given much genuine consideration. I hope that my prediction will turn out to be wrong; I will do my best to prove it wrong, but I'm afraid it is going to be sadly right.

There are, however, one or two less controversial civil rights measures which might be favorably acted on. One is a bill I have introduced to make it a federal offense for a civilian or group of civilians to attack or assault a GI while on duty. This is a common occurrence in some parts of our country, especially if the GI is of a minority race or national origin. Local sheriffs and police officers are frequent offenders in this regard, and the bill I have introduced would provide GI's with the protection of federal law. There is some prospect that such a bill might pass, since the Defense Department has been in favor of it.

A second measure which might pass is a Constitutional amendment prohibiting poll taxes. The Majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Lyndon Johnson, has announced that he will use his influence in behalf of such a measure.

With his support, and that of the Majority Policy Committee, such a Constitutional amendment might well pass the Senate, and the House, too. Such an amendment would then require the approval of the legislatures of 36 of the 48 states of the Union. Whether ratification by such an overwhelming number of state legislatures is practically possible, I do not know. It would, of course, be much easier for Congress to pass a simple law outlawing the poll tax. I, myself, would prefer such a course of action, but there is not much chance of that in this session.

But even approval of a Constitutional amendment would represent some action on this front by the Congress. As such, I will vote for such a Constitutional amendment, if it is, in fact, brought up for a vote. But let me make myself clear.

I am not going to be content -- and I don't think you are going to be content -- with Congressional action on a Constitutional poll tax amendment if such action is offered in full satisfaction of our demands for substantial and significant civil rights legislation.

The time has come for Congress to take some real action on civil rights legislation. And this Congress, at this forthcoming session beginning in January, is going to be faced, whether some like it or not, with some meaningful, honest-to-goodness civil rights issues.

There is going to be a demand, I am sure for a strengthening of the Civil Rights Section of the Justice Department, so that there can be no doubt of the right of the Federal Government to act in such cases as the Emmet Till tragedy.

I favor such legislation, and am a sponsor of a bill to this effect.

There is also the matter of an anti-segregation amendment to the school construction bill.

There are pending in Congress several measures for Federal grants of money to the states to help build more public schools. There is nation-wide support for this legislation. We are, indeed, in critical need of more and better public schools for our children. I strongly favor this legislation, in the version proposed by Senator Hill, and NOT in the banker's version supported by the Eisenhower Administration.

Yes, I favor the principle of Federal aid to help build more and better schools for all our children. But it seems almost elementary to me that for the very purpose of improving and expanding our public school facilities, it is essential to carry out the decision and decrees of the Supreme Court with regard to school segregation.

The question is: Shall we distribute tax money, raised by taxation of all the people, to states which are trying to avoid, evade and defy the Supreme Court decree? Shall we help some states and school districts perpetuate segregation and defy the law of the land? Shall we in Congress say that school segregation is not our concern but only the business of the courts? Shall we in Congress stand above the battle and let the issue be fought out exclusively in the courts?

To these questions I, personally, answer with all the fervor at my command "No".

I am going to propose an anti-segregation amendment to the Federal school construction bill, even if I am the only one in the Senate to support it. I shall offer such an amendment, although I reserve decision as to the time and place for offering this amendment, whether in Committee or on the floor of the Senate. And I shall fight for it, with all the strength I have.

But believing, with equal fervor, in the cause of Federal aid to education, I shall vote for and support a Federal Aid to Education Bill, even if, despite my efforts, the anti-segregation amendment is defeated. I want to be frank with you about that.

Now I said a few moments ago, that the kind of Congress that is elected in 1956 will determine the kind of action that is to be expected on major civil rights legislation in the Congress that convenes in January, 1957. And I indicated that the voters and citizens have it in their power to determine the kind of Congress that is elected and the kind of mandate that is given to that Congress.

But I am well aware that in some parts of our country there are large groups of potential voters who are denied the right to register and vote -- not by the poll tax, but by naked intimidation -- moral or physical.

Among the areas in which this is true are some in the North, but mostly in the South.

This is not democracy. It is a subversion of democracy.

I propose that we remedy this situation. I propose that we establish Federal machinery to insure to every citizen protection against intimidation, direct or indirect, physical or moral, in exercising his Constitutional right of voting and participating in the political life of community, state and nation.

I propose that a Federal Electoral Commission with enforcement powers be established for this purpose. I am going to introduce legislation to accomplish this purpose. I have been working on a draft bill. As soon as I perfect it, I am going to introduce it. I don't know how far it will get in the coming session, but such a bill must be passed eventually. I commend this measure to you. I hope that the organizations represented here tonight will consider such a proposal worthy of support.

My friends, I have not given you an optimistic report on the prospects of major legislative action on civil rights in the coming session of Congress. But I have not meant to be discouraging, only realistic. I offer no counsel of despair, but I believe we should see the situation for what it is and commit our forces and energies accordingly.

Speaking for myself, I believe the struggle has got to be waged-- not sometime in the distant future, but next year, now, beginning tonight. I believe, and strongly feel, that we need to offer full-scale battle in this good cause, no matter how great the odds, nor how bleak the prospect.

The greater the difficulty, the greater the challenge. Let us hereby resolve, with sober and measured determination, that we will not give up, nor diminish our efforts, nor lose hope, nor surrender ... until victory is ours.

In these efforts, we know we are on the side of right. We know that we are animated by high moral purpose. We know that much of the world watches what we do, and measures our country by the dedication we show in this cause. Let us not flag nor fail.

American Broadcasting Company
7 WEST 66TH STREET · NEW YORK 23, N.Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-5000

RECEIVED JAN 27 1956

JOHN CHARLES DALY
VICE PRESIDENT

January 18, 1956

Mr. M. A. Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

Please forgive this tardy acknowledgment of your letter of December 29 last, but the year-end period is a very busy time for us.

I think I can best reply by saying that we have, for some time, been implementing the suggestion contained in your letter in our program schedule. I would particularly note that during the last three weeks we have presented a choir, a minister, and an educator on three separate programs to which each, in turn, contributed a great deal. The geographical background of our program participants must, of course, be a program consideration. Decisions as to the personalities used will always require that first consideration be given to subject matter of the program.

We are aware of the opportunity that is presented in this critical period of racial relationships and will do our part in bringing light to an issue already afflicted by much too much heat.

Sincerely,

John Daly

John Charles Daly

JCD:le

January 20, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Your letter of January 3 about Virginia prompted conference with Fred Routh, who is in consequence to go there about January 22 and get together the facts, for our benefit and for the benefit of other states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Memo ... FROM THE DESK OF
.... FRED B. ROUTH ....

9 Jan 56

Dear ESM

I can make it up to Virginia the first of next week after ~~month~~ week — say Tuesday and spend a couple of days there and return Wed. Eve. This should give me time to talk with Jack Marion — Pickett and others.

ok?

Fred.

P.S. Probably I am in Macon Fri and Sat in New Orleans — busy me!

Dear Fred,

How do your plans fit in with thisproposal for a Virginia trip, from Marion Wright?

Bring the MAW let. back in, and I can prepare to answer it.

GSM

Jan 5. 56

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 3, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JAN 5 1956

Dear George:

As soon as the Virginia constitutional convention question is decided, might it not be a good idea to have Fred Rauth spend a day or so in Richmond gathering as complete information as possible on the methods and tactics employed by "our crowd" in fighting the proposal? He should also get the appraisal of Mr. Marion on what was done wisely and what unwisely. While we would hope that no mistakes have been made, I am sure that some must have been.

As soon as Rauth has gotten all of the information I should like to see him prepare a full and thoughtful report which might serve as a guide to other states who may be soon confronted with the same kind of issue. North Carolina is one that I would have in mind.

I should not like to see this plan delayed since I believe that Rauth will get a much better picture while the events are fresh in the minds of those whom he would consult in Richmond.

If any legal opinion was furnished on the tax question, it may have value in charting for other councils the limits to which they may safely

go in opposing similar proposals.

What do you think of this idea?

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 3, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JAN 5 1956

Dear George:

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me copy of the clipping from the Atlanta Journal containing some pleasant reference to SRC. The clipping is being returned for your file. I am glad you sent a copy to FFR.

I acknowledge receipt of a batch of the New Year letters and a list of names to which they were forwarded by the Atlanta office. On my own I have forwarded copies to the pen and ink list herewith enclosed.

I should like to see both lists carefully preserved in order that a year from now we may reexamine and perhaps add to it.

My hope that the New Year letter idea may have some slight value is strengthened by the enclosed confidential letter from Tartt Bell. At least, he reacted to the letter and let us hope that we may have stimulated him just a bit.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF LAW

Jan. 21, 1956

Hon. M. A. Wright
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

RECEIVED JAN 27 1956

Dear President Wright:

It was most kind of you and the Council to send to me the underserved citation in your letter of New Year, 1956.

Thank you for it. Not a day passes that I do not think of the work which you and your group are doing, and praise you for it.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Jay Murphy

Jay Murphy
Professor of Law

Friday, Jan 27, '56

Dear Marion,

Grave problem.

Morris Abram called me last evening, relaying a call he had had from David Freeman. The staff of the Fund for the Republic is prepared to recommend to the Board, which meets Feb. 15, that up to 15,000 of any monies already appropriated to SRC be at the discretion of SRC allocable to research in connection with a suit for libel; presumably individual suits, rather. We would have to write them well before the 15th, applying for this power. Their lawyer concurs that such allocation is all right.

We of course haven't got any 15,000. It's all promised out to the States, or more than eaten up in the approved budget for central office. So it really only says that if we raise money it could be thus spent. I guess it does in addition confer tax-exemption of money so raised.

I will talk on Monday, by 'phone, with Charles Johnson, for his advice. We thought maybe those libelled and desiring to sue would each put up a thousand dollars; and we might be able to raise the rest in New York.

Also I will confer with Rufus.

And to-day I will try to reach Frank Loescher, for any details which he may be able to add.

And I'll talk with Leonard Haas.

Meanwhile, please be pondering, and when you have clear views, hand them back, please.

Sincerely,

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

RECEIVED JAN 31 1[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 28, 1956

Governor Frank G. Clement
Nashville, T enn.

Dear Governor Clement:

I want to express my great admiration for your handling of the group of segregationists who were recently in your office. Your statements had the correct ring about them. What you said, plus what Senator Kefauver recently said in Norfolk and what Tennessee with such wisdom is doing about integration, have moved your state into a position of leadership among all the Southern states.

History will deal far more kindly with you than it will with certain other Southern Governors who are leading their states to the brink of folly.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to George Mitchell

January 28, 1956

Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Eisenhower:

You did a very fine and very graceful act in writing the little girl at the school in Asheville. As an American, and in particular a Southerner, I want to express my gratitude.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to George Mitchell

January 28, 1956

Miss Judy Genier
Allen High School
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Judy:

This letter will not be kept by you so long or valued so highly as one which you received a day or two ago from Mrs. Eisenhower. I thought, however, you ought to know that what you are doing is appreciated by an ordinary private citizen just as much as it is appreciated by the First Lady.

How wise you were for your young years! When you are a mature woman I think you will look back with great pride and satisfaction upon the decision you reached as a little girl. A great many of us are talking about brotherhood. You are living sisterhood. Your example will inspire many others to follow your course.

My hat is off to you.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b c to George Mitchell

January 31, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Your letter of January 28, about the libel business distresses me. I am not blameless, or always accurate, but I do try to do right, and it's a bit tough to have the President of the show, with all his weight, jerk at my mouth for some error not very apparent. It's a vein in which you are not at your best. Happily we agree when we can be together; I wish we could discuss these matters personally before we start making powerful directives.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copies sent: Rufus Clement
Leonard Haas

January 31, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We evidently don't have the same understanding about the status of the libel question and the role of the special committee with respect to it.

I understand that the Committee appointed by the Board at Tuskegee was to explore the possible involvement of the Southern Regional Council in a suit for libel, specifically with respect to legal or financial assistance from the Fund for the Republic. At the direction of the Committee, that was done. The Fund, in time, answered that their counsel was not disposed (at least, as of then) to approve such assistance. Whereupon the possibility of action shifted to the individuals involved. In pursuit of the somewhat different end, I asked Morris Abram to go to New York for conferences with libel lawyers; Morris did so on my behalf and at my expense, as Leonard Haas had given me an informal opinion that tax-exempt funds might not safely be used for defense of individuals against libel. As a matter of courtesy and common concern, I communicated Morris' findings to the other individuals involved.

I thought it proper to inform the Executive Committee fully on where the matter stood, and this was done. Until last Thursday, when the Fund raised a policy question with us, I had not considered the matter as calling for action by the special committee. As I wrote you several days ago, the time has now come when we must officially consider.

Parenthetically, Leonard Haas and Rufus Clement happened to be kept pretty fully informed at each stage of the pursuit of possible individual action.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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VICE-PRESIDENT
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KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 28, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JAN 31 1956

Dear George:

With reference to the possibility of libel actions, my understanding was and is that at the Tuskegee meeting of the Board, the matter was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. Clement, you and me with Mr. Haas to be consulted. We were instructed to explore the legal and public relations aspects of such actions.

A few days later this committee met in your office, Dr. Clementbeing necessarily absent, to hear a verbal report from Harold Fleming on his trip to New York for conferences with representatives of the Fund and others. Conclusions reached were that we would await the opinion of counsel for the Fund, that Mr. Haas would look into certain legal questions and that I would attempt to get Paul Williams to intervene with certain of his associates. Mr. Haas acted promptly and so did I.

That was the last that I heard of the matter until, upon my arrival in Atlanta for the recent Executive Committee meeting, I was informed that Mr. Abram had been sent to New York to interview counsel and ascertain their terms for bringing actions in behalf of certain board members.

He had reported to you and to certain interested members.

I was not consulted about such procedures and was only informed of them verbally by you after they had been taken. I do not know whether Dr. Clement and Mr. Haas participated in any of these discussions or decisions.

My view is that these were matters for handling by the joint action of the committee of three plus Mr. Haas. It may be that they would have had the complete approval of all of us. It is, however, in my opinion irregular practice for steps to be taken without prior consultation. The Board is entitled to assume that whatever is done is done by the committee acting in concert, rather than by an individual acting upon his own.

Since other steps may be in contemplation, I wish now to express the view that they should not be taken except upon joint action.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c c to Dr. Clement

c c to Mr. Haas

Marion Wright

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 3, 1956

Mr. H arold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear H arold:

Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me copy of the January 27th proposal to the Fund For The Republic. It is excellent and I hope will bear fruit.

Thanks also for sending me the copies of clippings et al. I had seen very little of this and am enlightened. Send more when convenient.

I am starting a little list of names and addresses of people who say or do significant things in the Southern rights field. It might be well for all of us to do that, funneling them until you have a master list in which duplications would be eliminated. These people might be recipients of an annual congratulatory letter about January 1st, and they might be fair prospects to become subscribers to New South, members of state divisions or merely people on whom we could call for occasional services.

This is not an earth shaking idea but I would like to know if you think the list would be worth the trouble. I would have in mind that your librarian might do the necessary indexing and keeping of records.

Your and Rauth's two papers as presented at our recent Executive Committee meeting have been carefully read. My initial admiration for them has been hightened by their careful reading. I am proud that we have two men on the staff possessing the capacity which the papers reflect. Please convey these airy but sincere reflections to your esteemed cell-mate.

Best regards.

Y ours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

Wright

February 8, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are enclosing the information which you requested on attendance at Executive Committee Meetings of the Council.

Dr. Mitchell seems to think that Dr. Dent has attended more than one meeting since he has been a member of the Executive Committee. However, in checking and rechecking the minutes it only indicated that he was present at the Mammoth Cave meeting.

In tabulating this information we went back to the calendar year of 1951 and counted the number of meetings that have been held through the last meeting of January 20-21, 1956. Some of the persons did not join the committee until after 1951 hence the number of meetings for them has been correspondingly reduced.

Our records indicated that the following meetings had been held:

1951 3 Meetings (March, June and October)
1952 4 Meetings (March, May, September & December)
1953 2 Meetings (March, & September)
1954 4 Meetings (February, April, July & November)
1955 4 Meetings (February, May, August, & October)
1956 1 Meeting (January)

We will be glad to try to get any additional information that may be needed.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:MF
cc:GSM

ATTENDANCE AT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MEETINGS FOR YEARS 1951 --------present

Name	Number of Meetings	Number Attended	Attendance Percentage
1. Marion A. Wright	18	18	100 %
2. Paul D. Williams	2	2	100 %
3. Gordon B. Hancock	18	2	11 %
4. Albert W. Dent *	11	1	9%
5. Carter Wesley	18	1	5 %
6. Leonard Haas	18	11	61 %
7. Rufus E. Clement	18	12	66 %
8. J. M. Dabbs	1	1	100 %
9. John A. Griffin	15	13	86 %
10. Paul Christopher	18	11	61 %
11. Harry V. Richardson	18	6	33 %
12. Maurice V. Shean	11	3	27 %
13. Miss Josephine Wilkins	18	5	27 %

* Staff believes records incorrect as to the number of meetings Dr. Dent has attended.

February 8, 1956

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 28, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JAN 31 1956

Dear George:

I am distressed at the poor attendance we always seem to have at all Executive Committee meetings. If anything can be done to improve the attendance we should do it. I suggest the following, subject to your better judgment:

That you have Mr. Alexander prepare a box score on meetings exactly as kept by baseball leagues. There would be ~~three~~ four columns:

Name of member	Number of meetings	Attendance	Percentage

I would go back to the annual meeting four years ago and would use only the names of the present members of the Executive Committee, since we are not concerned with conduct of former members. Under "number of meetings" you would list the number of meetings which the member should have attended. In Mr. Dabbs' case, for example, there would be only one. In my case there might be 20 or more.

If this tabulation could be furnished me I would get out a letter to all present members of the Executive Committee enclosing the tabulation and drawing the necessary morals. I hope it would not be a quarrel-

some letter and feel that it would be more appropriate for me to write such letters than for you to do so since, theoretically, I may with less embarrassment chide the members.

By way of emphasis and as a foot-note to the minutes of the recent meeting, the tabulation may be appended. Then, as a part of the notice of the next meeting the tabulation might be enclosed. Certainly, if this course were followed the members ought to get the idea.

The day or two which I spent in Atlanta in advance of the recent meeting impressed upon me the time and energy consumed in preparation for such meetings. It seems a pity that all of this should be wasted upon the four or five members who actually attend.

This is just a suggestion which I wish you would discuss with the staff and act upon if you think wise.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

THE LIBRARY AND CIVIL RIGHTS FILE COPY

Tryon, N. C.
By Marion A. Wright.

February 8, 1956.

No auspices could be more agreeable than those under which we now meet.

The Lanier Society is almost unique in North Carolina -- a voluntary association of citizens determined that their community shall be thoroughly literate. It apparently exists in recognition of the principle that, while it is the function of government to provide books for all the people, government usually acts in response to gentle proddings from the outside, and some that are not so gentle. Its action even then hardly ever meets all the community needs. An association of citizens helps to make up for that deficiency. How much better informed all North Carolinians would be if every community had its counterpart of the Lanier Society!

The community itself is unique. You are strategically situated almost astride the border of two states. In addition to the beneficent influence of friends from the North who sojourn with you, you are constantly subject to pressures from the state of which you are a part and the one from which you are so slightly removed. (I hope all of this welter of conflicting impulses doesn't make you schizophrenic!). You are like the young woman with three suitors, in the happy position to exercise judgment, to compare and to reject.

But that, of course, is introspection, thinking in terms of what others do to and for you. Perhaps we would be thinking in nobler terms and upon a higher plane if we thought of what a community may do for others.

There is hardly any platitude more frequently uttered than that the world is growing smaller. I think that is an inversion of logic. What we really mean is, not that the world is growing smaller, but that the community is growing larger -- not that the world is narrowing and contracting about the community but that the community is expanding to the point and with the result that whatever it thinks or says or does has impact and repercussion in remote places. A web of communication involves every community with the destiny of all mankind. Over that web there flow instantly not merely the inerasable record of the accomplished deeds but also the very thoughts and motives of men.

Can there be a more sobering thought than this? If a man were an island, "entire of itself", he might keep no check upon his words, no watch upon his deeds. The consequences would fall upon himself alone. But moral responsibility asserts itself with the realization that others are involved. The responsibility becomes heavier with every extension of the range of influence. The periphery of that influence now embraces all mankind.

A Negro boy is foully murdered in Mississippi. The story of Emmet Till is carried in foreign languages wherever men read or listen to radio. He becomes a case study in Mississippi justice. Even the unlearned can discern the connection between the advocacy by a governor of rebellion against law affecting schools and the practice by his constituents of rebellion against law affecting life or liberty. Surely if the governor chooses to disobey one law, he cannot complain if his fellow citizens choose to disobey another. Their right of choice is as good as his.

An editor of an obscure weekly in a small Iowa town writes an editorial. It is read in far away Moscow. With what result? Twenty American farmers visit Russia. Twenty Russian farmers visit America. I am naive

enough to feel that in such exchange of visits, rather than in the gilded meeting at Geneva, there was the real conference at the summit. For the common people of both nations constitute the ultimate repository of the power of government.

The man or community which produces an idea worthy of men's attention has fired the shot heard round the world.

What significance does this have for the public library?

With admitted exceptions, ideas worthy of attention are fashioned in informed minds. They are the product of the material upon which the mind has fed. One does not gather figs from thistles; nor does he gather rational and sound opinions from minds which have been deprived of the nourishment which books afford. The recorded thoughts of other men, set forth upon printed pages, in a receptive mind start the creative mental juices to flow.

It would seem to follow that government has a vital concern in libraries. A wise government wishes to play its part, to bear its share of the load, in world affairs. It does so through the thoughts and ideals which its people throw into the common hopper of world opinion. For the course of events is determined by the quality of men's thinking. And the quality of that thinking is determined in large part by the degree to which reading is intensive and universal. The nature and value of government's contribution to the symposium of opinion, its participation in the perpetual world dialogue, depends largely upon the citizen's access to books.

But government's interest in books for all the people does not rest primarily upon its concern about the nature of that contribution. It rests primarily upon its concern for itself. Its own health, its growth, its wise evolution, its success as an instrument for service to its own people,

requires the constant fertilization of new ideas. Action is at the top, but the well springs of action are found in the minds and hearts of common men. For example, the warm and utterly human distress which men felt for the lot of the aged, the blind, the afflicted, finally flowered into our far-flung program of social security. The demands of little people triggered the action of statesmen. There may be a time lag between what the people think and what government does, but the causal connection is there. In elevating the standard of thinking, and, hence, the tone of government, the public library is of cardinal importance.

What is the obvious corollary of that idea? It is that the literate citizen, above all others, should have a concern in government. Government reflects pressure of opinion. The opinions of the unread is usually merely a polite term for their prejudices. Prejudices often masquerade as opinions. But they are expressed loudly, stridently and with no shadow of doubt as to their correctness.

They make a great din in the market place. Those holding the power of government in their hands may hearken to those mounting decibels and chart their course accordingly. The very vigor with which Ignorance proclaims her wares imposes upon Reason the necessity for making her own voice distinctly heard. There is no disgrace in being beaten in fair competition. There is disgrace in letting the battle go by default. "A prophet in flight is a more pitiful spectacle than a prophet in defeat".

Such, then, is the moral obligation which rests upon the truly educated, the obligation to participate fully and actively in the formulation of public policy.

We in North Carolina are at a rare juncture in our history when public policy is being hammered out daily before our very eyes. That policy

is now malleable. Before it has hardened into a set mold any one of us may help to determine its form. Not again in our generation shall such an opportunity be presented, so imperious a call to duty ring in our ears. None is so deaf as those who will not hear.

I refer, of course, to the controversy which now rages over compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court directing integration of the public schools. I do so without the slightest apology for introducing so discordant a subject upon so pleasant an occasion. For I am sure that you share with me the conviction that discussion of a matter which affects so crucially the lives of us all should not be left entirely to the politicians. For two sound reasons.

First, they have a vested interest in segregation. With notable exceptions, of which history will take cognizance, they have risen to power in the South by appeals to racial prejudice. They exploited the fiction of white supremacy. The existence of this ready-made issue has been an effective substitute for brains and statesmanship. If that issue were taken from them, they would stand naked and bereft. They would go into mental bankruptcy. We cannot safely risk the opinions of those who have a bread and butter interest in keeping segregation alive. Macaulay said that, if the law of gravity had disturbed vested interests, it would not be accepted to this day.

In the second place, the issue is not exclusively one of politics, in which we might grant the qualifications of our politicians as experts. It is also one of public morals. Without the slightest discourtesy, I see nothing in the careers of any of them which gives them authority superior to the rest of us where an issue of morals exists.

I should like for you to examine with me for a moment some of the

moral implications of their official conduct and proposals. Since there is some variety in their deeds and pronouncements, though having a common denominator of guile and deceit, and since North Carolina is the section of trench which we must hold, let us limit our discussion to this state.

First of all, these men have taken oaths to uphold the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court is the established agency for interpreting that Constitution. The Court has decreed that North Carolina shall proceed "with deliberate speed" to integrate its public schools. The most elementary regard for the oath of office required that those in authority act in good faith in giving effect to the Court's order. Have they done so?

Whereas, in certain Southern states, such as Tennessee, a biracial commission was immediately created to advise on the steps to be taken to achieve integration, here a commission, having only white membership, was set up to advise how segregation may be preserved. In other words, how to keep from complying with the law of the land. In still other words, how with impunity to violate an oath of office.

As a part of the plan, a long backward step was taken by the legislature in decentralizing the school system so that each county could manage its own school affairs. This was not in response to a burst of democratic spirit, but was for the express purpose of entailing a multiplicity of suits if legal effort should be made to secure admission to schools. The State, tongue in cheek, would be able to say "Don't sue us. We have nothing to do with the schools. Sue each county separately".

Yet the State creates an all-white <u>Advisory</u> Commission which <u>advises</u> all North Carolina schools not to comply with law. The State, if it were sued, is prepared to say the Commission could not compel action; it could

only advise, and the county or district could accept or reject that advice as it saw fit. Very slick and very dishonest. Do we want our State to practice that kind of morality? The State should not try to eat its cake and have it too.

I know one mountain county with only twenty Negro pupils that was prepared to integrate its schools this year. Then the "advice" came down from Raleigh. The superintendent abandoned the idea. He strongly suspected that the type of mentality which devised the policy would inflict reprisals for noncompliance.

No doubt all of those who had a hand in this sordid scheme are, in their personal affairs, honorable and upright. I leave it to the psychologist or the theologian to explain how such men, in administration of affairs of the commonwealth, feel free to observe ethical standards they would repudiate in an ordinary horse trade.

The point which I wish to make is that there are deep moral overtones in the school problem; that in the field of morals none of us has placed his conscience in the keeping of a governor, and that it is our solemn duty publicly to repudiate action which violates our deepest convictions. The opinions of one who has read widely and deeply in Tryon's public library constitute fully as safe a guide to conduct of public affairs, I believe, as the opinions of any governor.

There is in our State another phase of this effort to retain the blight of segregation. It is known as "voluntary segregation". Happily, this idea involves no question of ethics, always disagreeable to discuss, but does involve the question of a State's relation to its citizens.

A very sketchy background on this question, if you please. Ever since the public school system was established in North Carolina it has been a

matter of common, not to say notorious, knowledge that the Negroes received a raw deal in education. Inferior buildings and equipment, lower teachers' salaries -- until the Court intervened a few years ago --, no, or limited, bus transportation of pupils, long hauls to remote schools -- in some instances across county lines --, the list runs the whole gamut of discrimination. White education was perhaps not first class by national standards, but Negro education was definitely second or third class.

During all of that period and at present all policy making, all fixing of standards and salaries, all distribution of funds, was in white hands. During all of that period we were operating upon the separate but equal principle which now has such devout defenders. The Negro reluctantly concluded, as any rational mind would have concluded, that under such a system there would never be the complete equality which was his as of right under the Constitution. Parenthetically, the discrimination in schools was paralleled in transportation, parks, playgrounds, golf courses, and every other governmental service and facility. Always separate, never equal -- such is the result invariably obtained under the pleasant fiction known as the separate but equal doctrine.

So the Negro was compelled to bring his suits, a whole, majestic series of them during the past decade. He brought them at great drain upon his slender means, brought them against the entrenched power of government, brought them in the face of ridicule, contempt, repression and reprisal. You and I should have great admiration and sympathy for his struggle, for not too many generations ago <u>our</u> ancestors, who were not of royal blood, bore similar ordeals to secure <u>their</u> rights under law, to establish the enduring principle that there is no such thing as second class citizenship. We should take pride in his victories, for they represent the vindication of a principle our forefathers beat and hammered into Magna Charta, the

common law and the Constitution.

Well, the legal victories are all won -- won at great price and as result of enduring consecration. And what do we find? A governor proposing that the fruits of victory be jettisoned, that the Negro relinquish the rights so dearly obtained and return voluntarily to his own schools, to his status as a second class citizen. It is as though King John, after Runnymede, should have said to the Barons: "listen, men, I have signed the Charter. You have won the rights of trial by jury, freedom from imprisonment for debt, from search and seizure without warrant and all the rest. Why don't you be good boys and give them up and let me continue to decide such matters for you?"

If such a proposal had been made, you and I know that the mocking laughter with which it would have been greeted by our ancestors would have shaken the leaves on the trees which lined the plains of Runnymede.

No, King John was not <u>that</u> foolish. It has remained for a governor to advance so naive a suggestion. Probably never before in human history has one man asked so many to give up so much.

Incidentally, what constitutional right of his own is the governor prepared to relinquish? What rights has he called upon his white constituents to surrender?

If there is one principle which we have had constantly drilled into us, it is that rights are kept alive and flourishing by exercise; that it is the duty of the citizen to vote, to serve upon juries and all the rest, in order that his right to do so may not perish from disuse. What sanction does the Governor find in our history or our institutions for asking that forty-percent of our people shall follow the opposite course?

There is still another and quite recent addition to the inglorious

proposals being spread before us. It involves an excursion into the field of semantics. Perhaps upon the "burnt child" theory, all of us Southerners shy off from the ideas of "nullification", "secession", "rebellion". Consequently, the vocabulary of none of our politicians is wide enough to include those forthright and honest terms.

But for some months their vocabularies have bristled with "evasion" and "circumvention", neither of which describes the conduct of bold and heroic men. Now they have a bright, new toy with which to play -- "interposition". I am sure you must have been puzzled, as I have been, by the mental gymnastics involved in efforts to convince us that nullification, secession and rebellion were bad but that interposition is good; that if you will merely name your conduct something new and different, it automatically and immediately becomes something new and different.

I don't know how you feel about it, but, personally, I would respect these gentlemen the more if they used the ancient phrases to describe what they now propose. Of those, we in the South have understanding from familiarity long and bitter. However they may dress it up, in essence they propose nullification of the law of the land; they propose secession from the moral unity of the nation. Withdrawal from a compact of states was bad enough; withdrawal from the fraternity of civilized men would be infinitely worse. With a halter of weasel words they lead us to the very brink of folly.

Again we come back to public libraries. They are the symbols and diffusers of enlightenment. Historically and traditionally they have been not merely sources of culture; they have been equally bearers of the flame of liberty. As they dispel ignorance, they eradicate the prejudice which has its roots in ignorance. They add breadth and depth to the compass of men's minds with the ultimate objective that the span of human interest and

devotion embraces all mankind. Only the truly literate have the vision, not of Man as a member of a race, but of Man as Man.

It has seemed to me that in times such as the present, to fail to come to grips with an issue which rages about us is to indulge in shadow boxing. It is to leave the field to the champions of reaction and repression. If they are to drag us back into the Eighteenth century, I prefer that we shall go screaming and kicking.

But they shall not drag us back. There is too much wisdom in North Carolina for us to be beguiled by serpent words. There is too much of a sense of honor and fair play to endure for long the subtle and immoral schemes now being suggested in high places.

What you do here is not done in a closet or under a bushel. What ideas you advance, what example you set, is assimilated instantly in State and nation. There is enough moral and intellectual power in the Lanier Society to set North Carolina upon a course of honor and enlightenment. There is an imposing facade of governmental power against you. But it will crumble at your command. The solid walls of Jericho toppled at the blast of trumpets of brave men.

Some one has said that society advances in response to the pressure of events and the lure of ideals. Perhaps none of us here may be the central figure in stirring and moving events. But none is so poorly placed that he may not harbor great ideals, not merely harbor them but make them a part of the composite picture of his state, with the result that the state more nearly resembles the bright image he carries in his breast.

Wright

February 8, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I recall the propriety of providing you with a copy of your did go out letter to David Freeman.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:mf

Enc.

February 10, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Frank Loescher just called about various matters and, on learning that we are to be in New York next week, expressed the hope that you might stay over until Thursday. Frank feels that if you could pay a visit to the Fund's offices at about 10:00 a.m. Thursday morning, he and David Freeman and perhaps others there would welcome the opportunity to meet and talk with you.

My present plans are to fly up Tuesday night and return to Atlanta Thursday night. The Board of the Fund will be meeting Wednesday, so we should know something about the fate of our proposal on Thursday.

A single room has been reserved for you at the Gramercy Park and confirmed by telegram today.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

ans 2/20/56 dc

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED FEB 13 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Feb. 10, 1956.

Dear George:

A lady in Tryon, who is on our side handed me the enclosed pamphlets which she had received in a package.

I notice they were both published by the same Asheville outfit. Maybe discreet inquiries by some of Harry Jones' agents would show who paid for the work. It might be helpful if we could establish that the segregation cause has its angels in the form of Dixiecrat barons. The anti-labor bias is indicated by the oblique reference to C.I.O.

M. A. W.

RECEIVED FEB 16 1956

THE YOUNG WOMENS CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

MEMBER OF THE YOUNG WOMENS CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TRENTON 8, NEW JERSEY
TELEPHONE EX 6-8291

ACTIVITIES BUILDING:
140 E. HANOVER STREET

DUNHAM HALL RESIDENCE:
127 ACADEMY STREET

PRESIDENT
MRS. RODERIC C. BAZZEL

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MISS BERNICE E. TAYLOR

February 13, 1956

Mr. George H. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter. In consultation with the Trenton Council on Human Relations we find that their commitments to a previous survey, made locally, and the objectives of our series are not the same. Therefore, we must look forward to having you at a future date, probably in another year. Sorry.

Appreciating your cooperation,

Sincerely,

Bernice E. Taylor

Bernice E. Taylor,
For the Committee

BET/j

February 13, 1956

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. E.

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is an emergency SOS to you.

The Church Women of South Carolina, under the leadership of the United Church Women, will have a meeting similar to the ones we have had in other states. They have been unable to find any lawyer who will talk to them about the legal aspects, not only of the Supreme Court Decision, but the evasive efforts being used. You really are a South Carolinean, so can't you s do this for us? Please advise us by return mail.

The meeting is to be held at the Parish House of the Church of the Good Shepherd, 1512 Blanding Street, Columbia, beginning at 10:30 and closing at 3:00 p. m. on March 6th.

Sincerely hoping you will find this possible, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
In Charge of Women's Work.

MET:mf

February 14, 1956

Mr. M. A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am enclosing the program of the Forty-fourth Annual Conference of the Council of Southern Mountains which met up in Gatlinburg, Tennessee and a copy of a news release on the symposium on which I participated. You will probably recognize the literary (?) style. Thought you'd be interested for it furthers our belief in what can be done in the mountain areas.

Best regard,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR;mf

Enc.

Mr. Marion A. Wright,
"Top Knot",
Linville Falls,
NORTH CAROLINA.

20th February, 1956.

Dear Mr. Wright,

According to our telephone conversation I have checked the air line schedule and suggest the following:

Leave New Orleans on March 9th	---	---	6.35 P.M.
Arrive Atlanta ---	---	---	9.51 P.M.
Via Delta Flight No. 902.			
(Spend the night in Atlanta.)			
Leave Atlanta on March 10th	---	---	7.00 P.M.
Arrive Charleston, S.C.	---	---	9.11 P.M.
Via Delta Flight No. 470.			

Dr. Mitchell also will have to follow the same schedule since he is to be in South Carolina. He is of the opinion that there will be enough time for the meeting if it starts promptly at 2.00 P.M.

Please advise if you desire us to make reservations for you and purchase the ticket here in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

(G.S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.)

GSA:rl.
c.c. GSA.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 22, 1956

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This confirms telephone conversation with you a day or so ago in which I told you I would be present for your meeting in Columbia on March 6th at 11 a.m. if you were in the meantime unable to get anybody else to undertake this task.

If I am to fill the engagement, I will appreciate your writing me as soon as possible, giving some idea of the length of time I should consume and exactly the ground you would like for me to cover. I will then try to carry out you orders faithfully,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

February 24, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I agree that it would be good for Harold to be more often in New York and told him he should go there whenever program-wise it would help.

The whole crew of you did a good job up there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Re

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 20, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Harold will brief you fully on our New York visit, so I will not touch upon that further than to say that I was greatly encouraged by the interview with the Murrow outfit and the group at FFR. I have the feeling that things are looking up for us.

The result of this trip was to convince me that it would be greatly to our interest to have Harold Fleming spend three or four days a month in New York. The Fund is there, and so are TV, radio, and national publications. On all of these we are going to have to rely more and more. No one appreciates more than you the disadvantages of long distance dealing. Harold should be able to break bread with these boys every now and then.

Of course, the expense accounts are to consider, but I think they are a wise investment if they mean that we establish the right kind of contacts with the right kind of people.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

Mr. M. A. Wright,
"Top Knot",
Linville Falls,
NORTH CAROLINA.

27th February, 1956.

Dear Mr. Wright,

Here is a draft memorandum which attempts to summarize the results of our New York Conferences. Please let me have your suggestions for modification or revision.

Sincerely,

(Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.)

HCF:rl.
Encl.
c. Dr. R. Clement.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta,
GEORGIA.

27th February, 1956.

Dear Dr. Clement,

Here is a draft memorandum which attempts to summarize the results of our New York Conferences. Please let me have your suggestions for modification or revision.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
(Assistant Director.)

HCF:rl.
Encl.
c. MA Wright.

Mr. M. A. Wright,
"Top Knot",
Linville Falls,
NORTH CAROLINA.

27th February, 1956.

Dear Mr. Wright,

Both Mrs. Davis and myself are delighted that you will be with us in Columbia on March 6th at the Parish House of the Church of the Good Shepherd. What we want you to do is to talk on the legal aspects of the Court Decision, especially considering interposition and other measures of the legislatures to bypass the Court Decision. There will be time given for questions after you speak.

Mrs. Davis, the President, is disturbed lest we have a small attendance and this may be the case for there seems to be so much fear among even the best people of South Carolina, but if we can encourage those who are present, the meeting will be worth while.

With the deepest appreciation of all you are doing for our South and of your understanding of what I am attempting to do.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

(Mrs. M.E. Tilly,
In charge of Women's Work).

MET:rl.

February 29, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville,Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Airline reservations have been made for you as suggested in your letter of February 22. We are enclosing tickets for the same.

The schedule is as follows:

3/8/56	Leave Greenville, S. C.		4:51 P.M.
	Arrive Atlanta		6:04 P.M.
	Via Eastern Air Lines	- Flight No. 567	
3/9/56	Leave Atlanta		9:15 A.M.
	Arrive New Orleans		10:47 A.M.
	Via Delta Air Lines	- Flight No. 911	
~~3/10/56~~xx	Leave New Orleans		6:35 P.M.
	Arrive Atlanta		9:51 P.M.
	Via Delta Air Lines	- Flight No. 902	
3/10/56	Leave Atlanta		7:00 A.M.
	Arrive Charleston S. C.		9:11 A.M.
	Via Delta Air Lines	- Flight No. 470	

The round trip fare from Greenville, S. C. to New Orleans by air is $74.03.

We have also made the hotel reservation for you at the Piedmont. Dr. Mitchell will be returning from New Orleans on the same plane with you and will be met at the airport by Mrs. Mitchell. He has suggested that you may wish to spend the night with them since he also has to catch the 7:00 A.M. plane the next morning for Charleston, S. C.

You might be interested in knowing that all of the persons who were invited to the New Orleans meeting have replied and indicated that they would attend the meeting.

We are in the process of typing the letters to the members of the Executive Committee. You should receive them in the day or so.

Sincerely yours

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

Enclosures (2)

Mr. J. M. Dabbs,
Mayesville,
SOUTH CAROLINA.

March 3rd, 1956.

Dear Mr. Dabbs,

The small attendance which we are having upon meetings of the Executive Committee is a cause for real concern. We have barely been able to muster a quorum for some of these meetings and, in fact, have had to use some parliamentary stratagems to get by.

From time to time the Committee has requested the staff to furnish in advance of Committee meetings certain material which should be before the members when they meet. The staff has donethis very faithfully. It requires a great deal of time and care in preparation. I have been impressed with the fact that much of this energy is wasted on account of the slim attendance upon our meetings.

No doubt in many instances there exist good reasons for non-attendance, reasons of health, conflicting appointments, etc. We do hope, however, that attendance will not be foregone except for compelling reasons. We are at a state when the counsel andadvice of all members are critically needed.

In discussing the matter with the staff, we came to the conclusion that it might be helpful to furnish a box score showing just how Committee members rank in attendance. A copy is enclosed for your information. (Blushingly, if my own name did not stand so high on this list, the idea would have probably been quietly dropped.) If you rank high up on the list, you are entitled to congratulate yourself; if you happen to be in the lower bracket, it would encourage the rest of us if your own standing should improve.

This letter is going to all members of the Executive Committee. I sincerely hope it will offend none and may inspire many.

Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl.

M.A. Wright,
President.

Mr. Paul D. Williams,
3320 Gloucester Road,
Richmond 22,
VIRGINIA.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Mr. Williams,

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Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl.

M. A. Wright.
President.

Mr. John A. Griffin,
Emory University,
Georgia.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Mr. Griffin,

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Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl.

M. A. Wright,
President.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 3rd., 1956.

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Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl.

M. A. Wright,
President.

Mr. Paul Christopher,
216 Flatiron Building,
Knoxville, Tenn.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Mr. Christopher,

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Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl

M. A. Wright,
President.

Mr. Leonard Haas,
Suite 601,
Haas-Howell Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Mr. Haas,

The small attendance which we are having upon meetings of the Executive Committee is a cause for real concern. We have barely been able to muster a quorum for some of these meetings and, in fact, have had to use some parliamentary stratagems to get by.

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Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl.

M. A. Wright,
President.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson,
Gammon Theological Seminary,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Dr. Richardson,

The small attendance which we are having upon meetings of the Executive Committee is a cause for real concern. We have barely been able to muster a quorum for some of these meetings and, in fact, have had to use some parliamentary stratagems to get by.

From time to time the Committee has requested the staff to furnish in advance of Committee meetings certain material which should be before the members when they meet. The staff has done this very faithfully. It requires a great deal of time and care in preparation. I have been impressed with the fact that much of this energy is wasted on account of the slim attendance upon our meetings.

No doubt in many instances there exist good reasons for non-attendance, reasons of health, conflicting appointments, etc. We do hope, however, that attendance will not be foregone except for compelling reasons. We are at a state when the counsel and advice of all members are critically needed.

In discussing the matter with the staff, we came to the conclusion that it might be helpful to furnish a box score showing just how Committee members rank in attendance. A copy is enclosed for your information. (Blushingly, if my own name did not stand so high on this list, the idea would have probably been quietly dropped.) If you rank high up on the list, you are entitled to congratulate yourself; if you happen to be in the lower bracket, it would encourage the rest of us if your own standing should improve.

This letter is going to all members of the Executive Committee. I sincerely hope it will offend none and may inspire many.

Yours sincerely,

MAW:rl.

M. A. Wright,
President.

The Very Rev. M. V. Shean, C.O.,
Box 895,
Rock Hill, S. C.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Father Shean,

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MAW:rl.

M. A. Wright.
President.

Miss Josephine Wilkins,
c/o Biltmore Hotel,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Miss Wilkins,

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M. A. Wright,
President.

Mr. Gordon B. Hancock,
P.O. Box 6056,
Richmond, Va.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Mr. Hancock,

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M. A. Wright,
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Dr. Albert W. Dent,
Dillard University,
New Orleans 22, La.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Dr. Dent,

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M. A. Wright,
President.

Mr. Carter Wesley,
Box 3086,
Houston, Texas.

March 3rd., 1956.

Dear Mr. Wesley,

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M. A. Wright,
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MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 5, 1956.

Dear Harold:

I enclose editorial from the Times. I believe I have sent you one or two others from the Times or Washington Post approving the bi-racial approach to integration.

Would it be a good idea to run off several copies of these and others in similar vein and send them to State chambers of commerce as follow-up to recent letter?

In the letters to editor column of The Times for March 2 there is an excellent letter on interposition by Prof. Schlesinger. This may be worthy of reproduction in New South. I am making use of my copy, but will send or bring it down to you in case you do not have it.

There seems to be some demand, observable only by me, for copies of my Tryon speech which is enclosed. Would it be too much trouble or expense to run off 25 copies for me? Effective use of them might be made in this state.

Best regards.

M. A. Wright

March 6, 1956

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

In the case of Tennessee I have made a decision which involves policy matters and which I want you to know about and which I will report in full to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Thus far we have held each of the State organizations strictly to the terms of the arrangement forecast in Memo #1. We have given no State more than was forecast there and we have given each State all that was forecast there. This fiscal year each State got only two-hundred and fifty dollars over and above salary money to meet current expenses.

Tennessee needs substantial reorganization. They are rather an extreme case of using consultants the while they neglected central and State-wide organization. Many peripheral circumstances helped explain but that is the central fact. And over the long pull the consequence of such an arrangement is that a State eats up all we give it in undoubtedly helpful program; but at the end of their period of subsidy will have nothing left except the ghostly memory of some nice program once performed with somebody else's money.

Fred Routh was up there last week. They are about to take on a new chairman. They will add many new people to their Board. They will open a State office at Nashville. They will hire a full-time Director at $5,000 a year. They will take on a full-time clerk. And they will keep alive the consultants program by using the "Associate" money to float consultants.

To me this means that Tennessee is doing a year and a half late what we should have got it to do at the beginning.

I have told our friends in Tennessee that in addition to floating their normal staffing commitments for the rest of the year, we will give Tennessee about $1,000 of operating money; over and above the $250 which they and everybody else have had and which they and every body else have eaten up. The $1,000 can readily be added because Tennessee has eaten up in the first six months of this fiscal year some $2,500 less than a normally operating Staff has eaten up, in strict accord with Memo #1.

I think this will give us eighteen months from now an organization i n Tennessee with a fair chance to survive.

Nothing that the Executive Committee has said forbids this. The staff agrees that it is wise. I report now that I have authorized it; and I will explain the matter fully to the Executive Committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

Church Women of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina
March 6, 1956
Marion A. Wright

Who among us ten years ago would have believed that in South Carolina in the years 1955 and 1956—

A professor of education at the University of South Carolina would have been fired because he made a temperate criticism of a governor's speech and publicly expressed an honest opinion on educational policy?

A teacher at Mullins would have been fired because he asked a Sunday School class if they felt that throwing eggs at a Negro girl was Christian conduct?

A Baptist minister at Batesburg would have been fired because he voted his conscientious beliefs on a matter of church policy?

Hundreds of Negroes would have been thrown out of work, had their credit cut off and become displaced persons, threatened and put in mortal terror, because they exercised the American right of petition?

Would you have believed it? Would anyone living under the American flag have believed it?

Yet those things happened, happened before my eyes and yours, happened before the shocked and unbelieving eyes of the nation and all mankind. They happened in a state that calls itself-proudly-democratic and Christian.

As appalling as are the events themselves, they are mere symptoms of a disease which afflicts us, a distemper that devours.

The disease is intolerance. I do not mean at the moment intolerance of people. I mean something far worse— intolerance of ideas, of opinion. I say it is far worse because ideas and opinions are more important than the individuals who entertain them. The individual perishes but ideas are the life blood of society, the thing which gives society vitality and causes it to evolve imperceptibly but surely into adaptations better suited to human needs. In that sense ideas are immortal.

How did we get this way?

I am not historian enough or philosopher enough to give any authoritative answer to that question. I suspect that, if we sought original cause, we would be back in the 16th and 17th centuries (if no farther) and at the side of men with ropes who ranged Africa in search of human prey, in the steaming holds of vessels which brought captives to the young nation, and on thousands of tidewater plantations where the beautiful and the base in our society had their common roots in the soil of slavery. The problem of how the races shall get along with each other was not of Negro creation.

If you ask the question "How did we get this way, how did we get to the point that terror is being used to prevent men from expressing their honest beliefs?" — if you ask it, you will be told by many in high places that it is because of something that occured on May 17, 1954 — that one decision by one court brought us to this pass. It is a very slick and glib answer and suits the purposes of those who give it. But it is far, far from the truth.

We will be told that because a scapegoat is a psychological necessity for those having guilty consciences. It is very convenient having nine men sitting there in Washington to whom we may point and say "These are the villains. But for them all would be quiet below the Potomac." You see, if we say that often enough and loudly enough we accomplish certain pleasant results.

First of all, we will convince ourselves that we had nothing to do with creating the illegal, immoral and unconstitutional conditions the court had to correct.

We may hope to divert the attentions of others away from ourselves, the really guilty, and to the men who have exposed our guilt. No one hollers "Stop, thief!" more loudly than the fleeing pickpocket.

And we may conceal our mental bankruptcy in dealing with integration after the decision by continuing to whine that the decision was wrong. The poorest player is the one who cusses the umpire.

Those who now assail the decision of May 17, 1954, claim to have been shocked and amazed by the court's action, as though there had been nothing in judicial history to forecast the result. If their surprise is genuine, they had been blind to the signs and trends of the times. For to all reasonable men, lawyers and laymen alike, the handwriting had long been on the wall. Their blindness was the blindness of those who will not see.

Take the very case of Plessy vs Ferguson, on which they rely and of which we hear so much. That case was decided in 1896. It was not remotely concerned with schools; it was concerned with transportation by train. What it held — all that it held — was that a passenger on an interstate train could not complain of separate accomodations so long as the accomodations were equal. There was a moving dissenting opinion by Justice Harlan in which he strongly contended that separateness because of race was, in itself, a badge of inequality, a needless humiliation of a passenger, and in violation of the constitutional prohibition against state action discriminating against a citizen because of his race. There was the warning finger, lifted in 1896.

The dissent was significant, not merely because it spoke for enlightened public opinion throughout the country, but because able dissents have a way of becoming ultimately the views of later courts. If I had the time, I think I might cite a hundred cases from the Supreme Court records in which the minority view has later become the majority view. In at least a dozen cases the great dissenter, Justice Holmes, had the deep satisfaction of seeing his conclusions in dissent later be adopted by his brethren. Truth has a way of triumphing — ultimately — over error.

So, the warning finger. In 1896, mind you.

Now, for the handwriting on the wall.

The state of Missouri sought to discharge its duty to Negro graduate students by setting up scholarship funds under which such students might be educated in other states. A Negro student sought admission to the State University. He was refused upon the ground that education fully comparable was provided by scholarships to institutions located elsewhere. The court struck down the contention, holding that the state could not thus discriminate between white and Negro students. The spokesman for the court was that conspicuous New Deal subversive, Charles Evans Hughes. The word "MENE" appears on the wall. Earl Warren was an inconspicuous citizen at the time.

In an Oklahoma case, a Negro student named McLaurin had legally won admission to the University, but had separate class room, library and cafeteria accomodations. He again went into court to have these restrictions removed. In ordering them removed the court said:

"These restrictions were obviously imposed in order to comply, as nearly as could be, with the statutory requirements of Oklahoma. But they signify that the State, in administering the facilities it affords for professional and graduate study, sets McLaurin apart from the other students. The result is that Appellant is handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction. Such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students and, in general, to learn his profession.

"Our society grows increasingly complex, and our need for trained leaders increases correspondingly. Appellant's case represents, perhaps, the epitome of that need, for he is attempting to obtain an advanced degree in education, to become, by definition, a leader and trainer of others. Those who will come under his guidance and influence must be directly affected by the education he receives. Their own education and development will necessarily suffer to the extent that his training is unequal to that of his classmates. State-imposed restrictions which produce such inequalities cannot be sustained."

"MENE, MENE" appears on the wall.

In the Sweatt case from Texas, it was clearly recognized that a law school for Negro students had been established and that the Texas courts had found that the privileges, advantages and opportunities offered were substantially equivalent to those offered to white students at the University of Texas. Apparently, the Negro school was adequately housed, staffed and offered full and complete legal education, but the Supreme Court clearly recognized that education does not alone consist of fine buildings, classroom furniture and appliances but that included in education must be all the intangibles that come into play in preparing one for meeting life. As was so well said by the Court:

"....Few students and no one who has practiced law would choose to study in an academic vacuum, removed from the interplay of ideas and the exchange of view with which the law is concerned."

That decision was the final TEKEL, UPHARSIN. And who do you think wrote it? That Yankee outsider meddling in our affairs, Justice Fred Vinson, from Kentucky. Where was Earl Warren at the time? Why, he was the efficient Republican Governor of California.

So, what happened on May 17, 1954, was not a bolt out of the blue. Already segregation had been outlawed in graduate schools, colleges and universities, in inter-state travel, in housing, in real estate covenants, in labor employment and in other fields. The decisions had been written by judges of all shades of political belief. The one thing that they had in common was a conviction that no man should be forced to endure legally inflicted penalties because of the color of his skin.

The politician who professes shock and surprise at the May 17 decision merely admits his inability to read the obvious signs of the times. He thereby writes himself down as a very poor guide for the present or the future.

I think we should keep that fact firmly in mind as we examine some of the schemes they now seek to have us adopt.

First of all, they propose to lease or convey all public school property to individuals or corporations who would conduct private schools. Many hundreds of millions of dollars representing the taxes of South Carolinians would be involved. The opportunity for graft would be limitless. Teachers would be arbitrarily deprived of tenure and left to seek employment from these private schools or elsewhere. To make the stratagem work, the state would have to abolish all supervision of such schools and teachers and completely eliminate all standards and qualifications. There would not be the slightest guarantee of the character or quality of education provided by such schools. I think it entirely safe to say that the diplomas of none of them would be recognized by institutions of higher education anywhere in the land.

Then there is the discussion of payment by the state to the parents or guardians of children of amounts to cover tuition in these unsupervised private schools. The state could not compulsorily require attendance of pupils and there would not be the slightest guarantee that the state would receive any kind of value for its tuition money. And the state could not operate buses to convey these children to their schools. We would be back to horse and buggy days with a vengeance.

But South Carolina's peculiar contribution to the art of statecraft lies in proposing a triple school system, one for whites, one for Negroes, and one for children of both races. Now, I think if there is anything upon which we may all agree, it is that the dual system has been far more expensive than an integrated system would be and it has presented great difficulties in administration. The triple school system would be one-third worse. We must bear in mind that all three schools would have to be literally equal in all facilities and instruction, even though one of the schools might be attended by no more than a dozen pupils. Surely, irresponsibility in government must have reached a new low in the triple school suggestion.

Yes, there are enormous difficulties and unrelieved evils in every suggestion which has been made for evasion of the law of the land, if these devices could conceivably be legal. Are they, in fact, legal? It is to the great credit of the University of South Carolina that its law journal in the Fall, 1954, issue printed a scholarly article by Professor Francis B. Nicholson, in which all of these schemes were dissected and found to be unconstitutional. The same conclusions have been reached by the Dean of the Law School of George Washington University and a Professor of law at the University of North Carolina. Bear in mind that these

articles were not by "outsiders meddling in southern affairs" but were by Southerners subjecting the institutions of the South to dispassionate analysis. Their conclusion is that, however sophisticated the scheme may be, the court will reach its decision by considering the motives behind it and the objectives it is designed to attain.

South Carolinians, of all people, should beware of the facile promises so glibly made by our politicians. We are the burnt children who should dread the fire. Just a little excursion into legal history, if you please.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution forbids a state from abridging any of the rights of its citizens because of their race or color. The state of Texas had on its books certain statutes which authorized political parties to prescribe rules to determine who might vote in their primaries. Pursuant to such authority, the Democractic party set up rules excluding Negroes from membership in the party. The United States Supreme Court promptly held such action unconstitutional.

The Governor of South Carolina then convened a special session of the legislature to repeal all statutes of this state relating to primary elections. Without them, the Democratic party, it was argued, would be to no extent a creature, agent, or instrumentality of the state, but on the contrary, would be a mere private club, like the Elks or D.A.R., completely free to prescribe qualifications of its members. That bright bubble lasted just long enough for a case to reach the courts. The light of truth pierced this hastily created smoke screen of legal fiction. Under protection of law Negroes voted in Democratic primaries.

Doesn't the parallel strike this unsophisticated group full in the face? Now, certain of our politicians are saying: "We will repeal all laws relating to public education. We will convey or lease our school property to private citizens. They will run private schools. They will determine who shall be enrolled." If you will merely substitute "school" for "Democratic party," you have the identical legislative procedure formerly and ignobly and ingloriously employed.

Any high school student would be able to tell our legislators that a private school will last no longer than the party lasted as a private club.

So, in any discussion which you may have with friends or groups of people, you have the assurance that the schemes would be costly and destructive if they were legal but that, according to the best legal opinion obtainable, the court will strike them all down. But vastly more important than such considerations, is the naked fact that the schemes are tainted with fraud. It is a serious thing when responsible public officials urge their state to embark upon immoral policy. Let us never forget the moral issue involved.

But let us get back to the question of how we got this way, sick with a mortal sickness. The patient is the state. Let us examine together the chart of this patient.

We must go back a little bit before May 17, 1954. We must go the city of Charleston. A federal judge — Waring, by name — not from California, not from the malicious and ruthless North, as our politicians would describe it, but a native South Carolinian, struck down the sham and fraudulent primary law, as we have seen. He thereby struck a blow for the rights of the common man, that is, a blow for you and for me.

It matters nothing to his blind critics that his decision was unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court. He was subjected to abuse unparalleled in the judicial history of this state. There was an early symptom of our disease. The symptom was wrapped up in the point of view that, if you can't win by fair means, resort to foul; if truth is against you, try slander.

Then came May 17, 1954, with a decision which surprised no one with an I.Q. above that of a seventh grader. The first reaction was from the higher levels of our political life. There was wider sowing and deeper plowing of the seeds of suspicion of our courts. New Dealers, the Supreme Court were called, as though both parties had not for years advocated full rights for all our people. Recklessly men in high places began to call members of the court radicals bent upon destroying the South. The verbal assaults upon Judge Waring now were transferred to new objects of wrath. The fever was spreading.

It spread not only in the objects at which the assaults were directed. It spread in the level of those who succumbed to the fever. Lesser men, inspired by official example, began to feel that they must act, imitatively, like puppets. They began to form their little councils. High principles they professed. None of this Ku Klux stuff. They would use persuasion and reason upon the misguided Negroes. After all, were they not the best friend a Negro ever had?

That phase of the disease was of short duration. The next, inevitable step was quickly taken. Reason and persuasion were not enough. Some people are a little stubborn in insisting upon their rights, you know. The fever rose a little higher on the chart. Boycott, repression, intimidation, these were the next symptoms. Even now they are daily exhibited. All originally directed at Negroes.

But, beyond the comprehension of these councils, certain able white persons did not succumb to this mass lunacy. They had views and principles of their own. They stated them, publicly, boldly, as they would have been stated by Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt. So the distemper moves into its present phase. Such renegade white persons, placing humanity above race, must suffer penalties. They must be punished for their honesty, their Christianity. So, a brave professor at the University, a teacher at Mullins, a preacher at Bates-burg, an editor at Florence — and a host of others -- feel the blows inflicted by brutish hands.

The course of the disease is indicated not merely by this chronicle of events. It is indicated also by words which have crept into our speech. Since May 17, 1954 for the first time in our lives we have heard "evasion" and "circumvention" of a court's decree publicly advocated by responsible officials. Those are not the terms with which to describe honorable conduct. But they imply, at least, lip service to the decree while actually failing to comply.

But that was not enough. Some of them now advocate what they call "interposition," a polite term for violation of law on the grand scale. That from men sworn to uphold the law!

Where does all of this lead? Whither do we tend?

Boycott, intimidation, repression — those are not the end of the trail. They

are sign posts on the path to brutal violence and murder. A governor who advocates "interposition" is also, by that act, an advocate of cross-burning, egg-throwing, bombing -- though he may lack the intelligence to perceive it. The "respectable" Citizens' Council, in advocating economic boycott of Negroes, is blood brother to the Klan. Emmett Till was done to death in Mississippi by men who took their cue from governors and senators.

Let us keep certain points clearly in mind.

When I seek to evade a law which I do not like, I weaken the strength of all other laws which I do like. What dragon's teeth are sowed by men who advocate evasion of the law!

Depriving a color minority of its rights under law will be the first step toward depriving other minorities of their rights under law, such as Catholics, Jews, labor unions and any other group which does not have its hands on the power of government.

If public officials today may wink at a denial of my rights, tomorrow they may wink at a denial of yours. Winking may become a habit, you know.

The rights and liberties of none of us are safe under a government which deprives any of us of his rights and liberties. The bell tolls for us, too.

Let me lay a question upon our consciences. I should like to see it lie there and writhe and burn and gnaw until an answer is forthcoming. What is the duty of a Christian church or a Christian association in these times?

If there is anything of reality in what I have said, we in South Carolina live in a time of moral crisis. Cunning men with perverted minds seek to fasten an immoral regime upon us. They presume to act as our spokesman, our agents. Shall Christianity stand idly by, dumb, mute, while this infamy is being perpetrated?

The glorious chapters in the church's history were not those in which it remained quiescent in the presence of vice, perhaps even carried the torch for libertine monarchs, gave eccesiastical backing to corrupt governments.

Not again in our generation will Christians have so rich and rare an opportunity to exert whatever moral authority and power they possess. Crises winnow wheat and chaff. If the churches and associations such as this now act -- exhibit in their own membership the actual brotherhood of all mankind, assume the leadership of all forces of enlightenment, move to the attack upon the powers which seek to throttle our spiritual growth -- they will perform in the noble tradition of the faith and prove their right to wear the name of Christian.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 7, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for sending me copy of the memorandum to the favored class of our board members. I think it is an entirely adequate summary of what took place in New York.

I am writing George by this mail as to use which may be made of the Schlesinger letter which I sent you today. I am sure he will discuss this with you. That letter, plus legal opinion published in the current issue of Southern School News, seems to me to indicate complete blindness on the part of any official who would now give favorable consideration to the interposition idea.

Here is something for you to reflect upon: every now and then from the North Carolina and the South Carolina Councils I receive carbon or other copies of certain communications which they evidently wish to get into desirable hands. Many of these are marked "please return", indicating that few copies are available. This brings up the matter of your reproduction machine. (I do not speak in a biologic sense.) Would it be possible to work out an arrangement by which the state divisions, having material, they would like to circulate fairly generally might send

the material to you for reproducing the requisite copies?

It might be proper to make charge for the materials and mailing. It would certainly be necessary for you to reserve the right to decline to reproduce material if you felt that it was hardly worthy of reproduction and circulation. Where the material was worthy I think we might greatly aid the state affiliates. It is a pity to let something of real value reach only a dozen or so hands because of the lack of stenographic force for getting copies made.

Is there anything new on the Murrow front?

Or on the suggestion of getting Ike's benediction for us?

I was in Columbia yesterday and had a good long leisurely talk with my mentor Dabbs. He had picked up the impression that Jimmy Byrnes was very much disturbed about the boycott and violence in the South and was giving some thought to his duty in the premises. We came up with the idea that Byrnes might be greatly influenced if he received a highly flattering letter from Mr. Dulles, pointing out that, as Byrnes well knew, the Secretary of State was greatly concerned with retaining the friendship of people of color in the Near East and Far East, that he ran into great difficulties on account of events transpiring the South, that Byrnes had a larger influence in the South than any other Southern figure and that an appeal by Byrnes to his fellow Southerners might greatly alter the situation. The appeal would certainly deplore violence and boycott and might go so far as to suggest that the Supreme Court decrees give ample time for ~~their~~ orderly adjustment and should be accepted in good faith.

It struck both of us that the effort should be made. If Byrnes turned down the proposal, we would be no worse off; if he reacted favorably, we would probably be much better off.

I wish that you would discuss this with George and Fred. If there is agreement that the idea is good, the next question would be how to

reach Mr. Dulles. I would have no ideas on that point but it should not be too difficult.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

For advice

RECEIVED MAR 9 1956

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

HCF

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 7, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I attended Mrs. Tilly's meeting in Columbia yesterday. I thought it was well attended and very smoothly operated by Mrs. Tilly, Mrs. Spearman and their associates. This morning I mailed to Harold a copy of an excellent letter by Professor Schlesinger in the Times. It was short and the best thing that I have seen on the interposition idea. Harold may think it worth while to reproduce this in New South. Even if he should do so, it seems to me that it might be advantageous to run off a number of copies on Harold's machine, mailing several to each of our state divisions, which, I would hope, might get them reprinted in local newspapers or make other use of them. I have felt that they may be more effective by this quick method of handling than they would be if used only in New South.

Since several legislatures seem now to be toying with the interposition idea, the Professor's letter might be quite effective at this time.

I assume that we will go from Atlanta to New Orleans on the same ~~train~~ plane Friday morning in order that you may brief me on the meeting of

the finance committee tha t afternoon.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

March 15, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion:

Harold has mailed out the Schlesinger letter to each State organization.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

GSM –

We are mailing the Schlesinger lts to state gps.

H.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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Southern Re[illegible]
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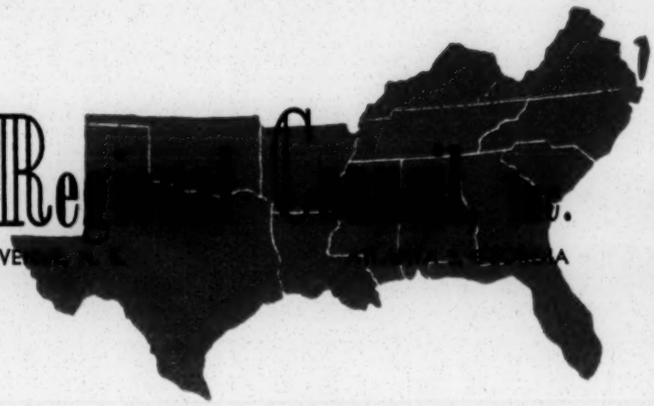

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 19, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I commend to you very warmly an article appearing at page 78 of the New Yorker for March 17--A Reporter At Large. The gentlemen who are attacking the NAACP, if any of them are literate enough ever to read the New Yorker, will be heartily ashamed of their conduct.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

3/22/56

Embarrassing to learn that Faulkner seems never to have heard of S.R.C.

Would it be well for someone to invite him? The ideal arrangement, it seems to me, might be to have a friend of S.R.C. write him about us.

Also, how about sending him a few new Souths, especially issues which have quoted him?

Have you and C.S.M. thought of a "manifesto" by outstanding Southerners in reply to the one by George et al. We might prepare and circulate it without having official connection otherwise.

I intended to discuss this with C.S.M. - you when recently in Atlanta but had no convenient opportunity.

M.A.W.

Write Alistair Cook

—

Write Omnibus

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 23, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED MAR 26 1956

Dear George:

I have recently received an invitation from a New York radio station to appear on a panel show in which I would represent the integration side and Senator Thurmond, or someone else, the segregation side. I think the program runs for a half hour.

The person who wrote me about the program said that the station had no funds with which to pay my expenses and presumed that SRC would ~~got~~ cover that item. I have informed my correspondent that I would give no answer until I had consulted with you.

I find that a trip to New York usually costs me around $125.00. Do you think it would be worth it to SRC to stake this venture to that extent? The argument in favor would apparently be that we need to establish ourselves a little more firmly in the public consciousness. Radio and TV may help.

Since I am personally involved, I do not wish to risk my own judgment but will be very glad to have you write me your own frank opinion which I shall accept as final. It might be well for you to get Harold's

views if you think wise.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

March 26, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Re New York radio; a little more info and we can advise you more helpfully. Local or network? Ad lib or partly a prepared talk? When?

As to the expense: I have made it an occasionally violated rule not to go a'travelling for speech purposes unless the other end bears the travel expense. And I lightly urge that you show some slight reluctance to bear the expense, in the hope that they will. But you would have our agreement and encouragement in going at SRC expense if it seems a worthy program, and one likely to help things along.

Harold will be glad to write you at some length on shades of emphasis, when as and if the time approaches. Let him know. If you are to be required to ad lib extensively, it seems to me that you might care to distinguish, with a word or two, between SRC's ex-cathedra views and MAW's as an observer of the Southern scene.

Generally we hope that you will plan to go ahead; but give us more facts, and we can be more helpful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

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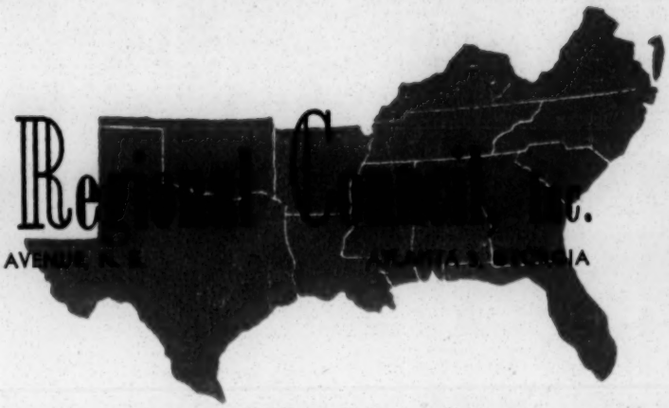
Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. [redacted]



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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 29, 1956.

Dear Harold:

Twice now the President has described us without mentioning our name. The enclosed Times editorial urges that the President move from the general to the specific. One specific is to give S.R.C. his blessing.

The most important thing which any of us may do is to get some word from him about S.R.C. and its affiliates. How?

1. Could Pfeiffer be induced to ask a question at a news conference - or see that one is asked - and then Hagerty, have a prepared answer in the President's hand?

2. Could some board member ~~of~~ or official of FFR get an interview with Ike or Sherman Adams, in which the suggestion would be planted that we are doing in the South exactly ~~[illegible]~~ what the President prescribes and that a direct reference to us would greatly strengthen our hand?

3. Assuming that there is a Catholic on the cabinet, or otherwise close to the President, could some dignitary such as Archbishop Rummel, be induced to intercede in our behalf?

This matter of a commendation from the President should have top priority.

M. A. W.

April 3, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Harold and Fred brought me in your letters about moving the President (of the US) to speak for us. It is a delicate matter, difficult to contrive (if agreed upon as useful). I suggest that it be soundly discussed in the April 20, 21 meeting of the Executive Committee.

On Alistair Cooke Harold will write and try to get him to know about us.

About the Welch program on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights we will try to get hold of at least film no. 3. We realize that Omnibus involves Alistair Cooke, too.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mf

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 9, 1961.

Dear Harold:

In the Charlotte Observer for Sunday, April 8, there was a good syndicated article on the South's loss of industry because of the segregation fight. (I think you must have had a hand in preparing the article.) I did not get a copy of the paper but call it to your attention.

See, also, SSN for April. Page 10, 5th column "Boycotts Criticized".

In my opinion top priority should be given to giving the economic argument the widest possible play.

Next to that is some favorable word about us from the White House.

Sincerely,

M. A. W.

April 10, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Here are various items which have accumulated in the last few weeks. Some of them are of only slight interest, but I thought it well to send them along as indicative of our recent appearances in the press.

Note that the story on our statement to Chambers of Commerce is an Associated Press article which was run fairly widely in Southern papers. Other items of particular interest are two communications from The Fund For The Republic, one praising Bob Hughes' assistance to the press in Alabama and a memorandum summarizing mention of the Council and its affiliates in the New York Times supplement. The latter memorandum was circulated to the Fund's own Board.

I was glad to get your telephone call a moment ago. I am taking up Tartt Bell's suggestions with the South Carolina people immediately, and I will look forward to hearing further from you about the radio program.

I failed to ask you if you were speaking from your own telephone. I am sure I needn't urge you to let us know as soon as it is installed.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:o
encs.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 12, 1956.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is clipping from the Charlotte Observer. This and the Sylvia Porter article sent you some days ago seem to me to be most significant developments. I hope ways may be found to give such material the widest possible distribution. Can they be sent at once as follow-ups to the State Chambers of Commerce?

Hope all is well with your family.

M. A. W.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 17, 1956

Mr. Fred B. Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Rauth:

The current News Letter is up to your usual high standard.

I am glad to see that some use is being made of the Sylvia Porter article. A few days ago I sent Harold another in a similar vein. The argument that we are losing industry because of our squabbles seems to me to be our trump card.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

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Southern Re[redacted]
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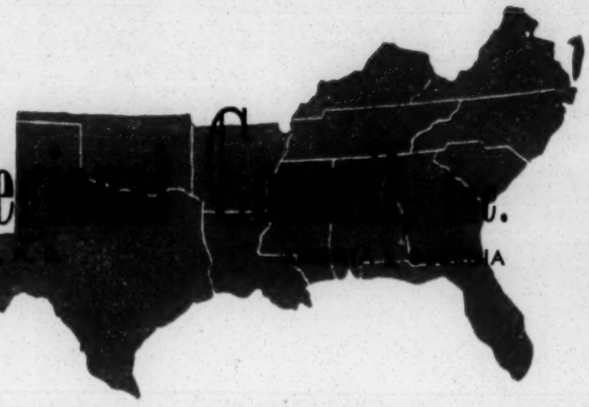

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 17, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for the various copies which you have been good enough to send me and all of which have been read with interest and appreciation.

I am glad to notice from the News Letter that the Sylvia Porter article has been given a play. I sent in a later one from the Charlotte Observer--which you probably already had--which is even more convincing.

The economic argument, as developed by these articles, seems to me at the moment to be the most powerful weapon in our arsenal. I should like to see it used on as wide a scale as possible.

I am to leave Greenville by Eastern Airlines at 10:59 Friday morning. I am not sure exactly when I arrive in Atlanta but I will go direct to the Piedmont. It would get us away to an excellent start if you and Fred could join me there for lunch. I will have lunch there in any event and believe it is a practice of you two occasionally to patronize that inn. So I hope I may see you there.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 23, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear H arold:

Mrs. Waring writes that the Judge says I should see the April 23rd issue of the magazine "New Leader". She says it contains a reprint of a Gamecock article by the student who was fired as a page boy in the South Cardina legislature. Possibily there is more to the matter than this reprint.

Sent 4-25-56

I do not see New Leader. If you can get hold of it I should like very much to see what the boy has written and you might perhaps find it worth using.

Many thanks for sending me copies and other items. This is one of your better habits and I hope you will keep it up.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

May 1, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed are copies of two adverse items from the Greensboro Daily News put out by the pro-segregationists in connection with a recent appearance there by Dr. Mitchell. The news story on the Patriots' statement was put out in abbreviated form by the Associated Press.

In view of the prominence given to these attacks on the Southern Regional Council, we felt that some kind of answer was probably called for. I have drafted a possible letter for publication and a covering letter to the Editor, not for publication, which mildly points out that we would have appreciated a chance to comment at the time.

Since we felt that you as President would be the most logical signer, I have prepared these letters that way. However, feel free to disagree on this point, or to redraft the letters in any way you wish. I suggest that the copies of the two newspaper items and the mimeographed memorandum accompany whatever you send to the Editor.

I am taking the liberty of sending copies of the enclosed to Harry Jones with an explanation of the basis on which they are sent to you. If you redraft one or both of the letters, please send copies to me and I will pass on to Jones.

I will look forward to your reaction to these suggestions.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o
encs.

Not for Publication

May 3, 1956

Mr. H. W. Kendall, Editor
Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Kendall:

Enclosed is a letter commenting on charges against the Southern Regional Council and Dr. George S. Mitchell recently aired in your paper. I hope you will find it possible to publish these remarks in "Public Pulse".

In the case of the news story which appeared in your issue of April 25th, we regret that these malicious charges could not have been accompanied by an answering statement from Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Harry S. Jones, director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, or some other spokesman for the two organizations attacked.

I am sure you are familiar generally with the Southern Regional Council, but for your further information I enclose a memorandum dealing with the charges repeated by the Patriots of North Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Wright
President

encs.

For Publication

The Editor
Greensboro Daily News
Greensboro, North Carolina

May 3, 1956

Dear Sir:

Two recent items in your columns referring unfavorably to the Southern Regional Council require some comment.

A news story of April 25th quotes The Patriots of North Carolina as making certain charges against the Southern Regional Council and its director Dr. George S. Mitchell. The people of North Carolina have probably had enough experience with cunning slander of this type to recognize it easily. But lest there be any doubt, it should be pointed out that the "Patriots'" charge that Dr. Mitchell is affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress is utterly false, as is the claim that the Council is a "political action group." Dr. Mitchell's character and Americanism are amply evidenced by his career of public service, best described by the Catholic Committee of the South when it conferred on him its 1953 annual award "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South".

In your letters column of April 29th, one J. C. McDowell makes a similar attempt to discredit the Southern Regional Council, citing as his authority Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook, whom he describes as "a responsible man." Mr. Cook's responsibility may be judged by his recent proposal that the death sentence be administered to public officials of Georgia who comply with Federal court rulings. The opinion of sober Georgians was well stated by the Atlanta Constitution: "We need sound counsel but we have Mr. Cook".

The validity of Mr. Cook's charges against the Southern Regional Council may easily be measured by North Carolinians, for his claim of "leftwing" tendencies among present and past Board Members of the Southern Regional Council is based on distortion of the records of such outstanding Southerners as the

late Dr. Howard W. Odum and the late Dr. Will W. Alexander of your state.

The Southern Regional Council has never been listed by the U. S. Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee, or any similar official body. On the contrary, it is made up of respected and constructive Southerners whose methods and aims are directly opposed to those of the Communist movement.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright
President

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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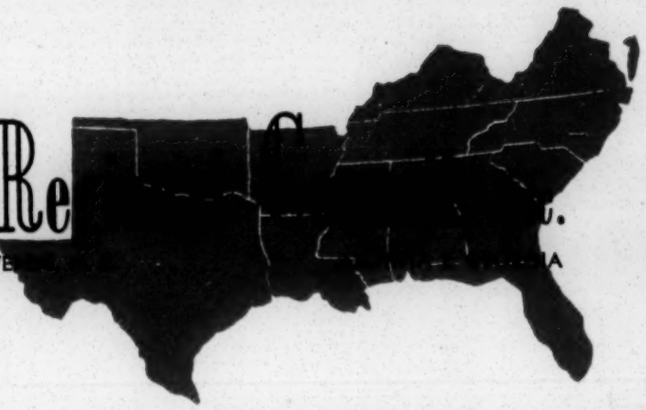
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 3, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for sending me the reprints from Time and the Monitor, as well as the copy of the article taken from The Gamecock. The young man who wrote that article is a comer and we ought to keep our eyes upon him. I am writing him a little note.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

5/7/56

GSM —

For your info.
MAW evidently
signed + mailed the
letters to G'boro News
as drafted

H.

Returned by Mr Mitchell 5/14

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 3, 1956

Dear Harold:

The Greensboro News matter was handled today in exactly the form you proposed with my complete endorsement. Please so advise Jones.

While this type of incident is galling, it is precisely what is happening to equally decent and more & eminent people throughout the country. We have distinguished company.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER

REGION NO. 8, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE 2-6780

May 8, 1956

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1956
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Dr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Marion:

Your letter of May 3rd is gratefully acknowledged, and I think well of the idea suggested.

However, to put it very bluntly, I do not feel free to follow through in the absence of a better notion in my own mind of what our AFL-CIO policy would allow me to do. It seems this whole race relations issue is in the hands of our AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, of which Mr. James B. Carey is Chairman and Mr. Boris Shiskin the Director.

Strangely enough, I still do not know if the organization's policy, by which I am governed of course, will allow me to continue to serve as a member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, although permission was granted to attend the last two meetings had I been able to do so, but this authority in each case was limited to those two particular meetings. Thus, I shall have to get permission to attend the next SRC Executive Committee meeting when it is called.

It is possible, should you want to handle it this way -- and, understand, I am not asking you to do this, and the decision will have to be yours -- that if you or Dr. Mitchell informed our AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee of the suggestion you made to me, and if this Committee looks favorably upon it and again, if the Committee took it up with my superior, Mr. John W. Livingston, AFL-CIO Director of Organization, the necessary authority to adopt your suggestion at this end might be forthcoming.

Sincerely,

Paul Christopher

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:llr
liu 1695 afl-cio
CC: Dr. George Mitchell
Franz Daniel

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

5/1/56

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note of May 8 & for your help for Penn. Confidential is the word.

I am not sure that you ever saw the proposal in final form. Copy is enclosed for your information. While I prepared it, with minor additions, my name does not appear & I have had no contact with the Fund people.

If you have any ideas which might increase our chances, please pass them on to me.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

May 14, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

On your letter of April 17th with its attached review of items still under discussion:

(1) I will work with the staff to get them to consult regularly with Board members who have experience in particular fields.

(2) We did our best to get the White House to perform on that one and partially they did.

(3) I have not thought that the United States Government could be got to acknowledge a disaster responsibility.

(4) Has been done.

(5) I have again notified to HCF these items a, b, c, and d.

On lobby display at conferences I still do not see how one overcomes the very high overhead expenses. But I shall be going into that valley in July and will carry some SRC literature along and will talk to the bookstore people at each of the main conference grounds.

On putting a staff member to working at it, the best proposal I can make is constant attention from us all.

Harold tell me that he eagerly wants to do the article on costs of suits to states, but is finding it very difficult to get the information together.

(6) Cared for.

(7) We will discuss in staff meetings.

(8) Thoroughly discussed at Executive Committee meetings, and to be done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 17, 1956

RECEIVED APR 20 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

On a separate sheet I have jotted down a few of the ideas which have been batted around in the past and which may have escaped ~~their~~ our memories. I thought I would take this sheet with me to Atlanta to revive discussion of these ideas, even if it should be decided that most of them should be abandoned. Meanwhile you might be reflecting upon them with a view to reaching some conclusion as to their possible merits.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

POSSIBLE ACTION BY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF SRC

1. Functional division of board. Staff coopln.

2. White House conference of Southern industrial leaders.

3. Federal aid for victims of Citizens Councils.

4. Machinery for alerting local, state and federal police agencies in case of incipient riot. Done

5. New South

   a) Symposium of college press. HCP to deal w/ this. Hall, ed of Chapel Hill, Tar Heel.

   b) Quotes from Southern statesmen on public schools.

   c) Development of parallel between old KKK & Citizens Councils.

   d) Increased distribution.

      Lobby display 1. Display & sale at religious, educational & other meetings--particularly, summer assemblies.
      2. Assignment of one staff member to task of increasing distribution.

   e) Article on cost to states of suits.

6. Increased use of Radio & TV.

   Film from Omnibus on the Constitution.
   " " Play School Assn.

7. Pamphlets:

   a) Integration of PTAs showing

      1. Where it has been done
      2. How " " " "
      3. With what results

      Further discuss w/ Mrs Del-Glenn

   b) Integration of teacher groups

   c) How women may help
      Church
      Club
      Home Demonstration

8. White House indication of approval of S.R.C.

May 15, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Mr. Joseph Haas has sent the attached letter in response to my letter to him of May 4th, also herewith.

If you would care now to draft a letter suitable to be sent by you to staff members in the central office; and a similar letter suitable to be sent by you to staff members in affiliated state organizations; such as would accord with the proposal, these could be held in readiness for the action of the July meeting of the Executive Committee.

If you care to return your drafts to me, I will see that they get laid before the July meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Encls. - 2

C
O
P
Y

JOSEPH F. HAAS
1116 First National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 14, 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell

This is the first opportunity I have had to reply to yours of the 4th. It appears to me that the matter has been handled in a very careful and entirely legal manner, and I can see no reason why the action incorporated in the proposal should not be implemented as suggested, at the July meeting.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Joseph F. Haas

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FILE COPY

May 21, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Hotel Taft
Seventh Avenue at Fiftieth Street
New York, New York

Dear Marion:

Sorry Mrs. Wright has troubles.

Ed Lukas, American Jewish Committee, would be a good man to see. Address is 386 Fourth Avenue, telephone Murray Hill 5-0181. He has some plan up for giving us advice toward money-raising.

By all means go to see the Fund for the Republic at 60 East Forty-Second Street, Murray Hill 2-1250. Freeman or Loescher or Ferry would warmly welcome you.

Well if you were to hold a conversation with Sophie Van S. Theis, Secretary to the Doris Duke Foundation at 41 East Fifty-Seventh Street, Plaza 3-7231. They have helped us generously this year as you know. And she is always on the lookout for good ideas.

About the same should be said about Maxwell Hahn, the Field Foundation, Inc., 250 Park Avenue, Plaza 3-8797.

I have an application for $5,000 pending with the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, 11 West Forty-Second Street. This is a small one that Frank Loescher told me about. I asked them to help us recapture the cost in time and cash expense of entertaining the long stream of foreign visitors. The foundation's lawyer is Mr. Jack Clareman, and here's the letter I wrote him. I have been to see this man once. Since then I understand the trustees have met. I do not know what they did. I think you might help quite substantially by floating them to decision.

I may not have got word to you in all your travels that the New World Foundation did give us $17,000 to keep John Hope going, and have sent the check. They are so new that they have no office. And in any case I guess their headquarters is Washington, and the lawyer is with a firm in Chicago.

A project long lying around unattended is that for getting a list of expatriate Southerners in New York and asking them to help out. I never found a way to push that thing. Maybe you could. There are, of course, the state societies in New York, but I think they are mostly bad eggs.

Alex Miller, at the head office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was in Atlanta for a year and knows us intimately and knows the fund raising picture in New York, and many other pictures too. Go and see him if you can at 515 Madison Avenue, Murray Hill 6-8010.

Well if you dropped by the NAACP. My closest friend there is Henry Lee Moon. Address is 20 West Fortieth Street, telephone Longacre 3-6890.

Harold will be writing you if he thinks of further useful people to see or things to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls: Copy of ltr to Jack Clareman
dtd 1/26/56
Copy of ltr from Field Foundation
dtd 10/21/54

May 22, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Hotel Taft
Seventh Avenue at Fiftieth Street
New York, New York

Dear Marion:

Fay Bennett is Executive Secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3, ALgonquin 4-4955.

She has ideas about how we could raise money through mail appeals.

If you could see her that would help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: HCF

May 23, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Hotel Taft
Seventh Avenue and Fiftieth Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Marion:

We have been dickering with one Emil Bergen, theoretically handed to us by Ed Lukas in the American Jewish Committee, to advise us on how to raise money. Bergen was to be in Atlanta tomorrow. He writes us today that he can't come to Atlanta on account of a last minute change in plans.

Could you maybe go and see Bergen and pick his mind in New York? He hangs out at the Joint Defense Appeal, 300 West Forty-Third Street, JUdson 6-2700.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Winston-Salem, N.C.
5-17-56.

Dear George:

I leave in a few minutes for New York and may be there some days. I will give you the address upon arrival.

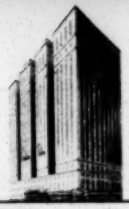
Meanwhile, you and Harold might be thinking of matters I may attend to while there.

I am taking Mrs. Wright up for hospitalization and may, perhaps, have some time in which I might run errands for S.R.C.

M. A. W.

RECEIVED MAY 18 1956

ON TIMES SQUARE AT RADIO CITY



Circle 7-4000

ALFRED LEWIS, GENERAL MANAGER

HOTEL TAFT
7th Ave. at 50th St. NEW YORK 19
BING & BING INC. MANAGEMENT

May 19, 1956

Dear George:

My address until further notice is care This hotel

If you or Harold think of any errands for me to run, let me know.

Mrs. Wright is in a hospital here.

W. A. W.

RECEIVED MAY 21 1956

TARRY AT THE TAFT

2000 ROOMS WITH BATH — CIRCULATING ICE WATER — RADIO
MANY WITH TELEVISION — MANY AIR CONDITIONED

AIRMAIL

May 24, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Taft Hotel
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for letting me read the Penn Board's Foundation proposal, which I am returning herewith. It is a well prepared document, and I have no difficulty in recognising the style.

I talked with Frank Loescher today and he told me of your conversation with him about this and other matters.

I hope Mrs. Wright is doing well and that we may hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
enc.

AIRMAIL

May 25, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Taft Hotel
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Wright:

Here are two newspaper clippings of interest.

See the editorial in the current issue of Life dated May 28th for extensive quotation of George Mitchell.

I have some efforts under way on the White House matter which I will report on fully when they have had a chance to mature a little more, for better or for worse.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

May 25, 1956
New York.

Dear George:
Checking out here.
Address for the present will be
Care F. W. Clinard
770 Roslyn Road
Winston-Salem, N. C.

noted (esh)

There is a telephone in that name.
Please inform Harold, so that no more mail will come here.
Thanks.
M. A. W.

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

Cicerate

770 Roslyn Rd
Winston-Salem, N.C.
May 28, 1956

RECEIVED MAY 29 1956

Dear George:

I am very sorry that Mrs. Wright's condition in New York made it impossible for me to attend to any Council or other matters. We returned here on Saturday. I am to see her doctors today with the prospect that she will be placed again in the hospital here. Her condition is quite serious.

Much correspondence has been neglected; much more, I am afraid, will be. Please bear with me and continue to write fully about Council matters even if I do not respond. I do not have the facilities or mood for writing.

Was delighted with Life's editorial praise of you and S.R.C. Know Harold called it to FFR's attention.

M.A.W.

Care F.W. Clinard,
770 Roslyn Road,
Winston-Salem, N.C.
Telephone 4-7468.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 31, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JUN 4 1956

Dear George:

In the flood of letters which I have received from you and, alas not answered, there is one which should have my attention. That is yours of May 15th enclosing copy of the correspondence between you and Mr. Joseph Haas. — attached 6/12 GSM

Would it be imposing upon you too much to get you to prepare for my signature the form letter to go to the staff members of state affiliates? If you can do so send them to me for approval or modification and we will have them ready for the July meeting. Thanks.

You are entitled to take a great deal of satisfaction in the recognition which our staff members are receiving. The editorial in Life, with its illuminating quotations from you comes out almost on the same day with Annals, containing Harold's article, a pamphlet from American Friends Service Committee with an article by Irene Osborne and a San Francisco newspaper with its complimentary and full interview of Fred Rauth. All these developments, while springing from the

work of individual staff members, necessarily mean that the organization itself is rapidly gaining stature.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

My address until further notice.

Care Frank W. Clinard

770 Roslyn Road

Winston-Salem, N. C.

June 7, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
c/o F. W. Clinard
770 Roslyn Road
Winston Salem, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter of the other day.

You raise a question about our distribution of promotion material for The Reporter along with a reprint of the Reverend Mr. Thrasher's article on the Montgomery bus boycott.

The mailing came about in this way: We were favorably impressed with Mr. Thrasher's article, especially since he is one of our Alabama people and very helpfully touched on the work of the Alabama Council and the SRC. We corresponded with the Reporter about the possibility of obtaining reprints and found a number sufficient for our mailing list would cost about $120. The Reporter offered to supply them without charge in return for a copy of our mailing list. This we declined, as we always do, in view of our firm policy that our mailing list is never to go out of the office. Then The Reporter offered to make the reprints available free if we would accompany them with a modest promotion insert. This we felt was a reasonable business arrangement.

The precedent which you mentioned was the distribution of a small promotion leaflet for Phylon the Atlanta University publication. In that case, we had been very eager to promote our publication Changing Patterns in New South with educators, particularly social scientists, who might use them as classroom materials. Phylon's mailing list was ideally suited to this purpose. Phylon agreed to circulate our promotion leaflet in return for a like service by us.

New South has no permit which would be infringed by this procedure, so that no legal problem exists. The question of wisdom is a valid one; it relates only to our distribution of others' promotion material, on a quid pro quo basis, since we would never permit our list to leave the office.

This might be discussed by the Executive Committee. Our decision in the two instances described was occasioned by our zeal to

advertise the Council and its materials. I agree with the point that you have repeatedly made that we should do more to acquaint new people with our work and our publications. Unfortunately, about the only way to obtain lists or get specialized circulation of our advertising is on an exchange basis. In considering direct mail promotion and fund raising for SRC, we are squarely up against this problem.

It may be that our decisions in the two occasions have not been wise. I will welcome your reaction, and I'm looking forward to seeing you next month.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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KATHERINE STONEY
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 31, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Please be assured that I do appreciate your sending me various copies of material, although I may be a little remiss in my acknowledgements. I read every word.

The article in Annals has been carefully put aside for more leisurely reading than I can give at the moment. All of us take pride in the recognition which staff members deservedly receive. The fame and prestige of the organization rest largely upon the esteem in which staff members are held.

I raise with you a question about which I have no fixed opinion. In the envelope containing the current issue of New South there is a reprint from The Reporter, together with the little advertising for that magazine. I hold The Reporter in high regard. My question has two prongs: 1. Are you on entirely safe ground legally in enclosing such material under New South's permit?, and, 2. Is there not some slight ~~sugg~~ question on policy grounds in so doing?

The first is a purely legal question which may not have the slightest merit; you will probably know about that. As to the second, I am

afraid the precedent may haunt us. Sometime ago, I recall, we enclosed a boost for an Atlanta University publication. We now do this for The Reporter. To some extent, theoretically, we impliedly recommend those publications to our membership and identify ourselves with them. We may later have cause to regret this, though I do not think so. But we may be embarrassed ~~for~~ by future requests from well-meaning publications who will be able to say "you did this for The Reporter; why not for us?"

Some years ago when I was President of the Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina our staff compiled a very complete listing of names and addresses of alumni. We were promptly asked by the athletic association for a copy in order that it might solicit funds. We turned down the request, feeling that other alumni representing life insurance companies or having other axes to grind might demand the same treatment. I think the decision was wise.

Nothing more is intended by this letter than to get you to consider the points which I have raised. My mind is open.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

My address until further notice.

Care Frank W. Clinard

770 Roslyn Road

Winston-Salem, N. C.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
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C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED JUN 11 1956

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 8, 1956

Dear Fred:

Thanks for the Seattle + Los Angeles clippings. I feel quite proud of what you are doing.

I would like to see you try your hand on an article for Annals, taking the obverse side of Harold's should somewhat after the manner of the discussion at Executive Committee meeting. The paper you presented at that meeting would be the germ of the paper I have in mind for Annals.

Mrs. Wright is in a Winston-Salem hospital and I am commuting. Perhaps the better address for the present is Linville Falls. I now have a telephone. The exchange is Spruce Pine, N.C. and the number is Poplar 5-2522. Will you please spread information as to address and phone around the office.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

June 14, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
c/o Mr. Frank W. Climard
770 Roslyn Road
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

As you requested, in your letter of May 31st, I have drafted possible letters for your signature, respectfully to state staff personnel and central office personnel.

I have not caused these drafts to be submitted to Mr. Joseph Haas, but his letter of May 14th (copy enclosed) would appear to me to authorize the procedure which follows so closely my letter to Mr. Joseph Haas of May 4th.

Do alter these drafts in any way that you think desirable. And if you wish me to get them reviewed by Mr. Haas in the July 20-21 meeting of the Executive Committee, I will be willing to submit them though I cannot, as a layman, see the need.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls - 3

June 14, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
c/o Mr. Frank W. Clinard
770 Roslyn Road
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Anent the matter of liability for needs that state staff may have for involvement of Counsel, I rather feel that we ought, even retroactively, to help out Guy Wells. I don't know accurately what disposition was made, but I assume that the Georgia Committee paid the $100 or $125 or so involved. We could afford to pay it and it would be my recommendation to the Executive Committee that we do.

If you will be ready with your view at the time of the July meeting, the matter could be decided.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]
[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 18, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Dear George:

Proposed letters to staff personnel are entirely satisfactory and are returned with my O.K. I do not think it necessary to refer them to Mr. Haas.

As to your memorandum of April 19 regarding salary schedule I concur in the position taken by Dr. Clement in his letter of June 11 to you.

My apologies for delay on so many matters. Mrs. Wright is in a Winston-Salem hospital and I am commuting. My address is now Linville Falls. My telephone is Poplar 5-2522 through Spruce Pine N.C. Please advise the force.

Best regards.

M. G. W.

noted and acted
(ah)

RECEIVED JUN 20 1956

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 21, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are some clippings which may interest you. If you are unable to use the letter from Mr. Carroll, perhaps it might be useful to Mrs. Spearman. Would it be worth while to try to get a copy of Rev. Weston's sermon in the thought that all or parts of it might be worth re-printing?

In view of the subversive allegations, it might be well to add to the office "Who's Who" on me:

"Served by appointment of Pres. Roosevelt as a member of the Enemy Alien Board for South Carolina during World War II."

This Board, ~~as~~ as you no doubt know, had the duty of passing upon cases of aliens of enemy countries charged with engaging in subversive activities against this country.

Please note I am at the above address. Some office mail continues to go to Winston-Salem. My telephone is Spruce Pine, N.C. Poplar 5-2522. I hope to return to normal activity, which includes a spate of letters to S.R.C.

Best regards.

M. C. W.

June 26, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Many thanks for your letter of June 18th. I have sent out, on presidential stationary over your name, the memo to state staff personnel. I have sent copies of it to chairmen and first vice-chairmen of each state organization.

And the central office memo has been circulated for initialing by all central office staff.

I do hope the news from Mrs. Wright gets better.

We have all noted the joy of your telephone.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 29, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for your last letter. I was glad to have the additional item for your biographical summary. I have passed on Mr. Carroll's letter to Mrs. Spearman, and we are undertaking to get a copy of Mr. Weston's sermon. Both items are of great interest, but I am afraid their somewhat political tone would make it unwise for us to reprint or otherwise distribute them.

I am glad to hear that you expect to be able to resume normal activity soon.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo

7-9-56

Will be at Taft Hotel, 50th at 7th, New York, beginning Wednesday, July 11. If you happen to be in town, be sure to get in touch with me.

M. A. W.

Memo ... FROM THE DESK OF

..... EAB .....

7/23/56

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

GSM ✓
HCF ✓
DT
RHA ✓
GSA ✓
FBI ✓
JC ✓
MBO ✓
FC ✓
MEF
FBRX ✓
YSB ✓

EAB

Linville Falls, N.C.
June 20, 1956

Please advise everybody in the office that my address is now Linville Falls, N.C. and telephone is Poplar 5-2522 Spruce Pine, N.C.

Thanks.

M. A. Wright

Niagara Falls, N.Y.
7-21-56

Please inform all
Office personnel I am
back at above
address. Thanks.

M. A. Wright

RECEIVED JUL 23 1956

NO DAILY FILE COPY MADE

July 24, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

The meeting went pretty well. They chose Paul Christopher to be the Chairman pro tem. Brazeal was there and Duncan Hunter (being there as newly elected persons), and Josephine and Paul Christopher and Father Shean and John Griffin, and Dabbs. Total seven. We used Lib Taylor Sicaloff to take the minutes. The staff generously represented, but not overly so I thought.

At the first Executive Session I told them that I was preparing to take myself to Scotland next Spring, and that therefore from somewhere around January 15th (wiggle it two weeks or six weeks either way) I would like to be relieved. This was the easier I said because there were clearly at least seven persons in sight for my job. And I named the seven. I could add an eighth for your information, though I did not speak of it to them. Keep your eye on young John Alexander, now working for the Quakers out of Greensboro and in western North Carolina.

They put on the present Nominating Committee: Guy Johnson, Mrs. E. U. Robinson, B. R. Brazeal, W. Carroll Brooke, and I. H. Burney, the act of nominating a successor to you; but I thought there was purpose among several of the Executive Committee members to advise rather closely with members of the Nominating Committee on that choice. As to getting further toward a new Executive Director, they said they would meet again in September and see how far they could get toward that. And I believe they set up a special committee.

The budget expenditure, which should have been exactly 75 per cent as of June 30th worked out I think as 74.3 per cent, so there was no quarrel. We will make it money-wise yet if the AFL-CIO comes through with their expected $5,000. Minor problems, but not an impossible situation if they don't.

They will at the September meeting move further toward approval of the draft of a letter to the Fund for the Republic. But they indicated this time that they thought I hadn't asked for nearly enough. So we will rework it extensively.

Mighty nice place, and Elizabeth and Courtney have foresight itself. Also the cooking mighty good and the food mighty good. The spot is warm, but an air conditioning engine for the room used for conferring would have corrected everything. And twenty minutes at the beach cooled off hours of perspiring around a conference table.

We all missed you and thought of you and of Mrs. Wright constantly.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 31, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

The Executive Committee, for reasons connected with their project to interest the President in a statement, asked for the Board meeting to be moved to Williamsburg.

We have duly moved it. It is arranged that we will have in Williamsburg two complete taverns. Meals at the lodge as before. And in order to insure getting through their business, we took it on ourselves to stretch the meeting to cover the afternoon of Wednesday, November 15th.

I am assured that we may have the facilities at Williamsburg.

We are cancelling the arrangements heretofore made for Tuskegee. I am calling off Christopher's possible efforts at Gatlinburg. Now we are all Williamsburg bound.

Please do put it on your calendar.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 1, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Yesterday's letter to you re the move to Williamsburg had a minor error. The meeting is set for the afternoon of Wednesday, November 14th and the morning of Thursday, November 15th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

9/4/56

Encls:

copy - Ltr from Mr. Walter 8/30/56
GSM's ltr to Mr. Walter 8/21/56
Sumter Citizens' Council
broadsheet dtd 8/14/56

GSM's
copy -/Ltr to Mr. Larkins dtd 8/21/56
GSM's ltr to Mr. Larkins dtd
8/8/56
Mr. Larkins ltr to Harry Jones
dtd 8/15/56
Mr. Larkins ltr to GSM dtd
8/16/56

another copy filed in "tax-exemption"

September 4, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Hotel Taft
Seventh Avenue at Fiftieth Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Marion:

I had not known about Walters and the Fund for the Republic matter, for which thanks.

Here is correspondence with Walters about a Sumter, South Carolina charge that SRC is "cited." HEF is to write the paper in Sumter.

The staff did not discuss the proposition of going to see Cobb with Mr. Joseph Haas beforetimes. But we sent him the memo I sent to you, with a note, and he has acknowledged the memo pleasantly. Reason, I suppose, that J. H. is new, and busy, and we all hesitate to involve him where we don't feel we have to. But I will enlarge the area of involvement.

'Twasn't Cobb (the Atlanta boss) who was asking about how we employ state staff, 'twas the investigator one Hudson. Hudson is not notably broad-gauge.

Here is correspondence with North Carolina about their excursion into quasi-political activity. A few days after this little tiff Harry Jones called me and said his several local independent citywide councils in N. C. were possibly engaging in quasi-political things; to wit, the one in Charlotte was to have a meeting in a few days on how people should vote on the N. C. Constitutional amendment. I told Harry that it made no difference that the Charlotte Council was not affiliated with the N. C. Council; he, Harry Jones, had organized it, ran its work from his N. C. office, (all paid from tax-exempt funds) and that the law could not be circumvented in this way. He called off the Charlotte meeting.

Mr. Marion A. Wright
September 4, 1956

I will ask Harold and Fred's advice on the matter of informing the Fund for the Republic on this income-tax inquiry.

Hasten back.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

Office
Saturday morning, Sept 22

Dear Marion,

Meeting went all right. Good attendance. Clement to preside, Dabbs, Brazeal, Duncan Hunter, Josephine, Father Shean, John Griffen, and Dent. All missed you, and at the end of the meeting they directed me to send you a telegram saying how much they missed you. Knowing something of telegrams in the mountains I write you this letter instead, and save some shillings.

A number of items of clean-up business. Approved recommended language to amend by-laws to empower Executive Committee to fill its own vacancies. Approved liquidating Mississippi Oct 1 if it doesn't raise its quota of money, and Jan 1 if it does. Approved letting the staff hand out "up to" 5000 of additional funds for 1956-7 (saved from this current year's allocation to states) where it seemed helpful. For an instance, Virginia had a chance to do some real good in the northern and western parts, and all thought that should be done. Approved the within-grade promotion scheme that you and Rufus and I as the PE committee had recommended.

Major discussion was on the staff memo. re future plans. They went into that thoroughly, all conspiring the make HCF carry the burden of the argument. Dent had said in the meeting of the subcommitte the day before, to pick an Exec. Dir., that something depended on the kind of show that was to be run; if a skimpy central office and much states, then a flashy central-office man; if a bigger central office with much behind-the-scenes work to do, then a quieter man. All agreed on the more centralized plan for later, the argument being that before we thought the thing to do was provide flexible state-by-state follow-through; whereas now it was clear that there was a tough job of changing a lot of minds, and fighting something bigger than any single state outfit could fight by itself.

Argument about cutting-off any states that didn't raise their quota. Fred and C.H. were inclined to defend Arkansas, which hasn't raised its money, but has had good and promising pogram. Dent said stick to rules. Later it appeared that Loescher, lately here when I was North, had said they needn't be too strict. Ended with a month's grace, if staff thinks so.

Executive session, to which I was admitted as member of comm. to pick new man. All were for Fleming, and he was notified, and came in and took the business on, effecting Jan 16. That seems clearly right, and I think all here and in the states will like it.

The nominating comm. to pick officers, including sadly a new President, did meet one day this week, and made most of their selectings, subject to a final meeting just before the Board meeting in November. They incline to Josephine Wilkind for President. Goodly sentiment for Rufus, or for Dent, but the two views about cancelled each other. Fred Darragh and Dabbs were possibles. Josephine is to be sounded out by Brazeal. Probability is that after some ten days of worry she will be agreeable. She and Harold work well together, and Harold can manage matters with her beautifully. And Josephine, if she took the job, would carry much of the money responsibility. But the die is not cast, and you who are senior in the show can still tip the decision.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

1206 10-51

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to 63 Auburn Avenue N.E. Atlanta, Ga.

October 4, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
c/o Frank W. Clinard
770 Roslyn Road
Winston Salem, North Carolina

ALL OF US ON THE STAFF ARE DEEPLY SORRY TO HEAR OF YOUR LOSS WHICH THROUGH YOU WE SHARE.

HAROLD and FRED

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1956 OCT 201 4 PM 12 30

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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GEORGE S MITCHELL=
:SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST
TU ATLA=

:MRS WRIGHT PASSED AWAY WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON FUNERAL AT VOGLERS FUNERAL HOME WINSTON SALEM ELEVEN OCLOCK FRIDAY MORNING MY ADDRESS CARE FRANK W CLINARD 770 ROSLYN RD WINSTON SALEM=
:M A WRIGHT=

RECEIVED OCT 4 1956

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
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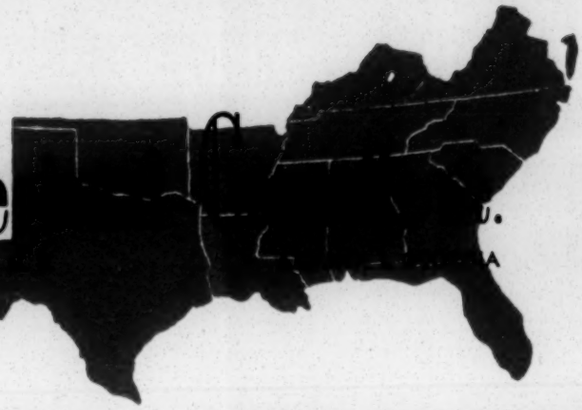
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Oct. 26, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Dear George:

In connection with the agenda for the Williamsburg meeting, I propose that we omit the item entitled President's Address. When we were a large and conglomerate organization, a speech might have been appropriate. Our smaller group is hardly an ideal audience. We meet to transact business. Exhortation is not needed, is a diversion from our main concern and, alas, a waste of time.

Such is my view. What do you think?

M. A. W.

Wired GBS 10/29/56

RECEIVED OCT 29 1956

October 29, '56

Dear Marion,

Right! No speech!

Shall do the list of helper-givers.

Best,

G.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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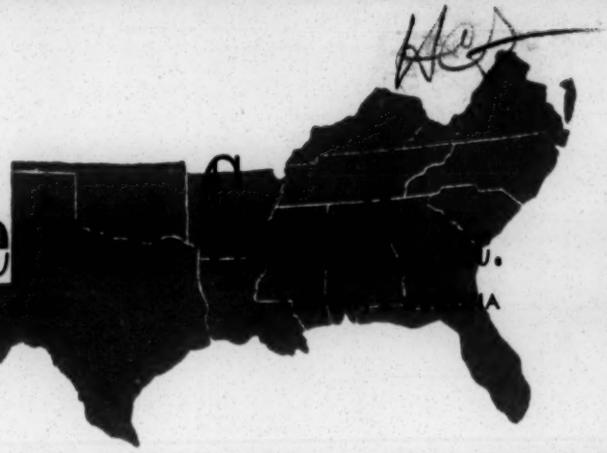
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Nov. 5, 1958

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Dear Gene:

I attended the annual meeting of the N.C. Council in Charlotte on Nov. 2 — a very good meeting, well attended.

The Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Asheville papers, the only ones I have seen, gave the meeting a good press, probably due to Mr. Sarratt's place on the program. We might consider the advisability of using available newspaper men on such programs more often in the future.

Winston-Salem clippings are enclosed for Harold.

Please tell Mr. Alexander I will attend the Williamsburg meeting.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

RECEIVED NOV 6 1958

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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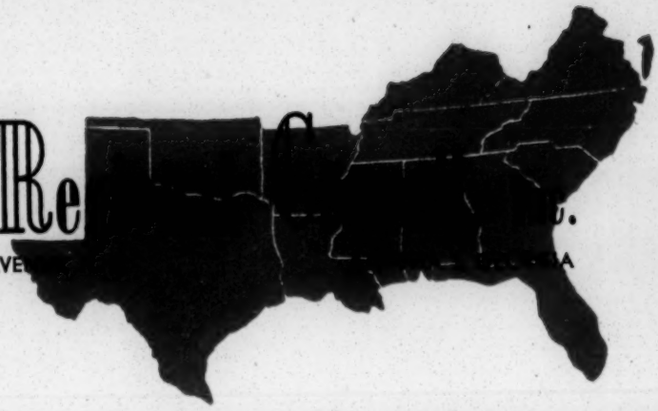
Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Nov. 5, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Dear George:

I thought you and Harold ought to see the enclosed correspondence.

M.A.W.

October 11, 1956

Mr. David F. Freeman, Sec.,
The Fund For The Republic
60 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Recently in your office I told you that I had been a little bit disturbed by a letter which I received from Mr. Paul Christopher of the CIO. We were both hopeful that some apparent wavering on the part of that organization might be due to the act of subordinates and not reflect settled policy. For your information only I enclose Mr. Christopher's letter dated May 8th in the view that you might think it appropriate to make some inquiries among the top officials of that organization. I do not wish to embarrass Mr. Christopher so will ask that you treat this letter as confidential.

No doubt you have heard that our Executive Committee unanimously agreed to recommend Harold Fleming as asuccessor to George Mitchell. I am quite happy about this action. In my opinion Fleming is one of the better minds now operating in this area. I was glad to find you and Frank Loescher share my high opinion of Harold.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

November 6, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for letting me see this. My feeling, however, is that Mr. Shand's manuscript doesn't lend itself to any obvious use. Does that square with your opinion?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming

HCF:mbo
Enc.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Oct. 8

Southern Re[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 8, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED NOV 12 1956

Dear G eorge:

One or two matters you and Harold might consider:

1. In connection with Federal executive action which might aid integration, it occurs to me that a considerable contribution might be made by the Farm and Home Demonstration agents. I deal with these people constantly, have a rather high regard for them and think of them as being key persons in rural areas. In the counties of sparse Negro population, I presume that the agents are invariably white persons; in counties of larger Negro population the usual plan seems to be a white agent with a Negro assistant. I doubt that that plan should be changed.

My impression is that in the counties having no Negro agents, only slight attention is given to the needs of Negro farmers, their wives and children.

These agents perform some of their most valuable work in fostering 4H and Future Farmers of America clubs for boys and girls and Home Demonstration clubs for women.

Under proper directive integration could easily begin in these clubs.

In this state for the first time last summer the agents of both races all took their two weeks summer courses at State College at Raleigh upon an integrated basis. I assume that will be the established practice in this state. A proper directive could make it established practice in all states.

I am a little hazy about how these agents are paid but I am quite sure that all or a considerable part of their salaries comes from Washington. If so, Washington would be in position to issue the kind of directives I am thinking of. If it is wise to issue them, as I believe it to be, then our problem would be to consider how we might get them issued.

2. Integration North and South is a splendid piece of work in which all of us can take pride, Harold much more than the rest of us. The press release seems to have been well handled by papers that have come under my notice.

Would it be advisable to have someone on Harold's staff prepare a summary of the volume by states; that is, including in the summary only the portions of the volume relating to a particular state? That summary in suitable form for use by the press could then be sent to each of our state organizations with the suggestion that they might secure publicity in their respective states. I hope this is clear to you.

What I have in mind is that, taking North Carolina as an example, I feel that the papers here would gladly print all of the information on integration turned up as to this state. They will probably not dig it out for themselves and I am not so sure that our state units will dig it out for the papers. I therefore propose that we dig it out for each of the state units with the suggestion that they may secure publicity

in their states.

3. You of course have observed the efforts being made in some of the Southern states to dis-qualify NAACP from acting within their borders. These efforts have taken the turn in some in~~cidences~~stances of attacking the organization because of technical failure to comply with some obscure statute.

I think we should anticipate that such effort will be made as to SRC or some of its state divisions. It seems to me, therefore, that it would be wise for us to get Mr. Haas to advise us fully on statutes or regulations which we should be observing, and equally wise for us to suggest to each of the state divisions that they get similar legal advice as to the statutes and regulations as to their respective states.

It might be embarrassing if we found that we were on shaky legal ground because ofsome technical failure to comply with law.

4. In order that it may not be overlooked, I remind you of our conversation about so planning our course of action that, if and when FFR should cease to function, we might be considered by the Ford Foundation as a logical heir to the Fund insofar as the South is concerned.

We might consider if we should like to be the heir, and, if so, what steps might now be taken to see that we receive consideration when the fateful hour arrives.

Of course, it seems obvious that a recommendation from the staff or board of the Fund would be important and, hence, that we so conduct ourselves as to merit a favorable recommendation. Additionally, it would be important that the staff and board of the Ford Foundation also have a favorable impression of us. In that view we might now begin a quiet campaign of familiarizing staff and board members of the Ford Foundation with what we are doing and what we are equipped to do.

All of these are matters that you and the staff may care to think

We write Mr. Haas for opinions re state divisions. Thought not for central office. Ed.

over and take such action as seems w ise.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

November 12, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

On your helpful letter of November 8th, I address myself for the moment only to your points 1, 3, and 4.

We queried Joseph Haas May 17th as to whether this information were best worked up in Atlanta or state by state. He said to get each state to do it lest Olympianism in Atlanta lead the states astray.

We wrote each state June 5th and quoted Joseph Haas' letter and urged each state to make a regular connection with local counsel and get the answer to this matter and let us know by July 1st what they did. We reminded each state June 15th to report by July 1st. I can recall that most of the states did around July 1st say that they had done something about it. Unfortunately fingers cannot be laid upon the actual replies, though we continue to search.

So I think each state was duly cautioned and put on its own to unravel the matter.

As to the central office, I will ask Mr. Joseph Haas whether he perceives anything that endangers us. Of course the truth is that the attach will not be made upon the basis of a statute, but upon the basis of administrative malice. And how malicious administrators will construe a statute surpasses the wit of man.

I turn now to point one. I recognize some softening in the behavior of the Agricultural Extension Service and its local agents. But in the bad counties I profoundly mistrust them as being tied by the County Commissioner's contribution to their salary, tied to the landlords. Howsoever, I acknowledge that this administration is trying to convert the Agricultural Extension Service to better causes. It is just that I think the people are not comfortable. The key to it is in the state contribution to each agent's salary.

Harold will write you about Integration North and South.

You talked to Harold about the potential heirship of SRC to the Fund for the Republic, and Harold and I will both be watchful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

November 14, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

This concerns item #2 in your letter of November 6th to Dr. Mitchell. I'm glad you thought well of the Integration report and the publicity that resulted. I talked with Joseph Lyford, the Fund for the Republic publicity man the other day and found that they are equally pleased. We should get from them a digest of publicity and editorial comment of the volume within the near future.

Lyford has anticipated your suggestion for future follow-through on the publicity. He told me that they had already broken down the subject matter by states and sent the breakdowns to appropriate newspapers in each state. To date, I have seen only one resulting story - in the Baltimore Sun - but others may be forthcoming. In any case, the enterprising Mr. Lyford seems to be relieving us of this useful job.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

November 27, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

This is the reply we had from Mr. Joseph Haas about existing legislation.

We do think that something serious is in the Cook.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 27, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED NOV 29 1956

Dear George:

Courtney Siceloff would like to have 20 duplicate copies of the enclosed letter from the Palmetto Education Association. I told him that I thought that Harold had said that his machine could turn out such copies at a cost of 4¢ each. If that figure is approximately correct will you be good enoughto have 20 copies run off and sent to him at Frogmore together with bill covering duplicates and postage.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c c to Courtney Siceloff

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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file

JC - F.I.

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

November 27, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

In Maryville, Tennessee a day or two ago I was told that a Negro professor of Spanish at Knoxville College was also teaching Spanish at Maryville College. That is a white, Presbyterian, Co-educational institution. I pass this information along to you thinking you might wish to file it away for future reference.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

December 4, 1956

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

The matter about a release on the resignation of Dr. Mitchell and the appointment of Harold Fleming has become rather urgent since the local press has carried brief mention of Dr. Mitchell's resignation in the Negro community column.

Harold is home ill which is the reason I am writing you.

Enclosed is a proposed release which has the approval of both Harold and Dr. Mitchell. In the release we attributed some quotes to you but did so only to keep a sort of outline for the release. We wish you would look over the release and telephone us at your earliest convenience with any suggested changes. Please telephone in any event, since we would like to prepare this for a very early release.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Managing Editor, NEW SOUTH

JC:fc
Encl.

December 12, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your note about the teacher of Spanish at Maryville College. We will add this to our follow-up to the integration survey, and will welcome any further such items as you may come across.

It was good to talk with you, though briefly, the other night. I hope we will have the opportunity for conversation soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

December 14, 1956

Dear Mr. Wright:

Here is a copy of the memorandum on tax exemption which I mentioned to you recently.

HCF:mbe
Enc.

FILE COPY

C O P Y

ATLANTA GEORGIA

January 29, 1957

By
Marion A. Wright

It has been seven months since the Democratic and Republican National conventions but their impact is still upon us. One of the ancient devices which they employed was to save until the very last pronouncement of the name of the man nominated or eulogized. Of course, everyone in the audience and the millions of viewers by television knew in advance precisely who was to be nominated or eulogized, but the fiction was indulged that dramatic suspense was maintained by reserving the magic name until the last possible moment.

But the great master of dramatic suspense knew better. Shakespeare has Mark Antony, as soon as the Romans have lent him their ears, blurt out at once "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." And Newton D. Baker, speaking for Woodrow Wilson in his race against the whiskered Charles Evans Hughes, began by announcing "We come to bury Hughes, not to shave him."

Senator Barkley had a story of a small rural congregation whose pastor was about to leave after years of devoted service. The chairman of the board of deacons, in presenting some farewell token, said the preacher was leaving and the board felt it proper to give him a little momentum. So, if I may fuse Mark Antony with the board chairman, we come to praise George Mitchell, not to hurry him.

Now, if I may grow philosophical for just a moment—and I assure you it will be for just a moment, since the philosophical atmosphere is a little thin and rarefied for my plebeian nature.

Men reveal themselves in small ways. For one thing, by what they laugh at. Someone—I think Carlyle—said by the angle at which they carry their cigars. And we have it on the best of authority that men revealed themselves by how they pronounced "Shibboleth" and how they drank water from a brook. (I avoid mentioning

branch water with which some of you may have familiarity.)

Now, as they would say at the conventions, I give you a man who was trained as an economist and who has spent all of his adult life in that dry and musty field and in the social sciences. It is an occupational disease of the social scientist that he uses a jargon which is perplexing if not incomprehensible to the layman. Determinant, median, quotient, marginal, entrepreneurial (don't ask me what it means), social dynamics, differential, functional illiteracy, geographical concomitants, seasonal recidivist—with terms such as these the social scientist delights to play.

One of the things which makes our guest of honor unique and which has added immeasurably to his social usefulness is that he eschews this irritating vocabulary. Accuse him of some ordinary crime or felony and you may get along with him. But accuse him of using a cliche and it is pistols at sunrise. Kipling felt that a test of a man was that he could walk with kings nor lose the common touch. Our man is better. He has talked with lingoes nor lost the common tongue.

My thesis is that this refusal to embrace the jargon of his group indicates a bent of mind. It is the mind of the non-conformist—the mind which will not run with the crowd unless the crowd is going his way. That will be the way he passionately believes is the right way.

We hear a great deal about patriotism. It is usually equated to a strong sentimental attachment to one's state or country. Of course, no one quarrels with such attachment—within limits. But if it proceeds to the point of attachment to the state <u>as is</u>, to our way of life <u>as is</u>, or to the American way <u>as is</u>, it may do real harm. For the essence of a society moving toward, though never attaining, perfection, is change—constant change. Such is the antithesis of stagnation and stagnation is the prelude to death. The only way of life worth preserving is one which is constantly changing. Not change for the mere sake of change, but change for the sake of improvement.

The spirit of which there is greatest need is that love of country upon which is engrafted objectivity and the ability to diagnose the country's ills, to say accurately "This is worth preserving, that should be discarded." The art of the social scientist lies precisely in this area of choice, of determinism, and in the area of method to produce change.

Method is no less important than diagnosis. It is easy enough to produce change if you have power. It may be done by drastic means, by force and violence, by revolution, by torch and bomb and dagger. No special art or skill is required, just jungle cunning and strength.

But change may also be accomplished by education, by persuasion, by intellectual pressure, by the attrition of reason operating upon bias. In the use of such a method lies again the art of the social scientist. There is nothing spectacular or dramatic in such a method. In deed, a measure of the skill in its use lies in its quiet unobtrusiveness.

Hence the public has but slight knowledge of those who serve it best. "Happy are the people whose annals are dull." Happier those who are served by men whose motives are unalloyed by search for fame.

For eleven years, through the Southern Regional Council, George Mitchell has rendered that kind of service to the South. Patient, skilled, resourceful, imaginative service. He has been a statesman without portfolio.

The South's great tragedy lies in the fact that, in too many instances and as yet, it rejects that kind of intelligent guidance and embraces instead a crude, tungling, sinister, selfish and primitive leadership. To take but one illustration: Shortly after the original Supreme Court decision on school segregation various schemes for evasion began to emerge from the slime in which they were spawned. Long before the legislatures acted able professors of constitutional law in

Southern universities analyzed these schemes and shot them full of holes. Did the legislatures heed these expert and objective opinions? They did not. They chose instead to follow the advice of men who knew little of constitutional law, less of the philosophy of government, and whose sole claim to public regard was that they had gotten a certain number of people to make the right marks on pieces of paper in voting booths.

We are now paying the price for our folly. One by one these evasive schemes finally reach the courts. One by one they are being struck down. Meanwhile turmoil and violence grip the land.

We must have faith—faith in the ability of people to determine who is fooling them and wherein lies the truth. People ultimately throw out the witch doctors and quacks and turn to men of science. They have done it in medicine. They will do it in government and in human relations. Unless one is blind to all the evidence he must believe that some of the good seed which George Mitchell has sown with such a prodigal hand have fallen on fertile ground and will bear fruit in due season.

We, of course, regret to lose him in the Council. We regret to lose him to Scotland. Perhaps we should warn our Scottish friends to brace themselves. A new and fresh and invigorating force is about to invade their wild and restless moors.

We wish him and Mrs. Mitchell and the children Godspeed. In that wish we are sure we are joined by every Southerner who has some comprehension of the noble service he has rendered to this region.

And now, Mr. Mitchell, as a farewell gift the Council presents you with this token of our confidence and esteem. May its presence in your new home across the seas cause you occasionally to think of old friends and comrades-in-arms. We give you further the assurance, if it were needed, that the struggle you here led for the rights of all mankind shall be continued resolutely to ultimate victory.

cc: ~~RRS~~
Mr. Clement

February 8, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

This is in reply to the several suggestions made in your letter of February 1st.

(1) I agree that it might be useful to indicate a time limit for each item on future agendas -- assuming that it was understood by all members of the Committee that time might be reshuffled if strict adherence would cut off a very fruitful line of discussion that had developed. I think the time limit is particularly applicable to reports and presentations by staff members or others. It was in this connection, I believe, that our anticipated time allocations were violated at the last meeting.

(2) It is very much in line with the staff's thinking to set aside an early item of business for suggesting new activities to be discussed by members of the Executive Committee. I am sure you will agree that both at Williamsburg and at the last Executive Committee meeting we were so pressed by fundamental considerations involving the whole structure and future of the organization that it was hardly possible to allocate sufficient time for this purpose. Let us hope that we may get our economic crises sufficiently under control to devote a proper amount of attention to the substantive work of the organization.

(3) I have discussed this point with Mrs. Tilly, and she has assured me that neither she nor the Council was in any way involved in any legislative activities. No legislative material was mimeographed in the office, nor did she make any representations with respect to proposed legislation. Evidently there was some failure of communication regarding the item in her report which aroused concern. In any case, Mrs. Tilly understands fully the stringent restrictions upon us, and I am sure we may rely upon her to be watchful of them.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 2, 1957

RECEIVED JAN 4 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I fully concur in your instructions to Mrs. Alexander to carry Harold on the payroll at the $10,000 per year effective January 15, 1957.

I am very hopeful that the article upon which you are now laboring may prove acceptable to the Times. I think the Council benefits greatly by any scholarly work produced by members of the staff.

Just to be sure that you have not forgotten it, I want to remind you of Josephine Wilkin's suggestion that you turn over to H arold as full notes as you can get up on our past and potential contributors. No doubt you have already done this but my own memory is so treacherous that I begin to suspect the memory of others.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

January 4, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

I should have written you that I sent up about 2,200 words to my friend Cabell Phillips, who runs the Sunday part of the Washington Bureau of the New York Times. Cabell called me up in a couple of days and said he liked it and they weren't worried about my chatty style, but he thought it needed stiffening in two spots and would I send him two more paragraphs? Which I did. Cabell said he would issue no guarantee that they would carry it, but he would ask his New York office to hold space for it.

I send you what went up originally minus the later two paragraphs.

I have supplied Harold with careful private, no copies, notes as to everybody that I know that ever gave us anything from $50.00 on up. And ditto for a few that gave less.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 9, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

Here is what the New York Times people wrote.

I have sent the piece somewhat restored to The Progressive.

Hope they will take it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 15, 1957

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Plans for the dinner honoring Dr. Mitchell are progressing. Invitations to some 60 people (including SRC Executive Committee and local Board Members) are going out today. All members of the staff will be invited as well. I have talked with Ralph McGill, who expects to be there and will make some remarks. We are also taking care of the matter of a tangible expression of esteem.

I am assuming that you will be prepared to serve as Emcee and to make some remarks on your own. Please send us your suggestions as to other spokesmen or other aspects of the occasion.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

January 15, 1957

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Lineville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have just talked to Mr. Clement and he has scheduled 11 a.m. on Tuesday, January 29, for a session of the Personnel Committee in his office. This would afford an opportunity for the Personnel Committee to consider staff reorganization thoroughly and to agree on appropriate recommendations to the full Executive Committee, which convenes at 2 p.m.

This timing is subject to your convenience and approval. Please let me know if your schedule will permit. Unfortunately, Mr. Clement has a luncheon involvement at 12:30 which would preclude any session beginning later than 11 o'clock.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fe

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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RECEIVED JAN 18 1957

File

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

GSA

January 16, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have your letters of January 10 and 11th.

I will attend the meeting on January 29 and 30th and will expect to stay at Atlanta University.

It does not seem to be necessary to mimeograph any further copies of the memorandum on tax exemption.

As to acquainting Mr. Joseph Haas with the status of the Georgia application for tax exemption, my suggestion would be that you tell Morris Abram that we would like to acquaint Mr. Haas with all questions involving tax exemption and, in that connection would like to place our file before Mr. Haas if Mr. Abram had no objection. If he indicates the slightest objection I would not do so, but if the idea seems to have his complete approval, then I would place the matter before Mr. Haas.

Done Abram agreed & MAW was informed 1/24/57 HC

In doing so I think we should make it clear to Mr. Haas that we do not expect him to take any action as to the Georgia application but that we wished him to be acquainted with all developments affecting us in the tax field. The point may be made that similar questions may hereafter

arise in other connections and we hoped that it might be helpful to him to know of prior steps.

On this first day of your administration I salute you and pledge you my full support and confidence.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

P.S. I now have yours of the 15th. In order to make the personnel committee meeting at 11 on the 29th I must be in Atlanta the night of the 28th. Will you please make reservation for me at the Piedmont for that night? Thanks.

M.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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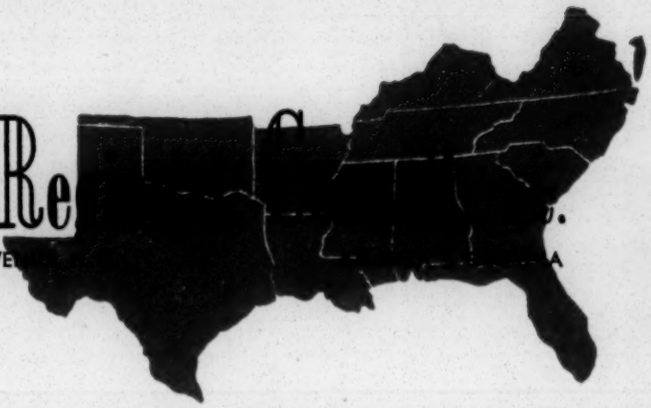

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

January 16, 1957

Mr. Fred B. Rauth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

The leaflet "Toward A Fair And Balanced View" is superb.

That leaflet and the recent Florida report indicate to me that local interests are now beginning to take the initiative. Of course, our prime objective is to get them to do so and I rejoice at this evidence of our success.

Do you think it would be possible to get Florida to begin officially to set up a Council on human relations?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

January 22, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I thought you would be pleased with the pamphlet from the Florida group, and also the little discussion guide done by the Greater Atlanta Council.

You asked if I thought it possible that the Governor of Florida could be interested in officially setting up a Council on Human Relations. I believe there will come in the not too distant future a real possibility for this, but I am somewhat fearful that if it were created now it would be too much a creature of the state government. Our Florida Board and staff are alert to the possibilities of a quasi-official state body.

One small point - your good secretary still mispells my last name. Tell her that it is "Routh," just like South, only with an "R."

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

January 22, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I thought you would be pleased with the pamphlet from the Florida group, and also the little discussion guide done by the Greater Atlanta Council.

You asked if I thought it possible that the Governor of Florida could be interested in officially setting up a Council on Human Relations. I believe there will come in the not too distant future a real possibility for this, but I am somewhat fearful that if it were created now it would be too much a creature of the state government. Our Florida Board and staff are alert to the possibilities of a quasi-official state body.

One small point - your good secretary still misspells my last name. Tell her that it is "Routh," just like South, only with an "R."

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

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ATLANTA GEORGIA

January 29, 1957

By
Marion A. Wright

It has been seven months since the Democratic and Republican National conventions but their impact is still upon us. One of the ancient devices which they employed was to save until the very last pronouncement of the name of the man nominated or eulogized. Of course, everyone in the audience and the millions of viewers by television knew in advance precisely who was to be nominated or eulogized, but the fiction was indulged that dramatic suspense was maintained by reserving the magic name until the last possible moment.

But the great master of dramatic suspense knew better. Shakespeare has Mark Antony, as soon as the Romans have lent him their ears, blurt out at once "I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." And Newton D. Baker, speaking for Woodrow Wilson in his race against the whiskered Charles Evans Hughes, began by announcing "We come to bury Hughes, not to shave him."

Senator Barkley had a story of a small rural congregation whose pastor was about to leave after years of devoted service. The chairman of the board of deacons, in presenting some farewell token, said the preacher was leaving and the board felt it proper to give him a little momentum. So, if I may fuse Mark Antony with the board chairman, we come to praise George Mitchell, not to hurry him.

Now, if I may grow philosophical for just a moment—and I assure you it will be for just a moment, since the philosophical atmosphere is a little thin and rarefied for my plebeian nature.

Men reveal themselves in small ways. For one thing, by what they laugh at. Someone—I think Carlyle—said by the angle at which they carry their cigars. And we have it on the best of authority that men revealed themselves by how they pronounced "Shibboleth" and how they drank water from a brook. (I avoid mentioning

branch water with which some of you may have familiarity.)

Now, as they would say at the conventions, I give you a man who was trained as an economist and who has spent all of his adult life in that dry and musty field and in the social sciences. It is an occupational disease of the social scientist that he uses a jargon which is perplexing if not incomprehensible to the layman. Determinant, median, quotient, marginal, entrepreneurial (don't ask me what it means), social dynamics, differential, functional illiteracy, geographical concomitants, seasonal recidivist---with terms such as these the social scientist delights to play.

One of the things which makes our guest of honor unique and which has added immeasurably to his social usefulness is that he eschews this irritating vocabulary. Accuse him of some ordinary crime or felony and you may get along with him. But accuse him of using a cliche and it is pistols at sunrise. Kipling felt that a test of a man was that he could walk with kings nor lose the common touch. Our man is better. He has talked with lingoes nor lost the common tongue.

My thesis is that this refusal to embrace the jargon of his group indicates a bent of mind. It is the mind of the non-conformist—the mind which will not run with the crowd unless the crowd is going his way. That will be the way he passionately believes is the right way.

We hear a great deal about patriotism. It is usually equated to a strong sentimental attachment to one's state or country. Of course, no one quarrels with such attachment—within limits. But if it proceeds to the point of attachment to the state <u>as is</u>, to our way of life <u>as is</u>, or to the American way <u>as is</u>, it may do real harm. For the essence of a society moving toward, though never attaining, perfection, is change—constant change. Such is the antithesis of stagnation and stagnation is the prelude to death. The only way of life worth preserving is one which is constantly changing. Not change for the mere sake of change, but change for the sake of improvement.

The spirit of which there is greatest need is that love of country upon which is engrafted objectivity and the ability to diagnose the country's ills, to say accurately "This is worth preserving, that should be discarded." The art of the social scientist lies precisely in this area of choice, of determinism, and in the area of method to produce change.

Method is no less important than diagnosis. It is easy enough to produce change if you have power. It may be done by drastic means, by force and violence, by revolution, by torch and bomb and dagger. No special art or skill is required, just jungle cunning and strength.

But change may also be accomplished by education, by persuasion, by intellectual pressure, by the attrition of reason operating upon bias. In the use of such a method lies again the art of the social scientist. There is nothing spectacular or dramatic in such a method. In deed, a measure of the skill in its use lies in its quiet unobtrusiveness.

Hence the public has but slight knowledge of those who serve it best. "Happy are the people whose annals are dull." Happier those who are served by men whose motives are unalloyed by search for fame.

For eleven years, through the Southern Regional Council, George Mitchell has rendered that kind of service to the South. Patient, skilled, resourceful, imaginative service. He has been a statesman without portfolio.

The South's great tragedy lies in the fact that, in too many instances and as yet, it rejects that kind of intelligent guidance and embraces instead a crude, bungling, sinister, selfish and primitive leadership. To take but one illustration: Shortly after the original Supreme Court decision on school segregation various schemes for evasion began to emerge from the slime in which they were spawned. Long before the legislatures acted able professors of constitutional law in

Southern universities analyzed these schemes and shot them full of holes. Did the legislatures heed these expert and objective opinions? They did not. They chose instead to follow the advice of men who knew little of constitutional law, less of the philosophy of government, and whose sole claim to public regard was that they had gotten a certain number of people to make the right marks on pieces of paper in voting booths.

We are now paying the price for our folly. One by one these evasive schemes finally reach the courts. One by one they are being struck down. Meanwhile turmoil and violence grip the land.

We must have faith--faith in the ability of people to determine who is fooling them and wherein lies the truth. People ultimately throw out the witch doctors and quacks and turn to men of science. They have done it in medicine. They will do it in government and in human relations. Unless one is blind to all the evidence he must believe that some of the good seed which George Mitchell has sown with such a prodigal hand have fallen on fertile ground and will bear fruit in due season.

We, of course, regret to lose him in the Council. We regret to lose him to Scotland. Perhaps we should warn our Scottish friends to brace themselves. A new and fresh and invigorating force is about to invade their wild and restless moors.

We wish him and Mrs. Mitchell and the children Godspeed. In that wish we are sure we are joined by every Southerner who has some comprehension of the noble service he has rendered to this region.

And now, Mr. Mitchell, as a farewell gift the Council presents you with this token of our confidence and esteem. May its presence in your new home across the seas cause you occasionally to think of old friends and comrades-in-arms. We give you further the assurance, if it were needed, that the struggle you here led for the rights of all mankind shall be continued resolutely to ultimate victory.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED FEB 4 1957

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

One or two matters as the aftermath of our recent meeting. I know that you have finances on your mind and I do not wish to distract you but list these items while I have them on my own mind.

1. Might it not be well in arranging future agendas (agendae?) might it be well to indicate a time limit as to each item? While we might not adhere strictly to the limits their presence on the agenda would accomplish two results: (a) remind the person who was making the report or participating in the discussion that he was expected to consume only so much time, and (b) relieve the chairman of the embarrassment of arbitrarily terminating a report or discussion. Our recent meeting, while ~~not~~ excellent in many particulars, did drag a bit at times. I believe that things would move with more precision if the limits were plainly set out.

2. I should like to see agendas in the future, as an earlier item of business, set aside a half hour or more to Suggested New Activities for SRC. Each agenda at the very end carry~~ing~~ an item "New Business" .

We are also tired and so anxious to leave that this item always receives scant attention. In my own experience, I go to every meeting with two or three ideas of new activities about which I should like to get the views of other members of the committee. I am sure that others must do the same thing. Yet there is no appropriate place on the agenda for throwing such items on the table until we are all too tired to give them attention. Hence, they die a-borning. You will remember at Williamsburg some member was rather out spoken in his view that all of our time was devoted to mechanics or procedure and none to a discussion of new proposals. I think it is a valid criticism.

3. From Mrs. Tilly's excellent report I get the impression that some Georgia group of which she is a member or in which she is quite active has recently filed some petition or statement with the Georgia legislature on some bill now pending. Quite obviously, that group is engaging in political activity. You and I, having recently read an able legal memorandum, know the dangers of such a course.

I doubt very seriously that SRC should have any connection, by sponsorship or otherwise, with an organization or a meeting of the kind Mrs. Tilly described. And I seriously doubt that the thesis could be successfully maintained that Mrs. Tilley was acting in an individual capacity and not as a representative of SRC in furnishing leadership to such a meeting. Of course, all of us are completely sympathetic with the purposes of that meeting; but, if we are to safeguard our tax-exempt status, I am disposed to think that it would be more prudent for Mrs. Tilly to de-tach herself completely from meetings of that type. If her named appeared on that petition filed with the Georgia legislation, ~~she~~ we might become involved.

The statement was made that certain resolutions and petitions were mimeographed and rushed to the legislature. I sincerely hope that the

mimeographing was not done in our office and that Mrs. Tilly was not one of those who rushed.

I am sure a word of warning from you would be sufficient to acquaint Mrs. Tilly with the perils with which SRC might suffer from an excess of zeal on her part.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c c to Dr. Rufus E. Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 14, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I fully approve of your letter of February 12th to Rev. McManus, copy of which you sent me. Your analysis of the present status of the Louisiana Council and the steps which it should take is quite clear and reasonable.

I have written Mr. J. S. Dudley, 20 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y. and hope that he may do something for us.

Through friends in Winston-Salem I am trying to align up the best approach to Mr. Babcock. He is a difficult man to catch, moving from one junket to another.

Of course you have thought earnestly about Paul Williams and Paul Christopher. In the Catholics and Labor, we seem to have friends who, because of their set-up, may act more quickly then some of the other groups. The two Pauls are in better position than anyone I know to get quick results and I would not hesitate to urge them to go all out.

The analysis of the Council's activities which you sent some days ago is excellent.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

FBR - Answer in my absence. + leave my EAB. H.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

February 18, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have written Mrs. Spearman that I am a little afraid her report for January 1957, herewith enclosed, may come a little close to political activity. What do you think?

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JANUARY, 1957

SPOTLIGHTED IN THE NEWS

South Carolina General Assembly Convened January 8th--On January 9th, Governor Timmerman addressed this body. In a brief statement on segregation, he said, "I have no further recommendation at this time for changing our segregation laws. We are among the first to put our house in order. It is to the credit of all our citizens that we have not been disturbed by serious outbreaks of violence. I know that you share with me the hope of continued peace and good order."

A similar position was taken by the Gressette Committee, set up originally to handle matters relating to school segregation and later designated to handle matters of segregation in all areas.

South Carolina Judicial Council Proposed--On January 30th, the Senate passed a measure creating a South Carolina Judicial Council. Purpose of the council would be to make a "continuous study and survey of the administration of justice in this state...." Among its duties would be to receive and consider criticisms and suggestions, collect and analyze statistics and recommend changes in law found needed.

Registration of Firearms Sought--On January 29th, a bill was introduced in the Senate to require registration of all firearms in South Carolina.

Segregation Laws In The Hopper--On January 15th, Rep. Harrell of Florence introduced a measure similar to North Carolina's uncontested Pearsall Plan. The measure would automatically under state police powers close any school in which integration occurred. The governor would have authority to re-open such a school after an investigation if he felt "the peace and tranquility of the community would not be disturbed" and that no pupils would be assigned contrary to parents wishes. If the governor thought otherwise, he could re-organize the school district and re-assign pupils. In the event the school remained closed, the governor could make grants of tuition money to the pupils, from funds of the closed school, to be used to attend private schools. The state would assume any contractual obligations of a closed school, such as teacher pay. State law already cuts state funds from any school at which pupils are assigned by court order.

Harrell introduced two more segregation maintenance bills in the house. One would require public carriers to maintain separate waiting and rest rooms. This is aimed at an Interstate Commerce Commission ruling that bars segregation at passenger terminals. General state law, however, requires it. The other bill would bar state, county or local police officers from assisting federal officers in making integration arrests or enforcing integration. It further would bar jails in the state from taking persons arrested on charges stemming from segregation activity.

On January 22nd, the Senate sent the House an anti-barratry bill, establishing stiff fines for officials of organizations inciting litigation. The maximum penalty would be a fine of $5,000 and/or two years in jail. The measure, by Senator West of Kershaw, strikes at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its school integration suits. The House gave this bill against inciting lawsuits, its key second reading on January 31st.

On January 24th, a new bill was introduced to the General Assembly which would expose NAACP's rolls to the public. Rep. Holland of Kershaw was the author of the measure that would slap on a $100-a-day fine for failure to file member rolls in the office of the secretary of state. The NAACP further would be required to file supplementary lists each January 1st.

"New Anti-Integration Measure Plugs a Loophole in School Laws of S. C."-On January 17, 1957 the Charleston News and Courier published an

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editorial under the above given heading. After setting forth the provisions of the bill, several significant statements are made; we quote: "the chief advantage of a bill along these lines is as a deterrent force...we don't argue that it will meet with the approval of the U. S. Supreme Court." Quoting again, "In adopting legislation that seeks to preserve segregation, Southern states today must look on law as a function of resistance, as a means of delay and instrument of propaganda. The law, as the LAW, has been undermined by the Supreme Court."

South Carolina Plans to Carry 'Fight' to the Nation--A proposed resolution was introduced in the South Carolina House of Representatives by Rep. F. Mitchell Ott of Orangeburg late in January and sent to the Ways and Means Committee which says in part "all of the states of the United States should be alarmed over the determined encroachment by the Federal Government and more particularly the Supreme Court on the sovereign rights of the states."

The resolution calls for a committee of legislators and prominent citizens to visit other states to interest them in forming a committee to visit the legislatures of the states of the north and west.

This proposed committee would merely start the machinery for an effort which would extend over the years, according to a report published in The State, Columbia, South Carolina.

South Carolina Group To Protest U. S. House of Representatives' Civil Rights Bills--Governor George Bell Timmerman has announced that one or two representatives from each branch of the S. C. General Assembly would probably be chosen to help represent the state in hearings scheduled before Congressional committees on proposed Civil Rights legislation.

Clint T. Graydon, Columbia attorney, will accompany South Carolina's Attorney General T. C. Callison to Washington for these hearings, it is reported.

Broadly Based Citizen Support for 20% Teacher Salary Raises--The perennial issue of raising teachers' salaries has gained so much momentum this year that some are prophesying a victory for the teachers despite opposition by the powerful financial forces in the General Assembly.

Attention is called to a few significant facts which have grown out of wide discussion of the "Moore Report" which recommended that a 20% increase in teachers' salaries be provided for by the 1957 General Assembly. The report discussed ways in which necessary funds might be raised.

Citizen Interest in the Public Schools, Their Problems and Needs is at an All-time High--Discussion of needs for qualified adequately paid teachers has not been divorced from other school problems.

Accompanying the public discussion has come a number of editorials, letters to editors,etc., urging that U. S. School 'Aid' be resisted.

A large group of Negro organizations were represented at a meeting held at Benedict College on January 25th and voted to support the Moore Report in toto. Significantly, the group also called for the consolidation of the three divisions now handling education on the state level; namely, the State Department of Education, Educational Finance Commission and the State Schoolbook Commission.

Rep. Albert W. Watson of Richland County addressing a Columbia mass meeting on teacher salaries said, "We are opposed by powerful figures in the general assembly....But, I console myself with the thought that the day is gone when just a handful of people can control affairs in the general assembly."

The Moore Report which Mr. Watson favors, recommended a 20% increase in teachers' salaries. The budget and control board, headed by Governor Timmerman has recommended a 10% raise only. Two powerful

members of that board are Senator Edgar Brown of Barnwell (low country) and Representative W. L. Rhodes of Hampton (also low country), chairmen of the finance committee and the ways and means committee, respectively.

Coincidence or Incipient Revolt?--On January 31, a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives by the ways and means committee which would set-up a House committee to study the operations and functions of the State Department of Education and the Educational Finance Commission.

The teacher certification program and budgeting state aid for teachers' salaries are functions of the State Department of Education.

The Educational Finance Commission handles the allotments for school construction under the program financed by the state sales tax.

A joint resolution was introduced in the South Carolina General Assembly on January 29th making Governor Timmerman an ex-officio member of the South Carolina Tricentennial commission instead of one of the 14 members as provided in the original act creating the commission, adopted in 1956. But, the governor pointed out to the commission that due to the dual-office holding provisions of state law, he could not serve in that capacity; hence the joint resolution making him an ex-officio member.

"The recurring effort to bar legislators from serving as Santee-Cooper officials was renewed on January 29th in the House of Representatives by Reps. H. Curtis Edens and John D. Lee, Jr., of Sumter County, and Arthur Ravenel, Jr., and John M. Horlbeck of Charleston.

The act which created the South Carolina Public Service (Santee-Cooper) Authority specifies that no member of the General Assembly shall be appointed a director of the authority. The four representatives today proposed that the ban against legislators be extended to include the office of general manager as well. That post is held by state Sen. R. M. Jefferies of Colleton County.

Senator Jefferies' dual capacity has been repeatedly challenged by legislators and others who contend that it violates the constitutional ban against dual officeholding." Exerpts from the Greenville News, January 30th by W. D. Workman, Jr.

Senator Jeffries of Colleton County (low country) once served as governor of South Carolina. This fact, his longevity in the Senate, and his position as general manager of the Santee-Cooper project make him a powerful political figure. His son married Senator Edgar Brown's daughter. Because of this and impersonal relationships as well, Senator Jeffries is popularly associated with the 'Barnwell Ring'.

It was Senator Edgar Brown whom U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond defeated by a write-in vote in the compaign for the senate seat left vacant by the death of former U. S. Senator Burnett R. Maybank.

Governor's Squabble With Thurmond hit the South Carolina Senate floor early in January as a 'states rights' issue. A resolution was passed re-stating the "right of appointment" by the states of interim U. S. senators.

Governor Timmerman had insisted that Thurmond had to be appointed to the Senate for the time between the November general election and the date Congress convened.

Thurmond first refused then accepted the appointment when Timmerman issued publicly a threat indicating he would appoint someone else if Thurmond persisted in the refusal.

When the U. S. Senate met in January, it passed a resolution reaffirming the Senate policy that federal law take precedent over state laws regarding election and appointment of senators.

Following the U. S. Senate action, Timmerman hurled a "Federalism" label at Thurmond, South Carolina's one time "States' Rights" presidential condidate. Thrumond made a defensive reply and accused

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Timmerman of being misinformed.

According to R. E. Grier in his "Around The State House" column in The State, Columbia, South Carolina, January 11, 1957, "...the difference in viewpoint of the governor and the senator could have a part in a political race four years hence--the race to take or to keep the United States senatorship now held by Thurmond.

States Rights Bill Sponsored By Thurmond and by John L. McClellan of Arkansas, authored by them last year, has been re-introduced into the U. S. Senate. It provides that "no act of Congress shall be construed as indicating intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which such acts operate, to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such action contains an express provision to that effect."

Elloree Ex-Teachers Can Appeal To Supreme Court or S. C. Tribunals--"Seventeen Negro teachers who were not re-employed by a public school at Elloree have two avenues open to them in their attempt to get a ruling on the constitutionality of the South Carolina law prohibiting employment of NAACP members as teachers.

They may appeal to the United States Supreme Court, or they can take their case into the state courts as the order of a special three-judge federal court designates.

The order was signed after a three-way division of opinion among the judges, John J. Parker of the Fourth U. S. District Court of Appeals; George Bell Timmerman, South Carolina Eastern and Western District judge, and Ashton H. Williams, S. C. Eastern District judge." --taken from an article published in The State, Columbia, South Carolina January 27, 1957 over a Charleston date line.

This case was argued before the court on October 22nd. The hearing was attended by both Mr. McCain and by Mrs. Spearman. See October SCCHR Reports.

Feature article from Charleston News & Courier by W. G. Barner, January 19, 1957 entitled "Elloree Race Relations Found Improved", may be borrowed upon request.

Developments in the Camden Flogging Case--A reward of $1,000 was started by the Kershaw County legislature delegation, the county board of directors and the Camden City Council for the arrest and conviction of five hooded men accused of beating Camden High School band director, Guy Hutchins, on December 27th. On January 2nd, six Kershaw County men were arrested in connection with the masked beating incident. Solicitor T. Pou Taylor has expressed the hope that the case might be ready for the term of court beginning in Camden February 17th. Governor Timmerman publicly praised the law enforcement agencies for their work on the Camden case; these agencies were the S. C. Law Enforcement Division, Kershaw County Police Department and the Camden City Police Department.

Julian Scheer, a Charlotte News staff writer did two articles on the Hutchins' beating. Titles of these articles were, "Was Teacher a Flogging Part of Chain Reaction?" and "Does 'Fear' Grip Camden?".

W. D. Workman, Jr., capital correspondent for the Charleston News & Courier was sent to Camden to find out how Camden feels about the widespread publicity it has received. He found the assignment "difficult and touchy". In a feature article entitled "Camden Citizens Deplore Black Eye Given Their Town", he attempted to appraise Camden and Kershaw county reactions.

(Three articles referred to above may be borrowed from SCCHR upon request.)

The Camden city council instructed its attorney to draw up an ordinance under which all members of the police department and fire department will take oath that they are not members of the Klan and that, so long as they are on the payroll of the city, will not become

members of the Klan.

According to R. E. Grier in his column, "Around the State House" in The State on January 22nd, "...generally speaking the Klan was not blamed for this attack (upon Guy Hutchins on December 27th)."

Grand Dragon J. H. Bickley Hits Anti-Klan Camden Move--At the time of the incident, he said that the S. C. KKK was not concerned. He said rival factions had sprund up, however, in the Camden area. About the time of the Hutchins beating, an elderly man whom police declined to name was shot twice by several hooded men who critized his personal conduct.

On January 30th, a Kershaw County police bill took the spotlight in the House of Representatives where it got a second reading, practically assuring the measure of passage by the House. The bill provides for the creation of the Kershaw County Police Department under the direction and supervision of the sheriff of the county and abolishes the office of chief. The rural police now operate under a commission.

Late in January, a Negro ex-convict wanted for at least 17 break-ins and 3 robberies of the Seaboard Station in Camden was arrested after a search for 3 months. As the hold-up man in the 3 robberies, he was said to be masked each time. The arresting officers said the mysterious masked bandit surrendered without resistance.

The Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina have a new set of state officers; Micah Jenkins of Charleston has been replaced by Thomas D. Keels of Sumter as state chairman.

The state association has cooperated with organizations in other Southern states in forming the Citizens' Councils of America. It also has established a speakers' bureau for the benefit of local councils and a legal advisory committee of outstanding lawyers.

Marion Mayor Corrects Error----------An article published in The State, Columbia, S. C., January 17, 1957, stated that every low country county in South Carolina except Horry and Marlboro have ditizens' councils. In reply to an inquiry from Mrs. Spearman, Mr. Carroll Atkinson, Mayor of Marion, South Carolina stated, "I would like to state that the State paper was in error in publishing the fact that Marion County had a citizens council. We do not have one, and futhermore, do not intend to organize one unless the necessity presents itself."

Citizens Councils to Assist Defendants in Clinton, Tennessee Trial--Newspaper accounts have indicated that funds were to be collected to help hire lawyers for defendants in the Clinton, Tennessee trial by the county-wide citizens councils of Charleston, and by local councils in Hemingway, Lamar, Sumter, and elsewhere. The state association approves of council support for the Clinton case defendants, Mr. Keels is quoted as saying.

'Independents' Urged to Play Down Race Issue in Politics according to newspaper reports given of an organization meeting of the Independent Democrats of South Carolina held in Columbia in mid-January.

Most of the discussion at this meeting centered around ways to build a political organization from the precenct level up so that the group could wrest control of the South Carolina Democratic Party in the 1958 election.

At the close of the meeting, a petition was circulated asking for the South Carolina delegation in Congress to oppose federal aid to education.

A group of five South Carolina labor leaders also attended the meeting of the Independent Democrats of South Carolina.

United Southern Employee's Association, a labor organization, whose sole purpose, its officials say, is "to run the AFofL and CIO out of the South," is being set up with offices in Rock Hill. The organizer, Odell Somersett is reported as having said that in South Carolina, locals are in the formative stage at Columbia, Greenville and Darlington, as well as at Rock Hill.

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"Why should Southern workers pay dues to groups which have gone on record publicly as being against racial segregation, and have stated they would do all in their power to force all members to adopt an educational and social way of living which is based on integrated races?" Somersett is quoted as asking.

Another First in Rock Hill--According to the Rock Hill Evening Herald of January 26, 1957, "A group of about 35 white and Negro draftees on their way to military assignment in Atlanta ate together at a white grill in Rock Hill this morning and the incident stirred considerable comment among N. Trade Street by-standers who observed it.

"Because of weather conditions, a Southern Railway passenger train arrived in Rock Hill about three hours late just before 8 a.m. today. Ordinarily it makes a stop to Batesburg to allow passengers to get breakfast. The train carries no diner.

"According to the cafe manager, a call came from the railroad requesting breakfast service for a group of inductees. It was only when the passengers--not wearing Army clothing--arrived that about eight Negro draftees and two porters were noticed among the diners.

"No other patrons were in the grill at the time and the meal passed without incident, other than the comment.

"Chief of Police W. S. Rhodes said a call was received at headquarters concerning the incident and uniformed officers were sent to the area.

"The cafe manager said one police officer warned, "You are going to have trouble because of this."

South Carolina Negro Elected Connecticut Chaplain--The Rev. Simon Peter Montgomery, 35, a native of South Carolina and pastor of the Old Mystic Methodist Church, Mystic, Connecticut, was elected chaplain of the Connecticut House of Representatives on January 9th.

Presbyterian USA Funds Were Made Available in South Carolina Case--The January 14, 1957 issue of The Presbyterian Outlook carried a story of the contribution made by the Presbyterian Church, USA to the Negro group which was sued by Shepard K. Nash, Sumter attorney. For background, see Mr. McCain's report for October, page 1, Nash Case vs NAACP Is Docketed and page 2, Sumter, South Carolina----October 5, 1956, "The suit of Shepard K. Nash against the Sumter Branch of the NAACP was unexpectedly settled today after a day and a half of argument...."

Article from the Presbyterian Outlook may be borrowed from SCCHR upon request.

'Climate' Finds Expression In Violence--Newspaper editors and columnists, government officials, leaders of political groups and pro-segregation forces continue to take public positions and to make public statements predicated upon the theory that there are, as Dean John T. Fey has refuted so aptly, "legal ways of being illegal." The viewpoint is succinctly expressed thusly, "Within the letter and intent of the law are hundreds of moves and devices against the Courts' usurpations." Verbal attacks continue on the encroachments of the federal government upon 'states rights', on "the arbitrary actions of Judge Taylor and Attorney General Brownell" in the Clinton, Tennessee, desegregation disturbances, on the unconstitutionality of the Supreme Court's decision on public school segregation, etc. Threats of violence and of 'mob justice' are finding expression in acts of violence and the growth of organization which has historically 'taken the law into its own hands'.

SCCHR BOARD OF DIRECTORS DETERMINE IMMEDIATE PROGRAM FOCUS

As soon as the minutes of the regular quarterly Board of Directors meeting of SCCHR are available, a copy will be sent to SRC and to each member of the Board.

South Carolinians Challenged to Preserve Law and Order--The South Carolina Council on Human Relations, will endeavor to increase what so far has been a slight ground swell for law andorder. The Cheraw

Chronicle, January 3, 1957, carried an editorial, Camden Terror-Epidemic To Fear. On January 14, 1957 and on January 15, 1957, the Greenville News published editorials, Brushfires Threaten Law and Order and Violence Only Makes Problems Worse. Feature writers and others have sounded a warning. Of interest in this connection is a letter to newspaper editor from John H. Wrighten, Negro attorney of Charleston which appeared in the Charleston News & Courier, and in the Greenville News. Mr. Wrighten was the plaintiff in the law school case which led to the establishment of the law school at State College in Orangeburg, South Carolina. The Greenville News heads this letter, Mobs a Threat to Both Races--Attorney Makes Plea for Improved Relations and Correction of Mistakes.

The January-February letter of the SCCHR issued to members and friends in opinion-forming organizations attempts to create a fuller awareness of the growing trend in South Carolina toward violence and thought control.

Plans for Fund Raising Effort Approved By Board--A trip to the Washington, Philadelphia and New York City areas being planned with the help of friends in those areas was approved by the Board. Plans are progressing slowly.

Religious Pioneers and Frontiers--Violence in Camden which reached a new high in the late fall and early winter has been met courageously by the the Mayor, the young editor of the Camden Chronicle, state and local law enforcement officials and especially by the Rev. Stiles Lines, rector of Grace Church, Camden.

Approximately 1,000 copies of Mr. Lines sermon have been distributed by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Ministers and religious leaders have been called upon to rally in support of law and order.

Rock Hill Pastors Have Challenged Racial Supremacy Views in a statement published in the Rock Hill Evening Herald. Doubtless the Rock Hill Ministerial Association felt that there was a need to make this statement because of a letter to the editor, On White Supremacy which had been published in the Herald; also because of further cross burnings. Dr. Dewey Duckett, M.D., chairman of the Rock Hill chapter of SCCHR, writes that the courageous action of the Ministerial Association in issuing this statement and a previous one condemning cross burnings, has drawn some unfavorable comment locally.

A cross was burned in January in front of St. Anne's Parochial School, the only integrated school in South Carolina, we believe. It is reported that an unidentified official of the Ku Klux Klan said the Klan had nothing to do with the burning and that it was investigating the incident.

United Church Women of South Carolina is active and growing. A visit to South Carolina of Mrs. David D. Baker editor of The Church Woman, official publication of the General Department of United Church Women, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., was sponsored by UCW of South Carolina in January. Mrs. Baker was a member of a bi-racial, international team of church women who last year made a goodwill trip around the world. Mrs. Baker spoke in Spartanburg, Aiken, Sumter, Charleston and Columbia. Mrs. Spearman was privileged to attend the Columbia meeting and on the previous evening, an informal meeting of officers and members of U.C.W. of Columbia for discussion of a community project for Columbia, and of the present situation in race relations.

At the annual meeting of United Church Women of South Carolina held in Columbia in late January measurable progress was evident. (Several new local units have been added and organizational strengthening effected.) Unfortunately only two of the local units are bi-racial, Aiken and Spartanburg. The state group has been bi-racial from its inception and much impetus to the inclusive fellowship was given under the presidency of Mrs. J. M. Dabbs. Membership in the South Carolina Council of Churches was voted by the U.C.W. of S. C. at the annual meeting.

(over)

The South Carolina Council of Churches has a provisional organization of which the Rev. McKay Brabham of Aiken is president. Fostered by the S. C. Fellowship of Churchmen and the Southern office of the National Council of Churches, a slow and often discouraging beginning has been made. By special invitation, Mr. Brabham attended the regular quarterly meeting of the SCCHR Board of Directors. He reported that there has been some discussion of promoting a state-wide conference of educators and religious leaders on Education and Religion.

Christian Action Council will hold at Wofford College on February 1-3, 1957, the fourth annual inter-collegiate seminar on current problems, awaiting Christian solutions. Registrations are the highest ever; approximately 75-80 students are expected.

A legislative briefing is planned for early February in which church groups and interested persons are invited to participate. Morning session will be a sit-in, listen-in at the South Carolina General Assembly and afternoon session will be held at the YWCA where presentations will be made and questions answered.

An information service on legislative action is being developed by the Christian Action Council.

These new and/or expanding services are designed to fill hitherto un-met needs.

OTHER HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMS

The Columbia Citizens Education Center is an evening school for adults which meets for six consecutive Monday evenings, January 16th through February 18th, at Columbia High School. This year a course is being offered in "Human Relations" which is taught by Dr. Carl Bramlett, Coordinator of mental health education of the South Carolina Mental Health Commission. "The purpose of this course is to provide an opportunity for discovering, exploring and practicing some basic skills in human relations. The method used will be a laboratory technique of group experiances, lectures, role playing, observation and group diagnosis."

The South Carolina Mental Health Commission lists "Human Relations" as a part of its program.

The Christian Action Council of which the Rev. Howard McClain is director lists as a program objective for 1956-1957, "To encourage and assist in the development of Human Relations programs in communities."

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman

February 19, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your letter of February 14th. I am returning herewith the copy of your letter to Reed Sarratt, which I thought was excellently done. Your other efforts to reach Mr. Babcock and your letter to Mr. Dudley give us great encouragement.

We have indeed been in close touch with Paul Christopher and, to a lesser degree, with Paul Williams. I am about to be off for Washington and New York, where I hope to further our fortunes with other contfibutors. I will be staying at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York. If suggestions occur to you of leads I might usefully pursue there, please feel free to call me. I expect to be in New York from Friday evening, February 22nd, through the following Friday.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

February 20, 1957

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

In Harold's absence, I answer your letter of February 18. Like you, I believe we and our state affiliates must be extremely careful about avoiding political activity or propagandizing.

I have read with considerable care the South Carolina Council report for January. Although it deals heavily with matters political, it does so in a factual, reportorial manner. It does not advocate opposition to nor favor toward any of the mentioned legislation. I question whether the mere reporting of legislation or litigation constitutes political activity. If this were so, then Southern School News and the Race Relations Law Reporter would find themselves under serious limitation and very probably under attack. We have warned that funds would be withdrawn from any state organization which violated the non-political provisions of their charter and their agreement with us. I shall include a reminder of this in the next Newsletter.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 21, 1957

Ok'd by phone 2/25/57

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In Mr. Fleming's absence, and upon instruction from Mr. Anthony, I send you the enclosed draft of a letter to Board members for your approval and/or corrections, and for your signature. We will, of course, sign them for you upon receipt of your permission to do so.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

EAB/
Encl.

DRAFT

Dear _____:

As one who has been closely associated with the work of the Southern Regional Council, you have already been sent a copy of the enclosed letter announcing the creation of the Council's George S. Mitchell Tribute Fund. I hope you will agree that this is a fitting way for all of us to give recognition to Dr. Mitchell's dedication and achievements.

Will you consider what persons of your acquaintance, not likely to be on the mailing list of New South, should receive a copy of this announcement? Naturally, we want to reach all of those persons who should know of this opportunity.

If you will send such names as occur to you to me, c/o the Council's office in Atlanta, I shall appreciate it.

Sincerely,

Marion A. Wright
President

Encl.

March 8, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have read the correspondence between you and Fred concerning the South Carolina Newsletter.

I find myself in agreement with you with respect to pending legislation. Organizations such as ours may with the clearest of motives report the proceedings of state legislatures while they are in session. However, because of our point of view, this reporting may be misconstrued as intended to encourage people to take action for or against the particular measures pending before the legislatures. Therefore it would seem to me the wiser course for the Council and its affiliates to refrain from reporting on legislative actions while they are under consideration.

On the other hand once legislative action is taken and a bill is enacted into law, it seems to me that it would be perfectly proper to report the passage of the law and to describe the effect of the law if it concerns the field in which we are operating. Indeed I would go even further and say that it is almost essential for us to report information about racial legislation once it has become law, since the people who depend on us for information need to be informed about the legal framework in which they are carrying on their activities.

For example, the Southern Regional Council receives many requests for information about what laws are on the books in the Southern states affecting relations between the races. As you will note, the current issue of New South reports in round-up fashion the segregation laws that have been put on the books in recent years. This type of reporting it seems to me is completely free of any imputation of political activity. It would hardly be reasonable to suppose that any organization by reporting existing laws was attempting to influence legislation or secure the repeal of those laws.

Thus my interpretation would be that we and our state affiliates should avoid any reporting on legislative matters while they are in process, but that we may properly report on laws that have been enacted and are already in effect at the time of our reports. Please let me know whether you agree that this interpretation is a reasonable one. If so, perhaps we should put out a general memorandum to the state groups to this effect.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

March 8, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This will deal with several matters about which I should write you.

1. You will have received by now my latest memorandum to the Executive Committee reporting on the Council's financial situation. Our circumstances are less precarious then they were, but we still have a long way to go if we are to be secure against the possibility of a relapse. On the whole, the New York trip was well worth while, although I am still not able to assign a cash value to it. Several possibilities still remain to be heard from, positively or negatively. I am sorry that I was unable to see Mr. Dudley during those crowded few days, but I did have a pleasant chat with Judge and Mrs. Waring, who sent their warmest regards to you. I must admit that because I was somewhat rushed and they had a great many subjects to cover, I never was able to turn the conversation to the matter of possible funds for the Council.

2. Enclosed is a typed copy of a handwritten letter from Miss Margaret McCulloch of Memphis, Tennessee. Miss McCulloch has worked for many, many years in race relations as some kind of staff member of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church. As you will see, she has strong ideas and expresses them without reservation. Since her letter was addressed to the Directors of SRC, I didn't feel it was proper for staff to answer it, at least without a specific directive from you. Perhaps you will prefer to answer it yourself. I would suggest that the answer be a mild one, since Miss McCulloch means no unfriendliness and is accustomed to writing in this vein even those with whom she works most cooperatively.

3. Also enclosed is a copy of a note from Mrs. Adele Parker. I might explain that the Parkers are old friends of George Mitchell's who have on occasion given rather generously to the Council. I am not

sure of the propriety of Mrs. Parker's proposal about channeling a personal gift to the Mitchells through the SRC. I will be glad to answer this, if you wish, according to your instructions.

4. Finally, I am enclosing our latest financial analysis, which shows what we must do between now and October 1, 1957, to get through the current fiscal year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

March 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Your memorandum of March 6 addressed to board members and your two letters of March 8 are before me. While the news of the financial situation does not yet cause us to throw hats in the air or dance in the city streets shouting "Evoe", we can at least draw easier breaths.

1. I am glad that we are in agreement on the dubiety of news letters or other publications reporting upon pending legislation. The reasons advanced in my letter to Routh seem to me to have merit. Those reasons do not apply to a factual or historical statement as to legislation already enacted. But I believe it is important at all times to see that any such reporting, even of past legislation, should be completely un-slanted. Adjectives should be eschewed. There should be nothing in the articles to indicate in the slightest degree approval or disapproval of the legislation. Actually, you and I know that, at heart, we want to see most of this legislation repealed. But the articles themselves, in my opinion, should contain not a trace of language which would betray that desire.

2. I am enclosing a proposed reply to the letters of Miss McCul-

loch and Mrs. Parker. If these meet with your approval will you please forward. If you have any reservations about them, please feel free to discard what I have written and substitute something of your own. By Necessity I write without consultation and you will have the benefit of of very good advice from members of the staff.

3. Under date of February 19 I received the enclosed letter from Reed Sarratt. Promptly upon receipt of the letter I phoned the Office and dictated to Mrs. Brantley the last paragraph on page one and the first three paragraphs on page two. I asked her and Mrs. Alexander to give me any information available in the Office showing whether or not we have made any approach to the foundations mentioned; if so, the result of such approaches, and any advice you might have as to the presentation of our needs to such foundations.

Probably due to your absence in New York that information has not reached me. For fear that Mrs. Brantley's notes have been misplaced I enclose the letter and would like the benefit of any suggestions you may have.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

March 13, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your comprehensive letter of March 11th. I shall put out a general memorandum to the state organizations conveying the substance of your paragraph on the reporting of legislation.

We are mailing your letter to Mrs. Parker and retyping as written your letter to Miss McCulloch, which will be signed for you and mailed in due course.

Enclosed for your files is a copy of Reed Sarratt's letter to you dated February 17th. There is nothing in our files indicating any approach to the foundations mentioned. I think it is safe to assume that, in the unlikely event that such an approach was ever made, it was so long ago that we need not worry about it.

On the hopeful side, since I wrote you last, we have received two further contributions as a result of my New York efforts -- a one-time gift in the amount of $500 from a Mrs. Korn and a $2500 contribution from the New-Land Foundation, entré to which was arranged for me by our friends of the American Jewish Committee. Thus visibility had increased to approximately ~~two months~~ six weeks from now. With only a small pause for self-congratulations, we must now address ourselves to the sizeable remaining deficit for the fiscal year, so that we do not find ourselves fundless in the heat of summer when relief is nowhere to be found.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

P. S. On yet another matter, enclosed is a copy of my letter to you dated November 6, 1956, indicating that Mr. Shand's manuscript was returned to you. Perhaps another check of your files would disclose it. Every indication here is that it was in fact sent back to you.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 9, 1957

Mr. H arold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED APR 11 1957

Dear H arold:

A long seige of the Flu, which I did not take as seriously as I should, finally put me in an Asheville hospital with bronchial pneumonia. In about four days the doctors completely licked my trouble and discharged me on Saturday.

I plan to leave here tomorrow for a little sojourn in Florida where my address will be in care of Mrs. Marvin Wilson, 4634 28th Ave North, St. Petersburg, Florida. Y noted EH

My plan will be to run up from St. Petersburg to Atlanta for the meeting scheduled to begin at 2:00 p.m. on Wednesday the 17th. I shall probably go back to St. Pete upon the adjournment of the meeting. We have had a very raw and rainy season here and I think a little exposure to the Florida sunshine is indicated. At any rate my Doctor so suggests.

I am deeply apologetic that I should have been incapacitated during the past several weeks at a time when there was so much to be done.

Best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

April 10, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was sorry to hear that you were laid low by the flu. I hope this finds you back at home and substantially recovered. We would have sent you a word of cheer to the hospital but didn't find out where you were until it appeared to be too late.

As Paul Anthony will have notified you, the Executive Committee meeting was set for the 17th and 18th. Since your expressed preference was the 16th and 17th, I tried to reach you by telephone before we made this decision. In the light of the preferences expressed, these seemed clearly to be the logical dates, and I hope very much that you will be able to be with us. Perhaps at that time we can get caught up on the many developments since I saw you last.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

St. Petersburg, Fla.
April 15, 1957

Believe it would be unwise for me to interrupt recuperation following flu and pneumonia with trip to Atlanta.

Please grant me leave of absence for meeting of Executive Committee and express my regrets to my colleagues.

Best regards.

M. A. Wright

ENTERED APR 16 1957

Frogmore S.C.
4/22/57

Will be back at Linville Falls tonight - hale hearty and well fed. Hope to resume normal communication.

Mr. A. W.

April 24, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am dictating this on the heels of our telephone conversation. Enclosed is a copy of the letter to Rainach in its final form. You will note the changes I made at the two points you questioned; I hope that adequately takes care of your valid criticism.

I am enclosing several pieces of financial analysis that were presented to the Executive Committee and discussed there. The forecast of income in the 1957 budget is based on the assumption that we will get $200,000 from the Fund for the Republic. (Unhappily it now appears that that is the amount that may be recommended to their Board by their officers and staff.) The meeting was a very good occasion. As you will have observed from the agenda, adequate time was allowed for Executive Committee members to express their views and suggestions on program. As I told you, the proposed request to the Fund for the Republic was approved substantially as drafted.

One other noteworthy action: in view of the still uncertain financial situation, the Committee voted to defer until its July meeting the final decision on the date for the annual meeting. Money permitting, they felt that that would be early enough to schedule a September meeting of the Council. Meanwhile, the staff is to prepare necessary changes in the by-laws and do other preliminary planning for the annual meeting.

I agree wholeheartedly that we need to have a substantial amount of time together. Normally, I would propose coming to Linville Falls. But this is anything but a normal time, and the heavy load of travel and paperwork imposed by fund-raising

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 29, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED MAY 2 1957

Dear Harold:

The proposal to the Fund seemed to me to be quite convincing. There were no changes which I would have suggested. I am delighted that Mr. Clement signed it and sped it on to New York.

The letter to Senator Rainach also has my complete approval.

Please keep in mind my suggestion about our getting now from Clement, McGill and Moore the letter or statement which I discussed with you over the phone. I think that there will come a time when such letter or statement may have some value for us.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

bl I ec OR
rha
5/7/57

MAW:ejg

receipt mailed to Miss Frayser 5/7/57
EAB

See Donor tribute fund for
Course from Friend Stranger

May 7, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for your letter of April 29th forwarding the check and letter from Miss Mary Frayser. We are sending her an official receipt. I take it from your notation on her letter that this is all that you wish us to do and that a reply to her letter, if any, has been sent by you. If this is incorrect, please advise me.

We have learned informally that the staff and officers of the Fund for the Republic have recommended to their Board that the Council receive a terminal grant of $200,000. Although this represents a twenty per cent cut of the figure we requested, the recommendation is that it be paid in a lump sum rather than spread over a three-year period; thus it would be possible to earn several thousand dollars of interest on unexpended balances over the period. Moreover, since grants totaling only $492,000 have been recommended, I suppose we should consider ourselves fortunate to have so large a portion of the total recommended for us.

I have already approached Mr. Clement about your proposal of a joint statement on the founding of the Council by the surviving incorporators. He is willing to initiate such a statement. As soon as we can get it drafted, he will undertake to acquire the signatures of Bishop Moore and Ralph McGill.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

RECEIVED MAY 9 1957

May 7, 1957

Mr. Irving Carlyle, Atty.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Mr. Carlyle:

I am writing to you as a friend of the Southern Regional Council and as one somewhat familiar with its work.

The Council is always under the necessity of raising funds to enable it to develop its program for the South. The impression probably prevails that we are quite comfortably endowed by The Fund For The Republic. On the contrary, for this fiscal year to operate the office in Atlanta we recd ved from the Fund only $10,000.00. The monthly payroll is $8,500.00. So we must constantly bestir ourselves in order to function. We feel that you realize as strongly as we do that this organization is essential as an organ for Southern liberal opinion.

My information is that at Winston-Salem there are the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, headed by Mr. Charles H. Babcock; Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, largely directed by Mr. Richard J. Reynolds and the Winston-Salem Foundation which is administered through the trust department of the Wachovia B ank & Trust Company. Perhaps there are others known to you.

We should like very much to have an opportunity to present the claims of the Council to these Foundations. They are probably leery of those

seeking funds. You can be of highly valued assistance to us if you could get the Foundations have an engagement at which I and Mr. Harold Fleming, our Executive Secretary, could present the Council's needs.

May I say that the most important and at the same time most distasteful of our duties is the solicitation of funds. It is so distasteful that local people instinctively shy away from interceding in our behalf. But it is precisely upon such people, who are our friends that we must rely. We are very proud to consider you as being in that category and hence feel free to ask your assistance in the connection above indicated.

If you feel that an interview between us might be of value to you in your approach to any of these Foundations, or others with which you may be familiar, I shall be very glad to run down to Winston-Salem to see you at any time. If you should wish to get in touch with me promptly I may be reached by telephone at Spruce Pine, N. C. My number is Poplar 5-2522.

All of us have followed with great admiration your valiant defense of constitutional principles and of law observance during the past several years. The South is indebted to you for your stand.

Yours very truly,

President

MAW:ejg

b. c. to Harold Fleming

May 23, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Since this welcome letter from the Fund for the Republic came to this address, we are taking the liberty of sending you a copy rather than the original, in order that the original may be safely stowed away in our permanent files.

I have made no acknowledgment -- except in telephone conversations with David Freeman -- since that clearly should be done by you.

The funds are already invested in the way that we discussed by telephone the other day. We had the benefit of the soundest advice available through Mr. L. D. Milton of the Citizens Trust Company and Mr. Joseph Hyman of the Trust Company of Georgia, and the step was taken with the full approval of Dr. Clement. As the investment program has finally worked out, no funds are invested beyond November 1958, and the greater portion will mature in March 1958, at which time we can consider further investment programming. Happily, our advice and the market were such that we will get the maximum yield consistent with security for each short-range investment. The yield will run between 3.7 and 4.125 on the several securities.

It is our thought that word of the grant should be sent to members of the Executive Committee, but I will take no action until you signify your approval.

We have just completed a healthy workout with the state staff members. Sorry you couldn't be with us. One way or another, I will be seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl.

June 5, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Between a round of conferences and a bout with virus, my correspondence is badly in arrears. This is to catch up a number of loose ends.

(1) Thanks for the copy of your letter to David Freeman officially acknowledging the grant from the Fund for the Republic. As you will observe, following your authorization, I sent a copy of Freeman's letter with a covering memorandum to each member of the Executive Committee. I expect to be talking with Freeman soon about the matter of publicity and will let you know the outcome. Meanwhile, I have carefully noted your comments on the matter.

(2) Dr. Clement and I have pursued your suggestion on the statement on the origin of the Council to be signed jointly by Clement, McGill and Moore. Several weeks ago, I sent a draft of a statement to Dr. Clement, which he in turn circulated to the other two. Unfortunately, Bishop Moore, while attesting to the accuracy of the statement, was unwilling to sign it since he felt that possible use of such document would add to pressures already being brought to bear upon him. I then suggested to Dr. Clement

that he ask the Bishop's signature with the assurance that the document would not be publicized but would be filed as a matter of historical record. As yet, no further word. I have not yet had word from Dr. Clement of any reaction from Ralph McGill.

(3) I read Mr. Carlyle's letter to you with interest. I know of no better approach to Mr. Babcock than for you to write him directly for an appointment. As matters now stand, I could make a flying trip to Winston-Salem almost any time except the first week in July. One complication does occur to me: we long ago contracted with the state groups that we would not approach any new source of funds within their respective states without letting them know. Under this agreement, we probably have an obligation to let Harry Jones and the chairman know of our intention before we act on it. I very much fear that their reaction will be negative. Let me know how you wish this handled and I will take whatever steps seem wise with respect to the North Carolina Council.

(4) Since I last wrote you, we have had further good news on the financial front. The AFL-CIO at its Executive Council meeting week before last, approved a grant of $3,000 to SRC. This was $2,000 less than we asked for, but $1,000 more than last year's contribution. You may recall also that we had filed a request with the New York Fund for Children (set up by the Rosenwald daughters) for a three-year period of aid. They came through handsomely with $10,000 for this current year and an assurance of $7,500 and $5,000 respectively for the next two years. For the calendar year 1957, this puts us within $20,000 of our budgetary needs. This must be raised sometime between now and October. Sisyphus had nothing on us!

(5) We have had the happy news that we are mentioned in the will of the late William Emerson of Massachusetts. The printed notice of this came as a mystery, but research revealed the fact that he was the chairman of the Unitarian Service Committee and had heard of our work through Miss Katharine Taylor, the consultant to the New World Foundation who visited us several months ago. On advice of Mr. Joseph Haas, I wrote to the law firm in question and received the reply which is attached. I have heard that Mr. Emerson left a substantial estate, but I suppose there is no way of knowing what portion of it will comprise the "residue". But whatever we ultimately receive will

be a nice bonus.

(6) Our conferences of the last two weeks went very well. We were sorry that you couldn't make the staff conference. I will soon be sending for your approval a memorandum to the state groups outlining the procedure that should follow in applying for SRC aid in the coming fiscal year.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1 copy of Bingham, Dana & Gould letter dealing with the will of William Emerson.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 25, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have written Mr. Freeman as per enclosed copy which I trust you will find satisfactory.

I feel that members of the Executive Committee should be advised, possibly by sending copy of Mr. Freeman's letter with your own covering letter to the members.

If my opinion should be asked on the wisdom of giving publicity to the grant, I should be in favor of doing so. 1. It will inform Southerners of the confidence felt in us by the board and staff of The Fund. 2. The news will inevitably get out and, if we have not given it publicity, the honorable opposition will place an unfavorable construction upon our silence. 3. I should prefer that such publicity, as the grant receives be initially controlled by us, so that the first impression, at least, will be favorable.

Unless you feel strongly to the contrary, I suggest that you prepare a release, being sure that Mr. Freeman is consulted.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

May 25, 1957

Mr. David R. Freeman, Vice President,
The Fund For The Republic
60 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Freeman:

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 17 informing us of The Fund's approval of a grant of $200.000 to this organization for purposes described in our request dated April 18, 1957.

We are gratified that The Fund has the confidence in the Council which the grant implies.

We shall in the future furnish reports at quarterly intervals and financial statements at the end of each fiscal year.

If and when it should be decided to give any publicity to the grant, we shall be glad to consult with you before that step is taken.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

President

MAW:ejg

b. c. to Harold C. Fleming

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Southern Re
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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing copy of letter to Senator Rainach which I hope you will find satisfactory.

I have indeed written Miss Mary Frayser an acknowledgement receipt of her check.

While, of course we should have liked for the Fund For The Republic to have gone all the way on our request, there is no denying that $200.000 is what George Mitchell would call a goodish figure. I think we did quite well to obtain that amount and I can say without reservation that I am sure your own association with staff members of FFR, as well as the excellent statement which we submitted to the Fund, contributed to the happy result.

Reiterating what I have previously stated to you over the phone, it is my belief that we should file with Senator Rainach's committee and also with Chairman Walters a joint statement by Bishop Moore, Dr. Clement and Ralph McGill. This statement would identify the signatories as the survivors of five persons who secured our charter and would set out the purposes which inspired the organization and the complete absence of

any alien hand, particularly that of James E. Jackson, in the initiatory phases. I think that they may state that they have had some knowledge of us (certainly this is true as to Dr. Clement) from that date to the present and that they may certify as to the purity of our intentions. The periods of their connections in official capacity with SRC might be stated and their opportunity for observation of our policy and personnel elaborated upon.

I should like to see the statement executed in triplicate with 1 original retained permanently in our file. In the absence of some such statement we may be put in the position of having obtained nothing informative from the three individuals who are peculiarly in possession of the facts.

The fact that two of the original five petitioners for charter have died points up the uncertainty that at some time in the future we would be able to get such statement when it was sorely needed.

I enclose letter from Mr. Irving E. Carlyle under date of May 10. With this before you you may give some thought to the advisability of approach to Mr. Charles H. Babcock and the method of approach. I do not know him and will go along with any ideas you may have. If we have any staunch supporters in the Winston-Salem area they may perhaps be of help. If you think of nothing oriental and should like for me to do so I may write him directly for an interview at which you and I would be present. In that case you should suggest a proposed date. I understand that Mr. Babcock travels widely and we may have some difficulty nailing him down.

Please thank Constable and Fred Routh for various clippings and documents that they have been kind enough to send me and which helped me to enjoy the comfortable illusion that I am well posted on all phases of our program.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

June 6, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Marion A. Wright
Dr. Rufus E. Clement

From: Harold C. Fleming

Attached is a proposed memorandum for distribution to state chairmen describing a procedure by which the state groups may apply for SRC aid, effective October 1.

You will note that the total amount we are proposing to make available for this purpose is $40,000. This was reduced from the original figure of $50,000 in the light of the Fund for the Republic's reduced grant to us.

All of the points laid out in the memorandum represent the best thinking of the SRC staff. They all suggest reconsideration and revision.

There is a strong argument for this memorandum going out over the name of Mr. Wright as president. If that seems to you wise and acceptable, let me know, and we will make the change.

I shall look forward to hearing from you on this at your earliest convenience.

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM

Center

To: State Chairmen

From: Harold C. Fleming

Subject: Future Financial Aid from SRC

We have recently received the welcome news of a terminal grant to SRC from the Fund for the Republic, which enables us to make available some measure of ~~future~~ further aid to the state councils for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1957. This matter was discussed in detail at the last conference of state staff members held in Atlanta on May 21 and 22. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the nature of the aid that will be available and the procedure that should be followed by the state organizations in applying for it. An information copy is being sent to each state executive director.

NEW GRANT TO SRC

At its last Board meeting, the Fund for the Republic made a terminal grant to SRC of $200,000. This amount is to be applied to the operating budget of SRC over a 39-month period beginning October 1, 1957 - that is to say, through 1960. The grant, while generous, was less than the amount requested and requires of SRC an unprecedentedly heavy fund-raising task. The $200,000 ~~constitutes~~ is approximately one-third of ~~the~~ our projected budgetary needs for the period, leaving more than $400,000 to be raised from other sources. It should be noted that the Fund for the Republic grant is not earmarked for specific purposes, but is to be applied toward the total budgetary needs of SRC.

AMOUNT FOR STATE AID

The amount of the new grant available to SRC for the coming fiscal year is $76,800. On the strength of this, we are setting aside a total of $40,000 to be available for aid to the state

organizations. In order to do this and meet our own operating budget, we must raise approximately $100,000 from other sources. The amount to be available for state aid beyond the coming fiscal year will have to be determined at a later date, in the light of SRC's success in expanding its fundraising from new sources.

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

The policy basis for this future aid was laid down by the Board of SRC at its annual meeting of 14th and 15th at Williamsburg, Virginia. The policy statement adopted at that meeting reads in part:

> "This means that the state organizations would continue to work to become more autonomous, and that their relationship with SRC would thenceforth be one of cooperation between independent organizations of similar purpose and goals. It is intended that in every way practicable there will be a continued close relationship between the SRC and the state organizations particularly in regard to program service, financial grants-in-aid and counsel on fund raising.
>
> "We recognize that a measure of continuing financial aid from SRC to all or some of the state organizations would be warranted. Therefore, we should undertake to secure funds for this purpose, though the amount procurable would undoubtedly be on a smaller scale than heretofore. Instead of the method of outright subsidy which we have used, the method of assistance would more closely resemble that of grants-in-aid. A state organization would submit its request to SRC, justifying such an allotment on the basis of a proposed program and evidence of organizational effectiveness sufficient to carry out the program proposed. SRC would judge each such request on its merits and take favorable or unfavorable action accordingly. The customary safeguards against the use of such funds for political or other improper purposes would, of course, be taken. Once such a grant-in-aid had been made, the responsibility for fulfillment of its commitment would rest squarely on the policy body of the state group."

REQUESTS FROM STATE ORGANIZATIONS

In accordance with this policy statement, we ask that state organizations wishing ~~to apply for~~ aid from SRC for the fiscal year beginning October 1st, submit no later than July 15th a written request for such aid. The request should give the following information:

(1) A concise analysis of the situation in the state as your organization sees it - in other words, the context in which the state group is now working.

(2) The role that the state organization sees for itself in the practical situation described above. This should include ~~some~~ discussion of the ways in which the state group is fitted to fulfill this role.

(3) The specific program that the state group plans to undertake in the coming fiscal year. (This includes both program ~~and~~ activities and organizational development.) What staff and facilities will be required to carry out the proposed program?

(4) A budget showing what will be required for staff salary, travel, office expenses, and so on. ~~etc., etc.~~ This should include a realistic estimate of what the state group will undertake to raise from other sources, and the amount of aid ~~it is~~ requested from SRC.

CONSIDERATION OF STATE REQUESTS

The requests for state aid will be considered by a committee of SRC Board members. ~~The allocation to the various groups out of the $40,000 total~~ will be based on the soundness of ~~the~~ its proposal and general ~~general~~ organizational and program performance

The $40,000 will not necessarily be equally divided among the state organizations applying. Each organization's allocation

necessary

Professor Wiley

~~by the state group~~ to date. The amount granted for the year will probably be distributed on a quarterly basis. We will undertake to let you know at the earliest possible time what your group may count on for the coming year.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

We should like to emphasize that we are not urging ~~don't want to place a premium on~~ overly ambitious ~~and~~ or elaborate proposals. The staff and Board of the Southern Regional Council will understand the difficulties under which the state groups have labored. We realize the difficulty of raising large sums of money for this work at this time in the South's history. Therefore, we would urge that proposals be held to what is honestly thought by the state group to be realistic in terms of fund-raising, organizational development, and program achievement. ~~It is our feeling in general that~~ All of us may have erred ~~too much~~ on the side of too much diverse and scattered effort. A plan that focuses on a few specific and carefully thought out objectives ~~may well be~~ is sounder than one which tries to cover too much ground.

It may be worth noting that the quarterly method of distribution will require each state group to raise its funds from other sources currently during the fiscal year. SRC will ask that state groups receiving aid submit quarterly program reports, and financial as well as program considerations will be taken into account.

INSERT

Since we are ending the ~~affiliated~~ affiliate arrangement, each state group will need to revise that part of its bylaws which has to do with affiliation prior to October 1st. Purely as a suggestion,

we ~~are attaching sample language that will~~ will shortly send a set of sample bylaws revised to accomplish this.

Finally, please know that along with this formal, procedural memorandum, comes our pledge of continued ~~group~~ close friendship and working cooperation, and high hopes for the success of our common efforts in the months that lie ahead.

INSERT on Page 4

Under the new arrangement, the SRC allocation will be paid directly to the state organizations without any earmarking for special purposes. All salaries will be paid by the state organizations rather than, as at present, by SRC.

cc P: MAW
Rufus E. Clement

June 12, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Yesterday we mailed you an informational copy of the new set of proposed by-laws for state organizations. This set of by-laws was developed from the old proposed by-laws we sent to state organizations back in the fall of 1954. Modifications were based on the pending disaffiliation of SRC and its state organizations.

Harold and I thought it wise to point out in the covering memorandum that these were merely a guide and that state Boards in consultation with their own legal counsel should develop their own set of by-laws. We will write the state chairmen again in mid-August asking them to send us before October 1st their new by-laws. This will help us to determine whether or not we can give grants to the various state organizations under the new organizational structure.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

P.S. How are the geese doing?

June 13, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for your letters of June 10th and particularly for the good suggestions on the memorandum to state chairmen. I have incorporated the additional points that you suggested and am sending the memorandum out over your name.

I will take up with Mr. Joseph Haas your suggestion about securing further information about Mr. Emerson's estate.

Enclosed for your information is a sheet showing our investment of the Fund for the Republic grant. Also enclosed is a letter from Mr. York Wilbern informing us of the circumstances which make it necessary for him to resign from our Board. I have written him expressing regret and saying that his letter will come before the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encls. - 1 investment sheet
Ltr. from Mr. York Wilbern re: resignation

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
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F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED JUN 12 1957

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Wright

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 10, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have yours of June 6th addressed to Dr. Clement and myself enclosing draft of memorandum to State chairmen as to future aid.

If it is the view of the staff that this memorandum should come from me I will accept that conclusion.

The memorandum seems to have been very carefully considered and I do not know that I can offer any suggestions of value. What is here written represents no settled conviction on my part and is written entirely in order that you may have the points in mind.

Probably legal experience affects me too much. In legal ads standard practice seems to be to state that the right is reserved to reject any and all bids. Would it be well in the memorandum to assimilate that idea by some such language as the following:

Insert 2

> While, of course, we hope that it may be possible to be of financial aid to all state organizations making application, there can be no assurance on that point. Decisions must be made after all proposals are in and made in the light of such proposals as well as in the light of other factors and considerations which the Committee may ~~will no doubt~~ have in mind.

I am not quite sure that paragraph 1 on page 3 will be construed

alike by all state groups. "Concise analysis of the situation" and "context in which the state groups are now working" may be ambiguous terms which could stand a little further definition.

As a further precaution in order that we may take advantage of hindsight, it might be well for the memorandum to contain a paragraph substantially as follows:

Insert #3

> While this memorandum has attempted to anticipate as far as possible conditions or restrictions which may attach to any grant, we have dealt in general rather than in specific terms. The Committee of SRC which makes the ultimate decision may feel it wise to attach conditions which are not now apparent. We are sure that, if so, they will not represent a departure from the principles herein announced, will not be burdensome and will, for the benefit of both parties, clarify our mutual rights and responsibilities.

Please feel free to ignore or modify these suggestions if you please. I merely wish to be sure that you have them in mind.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

c. c. to Dr. Rufus E. Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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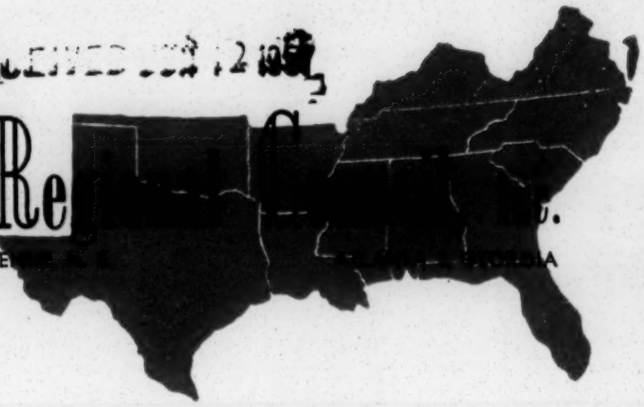
RECEIVED JUN 12 1957

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Wright

June 10, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JUN 12 1957

Dear Harold:

My condolences on your bout with virus. I hope that you are again in the pink.

Your letter of June 5th is before me.

I am writing Harry Jones about Mr. Babcock's foundation as per enclosed copy. I will let you know what response I get from Jones.

The financial news contained in your 4th and 5th paragraphs is quite encouraging. The contribution from the New York Fund For Children is a handsome one. While AFL-CIO should have done better than $3000.00 it is at least encouraging that they have raised the ante above prior commitments. I have some faith that this will become a trend in that direction.

As to Mr. Emerson's estate, I wonder if Mr. Joseph H aas might not undertake to secure a copy of the preliminary appraisal of that estate as filed in Boston. From that we might begin to form some idea as to whether or not we were dealing with an estate of such magnitude that the residue might be significant. I should think that for a fairly small fee we might secure a photostat or typewritten copy of the will and codicils

together with the appraisal. While this would not be anything on which we could begin to write checks, it might give us something with which to occupy our minds during dull days.

With congratulations and warm regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

6-18-57
Frogmore, S.C.

Harold: RECEIVED JUN 17 1957

Am spending few days here with Sicilofs. Should be back at Linville Falls Monday or Tuesday.

The enclosed gem may have escaped your attention.

M.a.w.

Mr. cc
F.A.Z.

Enclosures: Ltr. to Rep. James C. Davis re: Defence of SRC
NYT article re: James C. Davis' Criticism of SRC
News & Courier Article "Why Pick on Dixie" - June 13, 1957
Ltr. to Law Firm re: Emerson Will - dated: June 17, 1957
Ltr. From Christopher Reynolds Foundation Re: 1957 Grant to SRC

June 17, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was glad to get your note, both for the fine back-handed compliment from the News and Courier and for the information as to your whereabouts. I tried to reach you on Friday and Saturday about one or two matters which I summarize below:

(1) You may not yet have seen the story enclosed from the New York Times, recounting Senator Douglas' use of our voting findings on the floor of the Senate. Representative Celler made similar use in the House. This was the occasion for an inevitable attack upon us by Representative James C. Davis. It seemed of some importance to get our rebuttal into the hands of Davis, Douglas and Celled at once, while the issue was still under debate. Therefore, failing in my efforts to reach you, I wrote as enclosed to Davis and sent a copy to the other two gentlemen along with some Southern newspaper editorials commenting favorably on SRC. I hope this course of action has your approval.

(2) I am also enclosing a letter to the Cambridge Law Firm, the text of which was supplied verbatim by Mr. Joseph Haas. Mr. Haas' feeling was that it would not be worthwhile to try to obtain a copy of the will and appraisal at this time, but that this letter to the law firm would produce all of the information that is needed. I will let you know at once what reply we receive.

(3) You will have received by now a copy of my circular memorandum to the Executive Committee requesting indication of preferences as to dates of the next meeting. Having failed to reach you and Dr. Clement, in the interest of time I took the liberty of proposing these alternatives. I hope they are satisfactory to the two of you, but if not you will note that space is provided for the indication of other dates.

(4) I thought you would want to see the enclosed copy of a letter from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation informing us that our request for a renewal of their 1956 grant of $5,000 was favorably acted on. We were not very happy with the foreign visitor justification for this grant (which dates back some two years), so that Mr. Clareman's letter pleased us on that count and also because it suggests receptivity to future requests for further aid.

Since I want to inform Dr. Clement of several of these matters, I am taking the easy course of sending him a copy of this letter with enclosures.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

CC: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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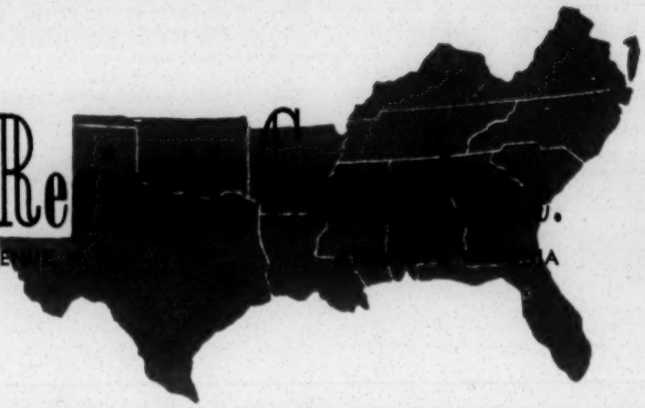

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of June 12 enclosing list of investments and copy of Professor Willbern's letter of resignation. I am sorry to lose him since he seems to be a very good man, a fairly rare phenomenon in Alabama.

You will, of course, make a note on your records to call this matter to the attention of the next Executive Committee meeting.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

Mail ltr. on Internatl Institute Board

June 26, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter of June 21st. This will catch us up on the several matters you have raised in earlier letters which I have not yet commented on.

(1) You will be pleased to know that Bishop Moore has now complied with Dr. Clement's request that he join in signing a factual statement on the origin of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. McGill has also signed. I believe I sent you a copy of this statement when it was drafted some weeks ago. The conditions under which Bishop Moore signed obligates us not to use his name as a co-signer in any publicity which we might give the statement. However, I should consider us free to use it, with signatures, in private communication with people whom we may have occasion to straighten out. Dr. Clement handled this for us with his customary skill and effectiveness.

(2) We have given much thought to your recent suggestion as to the desirability of some kind of institute on segregation and foreign relations. We think the suggestion is a good one and hope to be able to work it out. Obviously it will require a good deal of exploration with potential co-sponsoring institutions. I have an idea that we can advance this project even more effectively if we secure the collaboration of the Phelps Stokes Fund. This Fund, now headed by Dr. F. D. Patterson, has had historical involvement both in race relations and international relations and might enlist the cooperation of some

appropriate national prestige figures. I hope we will have a chance to discuss this at the forthcoming Executive Committee meeting.

(3) We have printed in New South earlier such foreign comments on racial incidents in the South as we were able to get hold of. This material from foreign newspapers is hard to come by. We were able to get the earlier material only because the American Jewish Committee did a compilation. I am continually urging that group and others (including the Phelps Stokes Fund) to assemble more such material. When and if these efforts bear fruit, we shall most certainly consider such a treatment in New South.

(4) The article inserted in the Congressional Record by Representative Porter has been reprinted and widely distributed. The copy you received was one of several hundred distributed by us. Some thousands of additional copies were distributed by the Fund for the Republic and through other organizations. In view of this widespread use already made of the reprint, I doubt that Representative Porter would be interested in further distribution. In any case, this is the opinion of Joe Lyford of the Fund for the Republic who arranged for the article to be read into the Record in the first place and who worked out the later distribution.

(5) As to Senator Douglas' remarks and his insertion of our voting figures in the Congressional Record, we have on file one copy of this part of the record. Since this is political material, having to do with the promotion of specific legislation, I do not believe it would be proper or wise for us to play any part in urging or assisting distribution under Senator Douglas' frank. We may hope that he will do this, but it seems to me that that must be the outer limit of our interest. If you are of another opinion, do let me know. (I might add that the people at the Fund for the Republic are familiar with the use of our figures both from Mr. Reston's article in the Times and through the Congressional Record.)

We noted with pleasure the failure of the North Carolina bills aimed at the NAACP. The Methodists' actions in Georgia were not as clearly motivated by liberal sentiment as some of the news reports would suggest, but they might be considered as representing at least a spirit of moderation.

I am looking to see you at the July meeting, about which you will be hearing from us further.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cc: Dr. Rufus E. Clement

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

JC - Pls read + return with comm

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

You would perhaps like to file the enclosed good letter from Father Sigur.

A day or so ago I heard a brief broadcast from Bristol, Va-Tenn, in which it was stated that Mr. Finletter, former secretary of the Air-force, in a commencement address somewhere in Virginia, had suggested that some Southern college or university should sponsor an institute devoted to the study of the effect of our segregation practices upon our foreign relations. That was all there was to the broadcast so I cannot further enlarge upon Mr. Finletter's remarks. However, this germinal idea seems to me to be significant.

It leads me to suggest that you and your associates on the staff give some thought to the joint sponsorship by SRC and a university of an institute as suggested by Mr. Finletter. Frankly, for prestige purposes if no other, I should like to see our name associated with such an enterprise.

The division of responsibility between SRC and the university might be that the university would provide the facilities for such an instit-

ute and furnish entertainment and expenses for those appearing upon the program and SRC would undertake to develop the program, secure appropriate participants and assist in the publicity.

Off hand, I can think of no proposal of greater significance than to have developed on a Southern campus by publicists of authority and reputation the view that what is transpiring in some sections of the South greatly imperils our relations with allies and neutrals throughout the world.

If we should undertake such an enterprise we would obviously have to be in fairly close contact with the state department. We have been seeking for some time to secure the benediction of the administration. This might be an opening gambit to that end.

As a collateral matter, might it be well to have Constable assemble quotations from the foreign press over the last few years, showing the foreign reaction to violence, chicanery, fraud, intimidation and boycott in the campaign of repression--such quotations to be used in an issue of New South devoted almost wholly to the impact of our practices in foreign circles. I doubt that many Southerners know to what extent the Emmet Till case and the various bombing episodes have received a play in the foreign press and to what extent our international relations have thereby been impaired. Our people should know and our function should be to inform them.

It may not be beyond the realm of possibility to secure from Mr. Dulles or some highly placed official a statement to appear exclusively in New South making the point that our position as defender of freedom is sapped and undercut by the things which are here tolerated.

- - - - - -

Constable has been good enough to send me a sheet from the Congressional Record presenting a speech by some Catholic divine inserted in the Record at the request of Congressman Charles O. Porter. I was delighted

at the references to SRC, to yourself and at the extensive quotations from the work of you and Mr. Roth.

I assume that Mr. Porter has unlimited use of the franking privilege. If so, might it be well to see if he would agree to mail from his office copies of this extract from the Record to a list of names which we would furnish. If he would do this from Washington, we would be saved the expense of mailing and also relieved of the suggestion of immodesty in circulating generally kind words about ourselves. If Mr. Porter would agree to this, I would ride him to the limit with names of addressees.

If, for any reason, he should decline, I wonder if the Catholic Committee of the South, might be interested in undertaking the job. By the way, it was good to see that Father Shean received recognition so richly deserved.

I am still hopeful that at least you, if not Jane and the children, may make Linville Falls sometime this summer. In this calm and bracing atmosphere, and fortified by branch water, we may come up with solutions to many problems which now bedevil mankind.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

HCF:

This, like the cost of pro-segregation activities, would help a great deal in the cold war, I should think; but I also believe it would be difficult to get a Southern educational institute to co-sponsor such an institute. Suggestions as to possibilities are Emory University, The University of Louisville, The University of North Carolina. I expect it would be difficult to get the co-sponsor to foot the expenses as MAW suggests. However, we might talk with some of the political science people at Emory for a starter. As an alternate, do you think the Southern Historical Society might be interested?

As to the suggestion that Rep. Porter mail out the copies of Lyford's article, I just wonder if he has unlimited freedom of using his franking privileges this way. If so, I think a wider distribution would be very good.

JC

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED JUN 24 1957

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, 3 Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your full letter of June 17th catching up with the arrears in correspondence and enclosing interesting documents.

1. It is good to know that Senator Douglas and Representative Celler have made use of our materials. Would it be possible to get copies of the Congressional Record containing their remarks? It might be of value to have them permanently in our file. Would it be possible also to have at least portions of their speeches sent out under franks from their offices to lists which we might furnish?

Your handling of our Nemesis, the Honorable James C. Davis, has my complete approval.

2. The dates for the meeting were satisfactory to me and I so indicated on a card sent in a day or so ago.

3. I am delighted at the letter from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation which seems to put us in excellent position in the future.

In that connection I have not heard from Harry Jones about the Foundation in which Mr. Babcock of Winston-Salem is a factor. (I do not have

the name of the Foundation before me as I write.) As soon as I hear from Jones I will advise.

- - - - -

In what must be the hectic circumstances under which you now operate, you have not gotten around to commenting on the possibility of using the franks of Congressman Porter on the Congressional Record article, or upon the possibility of the institute devoted to a study of impact of our segregration practices upon our foreign relations, or upon an issue of New South treating the foreign press comment upon such practices. I would like to get your slant on those matters when your time permits.

Among hopeful items in the news, which you have no doubt seen, are the resounding defeat by the Senate of this state given to two administrative bills aimed at NAACP, the overwhelming endorsement by the Methodists of the idea of abolition of the central jurisdiction and similar action taken recently by the Northern Georgia Methodists. I have a feeling that the tide is beginning to turn. If we take it at the flood we may ride on to fortune.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

c. c. to Dr. Rufus E. Clement

July 8, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linesville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you very kindly for your letter of June 19. I am pleased that you thought the proposed state by-laws were acceptable.

Your recounting of the activities of your geese was interesting. I have just returned from two weeks in Canada and while there I had the pleasure of visiting a farm that had several dozen geese.

Although the tendency to stay together as a flock, family grouping was still quite obvious. So it would appear that geese are not only individuals but social beings as well. With you I agree it would be a better world if men had the instincts of ganders.

Thanks for the invitation to stop by your mountain top retreat. Next time I come to North Carolina I will put "Top Knot" on my agenda.

Best regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:lec

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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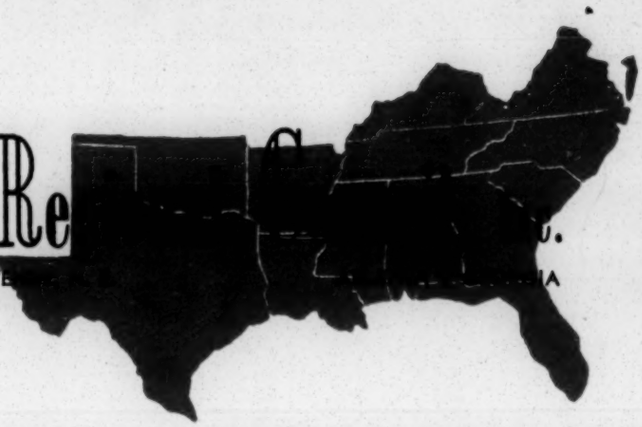
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1957

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Thanks for the copy of suggested by-laws for state groups. I have read this carefully and can think of no changes which should be made.

I would not take the time of anyone not a goose lover to give you the following information:

This year, due to the depredations of a fox or dog, my goose has brought forth no brood. Four ducks from across the road "took up" came to my place and were promptly adopted by my goose and gander. They became especially enamored of a white duck which they would not allow to return to her home at night, driving her down to my little pond to stay with them.

Some weeks ago I bought three small goslings. These were promptly taken over by the old couple which, thereupon, turned against the ducks. Recently one of the ducks has begun setting. The gander insists on going by each day, driving her off, turning the eggs, tidying up the nest and setting a spell. All of this was to the great distress of the expectant duck and imposed some wear and tear on the eggs while the mother was

being dispossessed. I have had to build an enclosure around the nest with an opening large enough for the duck to enter and depart but too small for the gander. Nevertheless he stands by prepared to attack any stray dog or other trespasser who gets too close to the nest. I know that as soon as the brood hatches out he will take them at once from the mother and show them the care and attention of which only the anserine species is capable.

How much better world we would have if men merely had the instincts of ganders.

If you and/or Harold should be in the mountains at any time this summer don't fail to look in on me here.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

July 10, 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: Messrs. M. A. Wright and R. E. Clement

From: Harold C. Fleming

Subj: REPLACEMENT OF RESEARCH ASSISTANT

:

I am sorry to make such heavy inroads on your time and attention, but we seem (temporarily, I hope) to be besieged by organisational matters that require your consideration.

This is sent to you in your capacity as members of the Committee.

Miss Florence Irving, much to our regret, has informed us that for personal reasons she must resign the position of Research Assistant and return to North Carolina.

Enclosed is an application for this position from Miss Marge Manderson, presently serving on the Council's staff as secretary to Fred Routh and Emory Via. I recommend her for the position at the prescribed starting salary of $4,000 per year and with the mutual understanding that she will serve on a provisional basis for three months; subject to permanent confirmation at the end of that period.

It is the consensus of the professional staff that Miss Manderson is intelligent, conscientious, and deeply motivated in this work. While she has not had direct experience in a research position of this kind, she is familiar with the work of SRC and has had opportunity to work with Miss Irving. It should be noted also that persons with long experience or training in the type of work involved here are few and

far between. In the past, our research assistants have been intelligent, adaptable persons who have acquired specific skills on the job.

In the unlikely event that our judgment turns out to be faulty, Miss Manderson could be returned without prejudice to secretarial status at the end of the three-month trial period. However, my recommendation of her is made with considerable confidence that she will prove more than satisfactory in the position.

I hope that you will have an opportunity to look over the enclosed application before next Tuesday, so that we may make a decision during one of the intervals between sessions of the Executive Committee.

June 26, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please consider this letter and the attached personal data resume as my application for the position of Research Assistant with the Information Services of the Southern Regional Council.

My interest and desire to broaden my knowledge and participation in the field of race relations has been intensified through my association with SRC, from December, 1956 to the present time, as secretary to Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director, and Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant. This experience has given me a general picture of the scope and aims of the SRC program. The area of services which I feel to be one of the most positive and constructive, and in which I am most interested, is the Research Program. I have had the opportunity of working with the present Research Assistant, Miss Florence Irving, on a number of occasions during the past six months. I have assisted, whenever possible, with clipping and maintenance of the research files, and have typed some correspondence and reports for this department, most recently, a portion of the Voting Survey of Southern States. Miss Irving has spent some time instructing me regarding research sources and methods; we have talked at length about projected research programming which might benefit SRC operations. I share her enthusiasm for the present worth of the Research Program and its potential for even greater value and development.

My past working experience has required abilities which would be useful in the Research Assistant position - writing ability, apptitude for mathematical computation, and the capacity for assuming responsibility.

I gained practical experience in the writing of reports, publicity releases, and correspondence during three-and-one-half years of employment as Secretary to the Head of the Department of Speech and Drama at the University of Georgia. In the absence of the Departmental Head during the summer months, all administrative procedure connected with the Department was my responsibility. I have had some writing experience while employed by SRC, primarily recording and summarizing conference notes on four occasions (SRC Labor Conference, State Staff Conference, Consultant Conference, and Sub-Committee Meeting of Agencies Working in the South).

Other work experience has included one-and-one-half years as Rate Clerk with the Life Insurance Company of Georgia and one year as Secretary to Herschel Harrington Studios. The former position consisted entirely of work with figures. My position with Mr. Harrington involved frequent use of figures in preparing estimates for bids as well as simple bookkeeping. I feel that I have some aptitude for such mathematical work, and that the statistical analysis duties involved in the Council's Research Program would not be beyond my abilities.

My experience in pure research has been limited to that required for college term papers and themes, most particularly, research in connection with an honors course in my major field. In addition to six years office experience, I have held positions of responsibility in an avocational activity - the directing of community and educational theatre groups and workshops (Atlanta Civic Theatre, Georgia State Players, Erie Playhouse Student Theatre).

I expect to broaden my comprehension of race relations through attending the 1957 Fisk Race Relations Institute.

I sincerely hope my qualifications will warrant your consideration of this application. Since working with SRC, I have come to believe emphatically in the organization's positive benefit and contribution to a desegregating society; and I feel, with serious application, I can add to this positive contribution through the area of research. I would be very proud to be part of such a program.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours very truly,

Marge Manderson

Marge Manderson

1403 West Peachtree
Apartment 4
Atlanta, Georgia

Name: Marge Manderson

Address: 1403 West Peachtree, Apartment 4, Atlanta, Georgia

Age: 29

Place of birth: Atlanta, Georgia

Marital status: Single

Education: Three years toward B.F.A., University of Georgia, Athens

Past Experience:

6 months as Secretary to Assistant Director and Labor Consultant of the Southern Regional Council.

3½ years, Secretary to Head, Department of Speech and Drama, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

1 year, Secretary to Mr. Harrington, Herschel Harrington Studios, 1520 Spring Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

1½ years, Rate Clerk, Ordinary Issuance Department, Life Insurance Company of Georgia, Atlanta, Georgia.

References:

Dr. Leighton M. Ballew
Head, Department of Speech and Drama
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Robert W. Walts
Department of English
Georgia State College of Business Administration
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Jon J. Johnston
Department of Philosophy
Georgia State College of Business Administration
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Lincolnton, N.C.
7/30/57

No doubt you saw editorial (Page 26) in Life of 7/29/57 quoting S.R.C.

Time display (Page 12) of same date is striking. See also letter from Publisher (Page 7) of same issue of Time.

Sen. Douglas has sent me all relevant Congressional Records. He acted with commendable speed in getting our story into record.

M.C.W.

July 22, 1957

Mr. Chester S. Davis
Winston-Salem Journal
Winston-Salem, N. C.

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Davis:

My impression is that there is a foundation in Winston-Salem headed or largely controlled by a Mr. Babcock, who married one of the Reynolds. I do not have my file before me as I write but can locate his name and the name of the foundation.

The Southern Regional Council would like to submit to that foundation a proposal for a grant-in-aid. Our impression is that Mr. Babcock, and perhaps his associates, might be favorably disposed toward helping an organization having our general objectives. Since I have no acquaintance with any of the parties involved I would greatly appreciate your writing me in confidence suggestions you would care to make as to the best method of approach to that foundation.

We are operating under a terminal grant from the Fund For The Republic which fact makes it imperative that we secure substantial contributions from others. Southern foundations of liberal tendencies seem to offer the best prospect of success.

Any advice which you would care to give will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

b. c. to Harold Fleming

J.C. ✓
P.A ✓

July 30, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your good letter of July 22. I agree that the last executive committee meeting was a most satisfactory one, and your analysis of why it was so will have full consideration in the planning of future meetings.

It was heartening to see the enthusiastic way the committee responded to your idea of an international institute. We will begin as soon as possible efforts to translate this idea into reality. It may well be that the person we employ for the internship will be a suitable staff person to do much of the spade work for this conference. But, of course, that decision will have to await the employment of an intern, so that we can evaluate his skills in this regard.

As you requested, I am enclosing the names and addresses of the Nominating Committee.

As you know, our findings on Negro suffrage have had very wide use. Our latest report was introduced into the deliberations of the Senate on Friday and drew the expected attack upon us, lead by Senator Olin Johnston. We have ordered copies of The Congressional Record for that date and I am asking John Constable to see that you receive one. Meanwhile, I enclose a copy of an article from the Raleigh Times which summarizes Senator Johnston's attack and our reply solicited Friday night by the Associated Press. If you have further ideas about steps

we should take to counter these charges, do let us have them. I am about to leave on vacation, but Fred will be here most of the time I am away and when he is not, John Constable will be in charge. I have left full information as to how I may be reached in the event of any emergent need.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - List of Nominating Committee Members
Article from Raleigh Times - 7/27/57

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

1956 - 1957

Gomillion, Charles G.

Dean of Students
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Hammer, Philip

Director
Hammer & Company
Planning Consultants
70 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Hamilton, Mrs. Grace T.

Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mays, Benjamin E.

President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Richards, J. McDowell

President
Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED JUL 29 1957

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]U.
[illegible]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

July 22, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

While the events of the Atlanta meeting are fresh in my mind I think it well to write you my impressions.

I regarded the meeting as one of the most satisfactory that we have held. Things moved briskly and the discussion was kept constantly focused upon the points at issue. Experience of the meeting I think establishes the wisdom of:

(a) Circulating the agenda in advance of the meeting; (b) making a plain division between Executive and open meetings; (c) fixing a time limit for each division or topic, and (d) providing for full presentation of new matters which may originate with the Board.

Supplementing the above, there was none of the awkward and embarrassing difficulty of asking the staff to retire when matters of an executive nature were under consideration.

All of the discussions were kept within the established limits. And one idea originating with the Committee (that is, of the conference sponsored jointly by SRC and a Southern university) received full attention.

Incidentally I have talked over that idea with several friends who are enthusiastic about its possibilities. I do hope that the staff and representatives of the university may find occasion in the very near future to start the machinery for setting up such a conference.

You correctly point out that, in that connection, one staff member might very well devote a considerable amount of time. You reported on the possibility of SRC's providing an internship for some capable person in the field of human relations. I am wondering if you might not find it possible to fill this internship fairly promptly with a person whose principal task might be to do the necessary spade work for such conference. He would be getting valuable experience and, at the same time, taking some of the load off of your broad shoulders.

- - - - -

Will you be good enough to give me the names and addresses of the nominating committee.

- - - - -

For the sake of your records, this letter will confirm my complete agreement to the employment of Miss Marge Manderson as research assistant upon the term outlined in your letter of July 10th.

- - - - -

I would still like very much for you to run up and spend a day or so with me any time you get the chance. We see each other too seldom. I think that fairly leisurely conversations between us here might be very helpful to us both.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/eg

August 6, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I called your house yesterday only to discover that you were out of the city. I called because I am coming up to Montreat for a meeting of the Presbyterians Thursday and Friday of this week.

I Had hoped to run by Top Knot and spend part of Saturday with you. The next time I am up that way I shall try again to include your house on my itenirary.

Things are going well here at the council even though Harold is on vacation.

Warm sincere regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR;as

August 6, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

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Warm sincere regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:as

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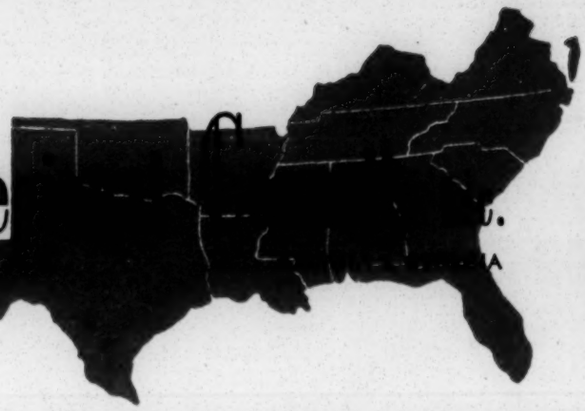
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
HAROLD C. FLEMING, INFORMATION
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. G. T. HAMILTON, PROGRAM
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
C. H. PARRISH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 13, 1957

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I regret very much that I was not at home when you recently called my place, particularly since my absence at the time resulted in ~~a~~ lo~~s~~t of a visit from you. Please re~~spect~~ pat this effort. I hope I shall be at home the next time you are in the area.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

You think you have stenographic troubles.

August 21, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter and postal cards which arrived while I was away.

Your letter to Senator Douglas was admirably done. I also wrote him, of course, and received a most concise and heartwarming reply, to wit: "Dear Mr. Fleming: God bless you! Faithfully, Paul H. Douglas."

I have written Mrs. Spearman asking her if she will check on the two gubernatorial appointments which you received. I think we can use this information to good effect whether or not the appointing governor was Johnston or Thurmond. I will let you know the outcome.

We have the newspaper clipping in which our findings concerning Negro registration in Calhoun County and one or two others are disputed. I am asking Mr. McCain, who did the original survey in South Carolina, to check further on these instances. I sincerely hope that our original findings are completely defensable. In any case, we will arm ourselves with as much documentation as possible.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

August 12, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Senator Douglas' office was good enough to send me the Congressional Record containing his remarks and those of Senator Johnston. I have written him as per enclosed copy.

This idea occurs to me: I was at one time appointed by a South Carolina Governor as a member of the South Carolina Library Board and at one time as a member of the South Carolina Commission on Adult Education. It is entirely possible that these appointments may have been made by Governor Olin D. Johnston and/or Governor J. Strom Thurmond. The appointments would have been made some 12 to 20 years ago. Presumably the Secretary of State of the state of South Carolina would have record of these appointments. It occurs to me that it might be well to have Mrs. Spearman make some quiet investigation and get the facts as to the dates of the appointments and by whom made. Anyhow, I place the matter before you for action if you think the point worth while.

Assuming, for example, that Governor Johnston had thus indicated his confidence in me, it might add somewhat to his embarrassment if, in strik-

ing at the Council, he should also strike at me. The information might be kept in your file and later used if occasion should present itself.

What is true of me may be true of other past and present members of our board. They may also have been appointed by some Governor who is now, as Senator or otherwise, disposed to attack board members.

- - - - -

I sent you a card this morning telling you that on yesterday I have seen the TV "Face the Nation" program with Senator Thurmond as guest. One of the panel members quoted our report on voting and particularly referred to Calhoon County, South Carolina. Thurmond said that he had a letter from some official of that county denying our figures and he ~~was~~ quoted from the Columbia State to that effect.

Would it be important for us to keep records of all denials to which attention is called with the idea in mind that at sometime in the future we might wish to file a sur-rebuttal? For example if we should happen to be on demonstrably solid ground as to Calhoon county, conceivably we might get some thoroughly impartial white South Carolinian to make his own investigation and state over his signature where the truth lay.

In essence, these denials amount to a challenge to our veracity or to the methods used in our research. It may be important to us in the future to be able to show that both are above reproach.

Incidentally, I greatly admire the vigor with which you challenged Senator Johnston as reported in the Raleigh Times of July 27th. I feel that we are getting strong enough that we no longer have to treat these politicians with a feigned respect. I think that we are wise in ~~start~~ stepping up the tempo andspiritof our replies when they make their imputations.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

August 12, 1957

Senator Paul Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

I am sure that Mr. Fleming must have written you expressing appreciation for your effective use of materials furnished by this organization to the Library of Congress, as well as for the promptness and effectiveness of your reply to Senator Johnston. I should, however, like to add my own word of thanks.

Particularly were we pleased that your reply was made immediately. It seems important to us that calumnies such as those uttered by Senator Johnston should be over taken at once by the truth. A time lag between the utterance of such charges and their effective denials gives them undeserved opportunity to fasten themselves in the public mind. No doubt your awareness of that fact caused you to act at once.

The South has come a long way since Mr. Mencken wrote "The Sahara of Bozart". But perhaps in one respect we have not too greatly changed.

He pointed out that Southern notions of controversy were never to meet an issue on its merit but always to attack your opponent upon grounds completely foreign to the issue. For example Mr. Mencken said

that in reply to certain criticisms which he had made of Southern institutions, the standard rejoinder was that his father was a Jewish merchant who had peddled goods from a push wagon on the streets of Baltimore. This was of course utterly untrue and utterly remote from the merits of his criticism but it seemed to have strong appeal in the area in which it was spoken.

Senator Johnston's remarks fall within the same category. They are untrue and they are foreign to the issue. I have the feeling that they will be believed by very few and that the rest will sense the intellectual bankruptcy which gave them birth.

No doubt there will be other occasions before the civil rights issue is settled in which those who develop the facts will be similarly assailed. It is encouraging to know that in men such as yourself those who seek the truth have valiant defenders.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

PRESIDENT

MAW:ejg

c. c. to Harold Fleming

RECEIVED AUG 30 1957

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.

8-29-57

Harold:

You may prefer to keep the enclosed & send me copy. That will be O.K.

M. G. W.

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, OKLA.
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, OHIO
JOSEPH S. CLARK, PA.
HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.
JOHN W. BRICKER, OHIO
WALLACE F. BENNETT, UTAH
PRESCOTT BUSH, CONN.
J. GLENN BEALL, MD.
FREDERICK G. PAYNE, MAINE
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N. J.

J. H. YINGLING, CHIEF CLERK
ROBERT A. WALLACE, STAFF DIRECTOR

RECEIVED AUG 30 1957

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Please return
M. A. W.

August 26, 1957.

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Office of the President
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was more than pleased to have been able to place the materials about the Southern Regional Council in the Record immediately following the attack on the organization.

I have had some personal experience with unfair attacks and I was determined to have the answers appear with the charges.

Your organization has been of great service throughout this civil rights debate. It is true that you, as a private organization, have provided more information and more facts concerning the voting situation than has the Department of Justice. In fact, it is some reflection on the Department that it was necessary for us to turn to private groups for help, especially when that help demands such a high degree of courage on your part.

With best wishes,

Faithfully,

Paul Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD:HS1

May God bless you and your associates for the noble work you are doing. I have always noted that

pharaonical attitude of many people to lies of this character, satirized by Arthur Clough a century ago in his "modern version" of the Ten Commandments.

"Thou not false witness. Let the lie
Have fair play on its own wings to fly"

~~When I heard~~ ~~of~~ I was in chair late one night when the attack was made & working to nail it in its frauds & immediately left the chair & fair witness to the truth. It is possible that those who cooked up the attack did not realize I was ready to refute it. It was a happy accident that I was there

(Handwritten postscript)

May God bless you and your associates for the noble work you are doing. I have always noted ~~xxxx~~ the pharasaical attitude of many people to lies of this character, satirized by Arthur Clough a century ago in his "modern version of the Ten Commandments."

"Bear not false witness. Let the lie
Have time on its own wings to fly."

I was in (the) chair late one night when the attack was made and resolved to nail it in its tracks and immediately left the chair and bore witness to the truth. It is possible that those who cooked up the attack did not realize I was ready to refute it. It was a happy accident that I was there.

PHD

September 9, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter to all expiring ex-officio board members. Doubtlessly many of these members will not be re-elected to the board though, in all probability, some of them will be elected to regular membership. I trust this draft covers both situations.

When we receive your final draft we will send this letter, over your signature, to all retiring ex-officio members.

A list of all board members, their status, and dates of expiration, is enclosed. You will note that the first section indicates all state representatives who would receive your letter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

DRAFT

Dear _____:

As you know, in 1954 when the affiliated arrangement was worked out between SRC and state councils, it was provided that the chairman and one elected representative of each state affiliate should serve ex-officio on SRC's board. When the state councils become independent organizations on October 1, this ex-officio representation will automatically terminate.

I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for your devoted service to the Southern Regional Council while necessarily giving your special energies to the state group. Your assistance has been immeasurably helpful and, we are deeply grateful.

The establishment of autonomous groups in the various states has long been a goal of the Southern Regional Council and we feel that this event is a significant one in the progress of the inter-racial movement. While much remains to be done, as in all states, we feel the (Kentucky) Council has made a laudable beginning. Please know that at present and in the future we stand ready to be of any possible service. Our proposed grant-in-aid for 1957-58 is to some degree our tangible expression of the faith we have in the future of your organization.

We look forward to a continuing relationship in this vital Southwide effort.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

M.A.W.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED OCT 2 1957

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M. A. Wright

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sept. 30, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I expressed verbally to Fred Routh over the phone today my apology for delay in answering yours of September 20 with reference to Machion Garrison. A week's absence, followed by a house full of guests, do not make for orderly and systematic correspondence. But I am abject.

I concur completely in the employment of Mr. Garrison and hope he will make you a good man. I hope also that his qualifications may be such that you may place upon him some responsibility for arrangement of the conference at Atlanta University on the impact of our segregation practices upon our foreign relations. If you ever wished to get material on that point from the foreign press for use in New South the New York Times for the past two or three weeks will supply ample quotations.

If you get the opportunity to sit down and unburden fully upon the happenings at Little Rock, I should like greatly to recieve what you may dare to put on paper.

If you are through with your examination of my Charlotte remarks, I should like to have the copy for my file.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

RECEIVED OCT 2 1957

Sept. 30, 1957

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock
P.O. Box 6056
Richmond 22, Va.

My dear Dr. Hancock:

To Harold Fleming's note of regret at your resignation as Vice President, I should like to add my own personal word.

I think that the fact that we both came originally from South Carolina has given me more than normal pride in your distinquished career. Many times I have expressed the wish that society had been so ordered that you would have remained in our state and had your talents fully utilized where they are so desperately needed. There is, however, balm in the thought that you have reached a larger, and perhaps more appreciative, audience elsewhere than you would have had in South Carolina.

All of us regret that you feel the necessity to relinquish the Vice Presidency. And we all wish for you many more years of active and patriotic service.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Wright
PRESIDENT

MAW:ejg
b. c. to Harold Fleming

October 17, 1957

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Lineville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In regard to our conversation of today via telephone, Harold and I agree that your suggestion is good.

As you may know, our relation with Pete McKnight, the editor of the Charlotte Observer is quite good. Harold has corresponded with him from time to time and sent him a copy of the recent editorial by Hodding Carter concerning the South Carolina News and Courier incident.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

October 17, 1957

Editor
The Charlotte Observer
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Sir:

This letter is not for publication.

On October 15 The Observer printed as a paid advertisement excerpts from a speech by Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia. While the principal target of the speech was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People there were also certain slanderous imputations directed at this organization. We are not here concerned with what was said about NAACP--that organization has amply demonstrated its capacity to speak effectively for itself--but we are concerned with what was said about the Southern Regional Council.

Of course, we realize fully that publication of a paid advertisement does not necessarily imply editorial sanction or approval. So this letter is not intended as the slightest criticism of The Observer. But since the advertisement in question and similar material is being broadcast throughout the South, since it reflects grossly upon many patriotic citizens of North Carolina, and since advertisements of like nature will no doubt be offered you in the future, we feel that you should know the facts about this organization.

The facts are fully stated in a speech delivered in the United States Senate on July 26, 1957 by Senator Paul H. Douglas. Reprint of that speech as it appeared in The Congressional Record is enclosed for your information. After reading that speech, if you should desire further information, we shall be happy to supply you with it.

It cannot have escaped your notice that Mr. Cook and others of his ilk have run up a ghastly record of losses in their legal engagements with NAACP. Beaten in proper forums with well established ground rules, they now try their fortunes in arenas in which there are no rules--the field of influencing public opinion by callous slander. Leaders of the movement are reduced to name calling; the rank and file are reduced to raw violence.

If segregation may only be preserved by slander and violence, it must hardly be worth preserving at all. Certainly, the price is high.

That is, however, somewhat beside the point of this letter. My only object in writing you is to place you in better position in the future to assess correctly the nature of material affecting the Southern Regional Council which may be submitted to you for publication.

Yours very truly,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

President

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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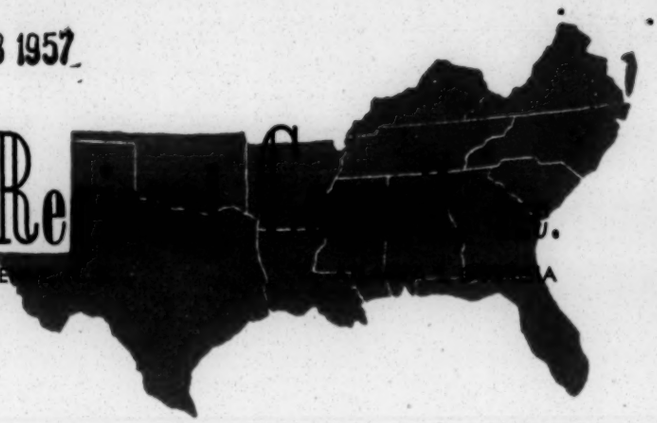
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED OCT 23 1957

Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

October 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

There is nothing about this letter which will require any action. What I propose to write is a series of speculations or considerations which it may be well for us to have in mind at such times as appropriate opportunities for action may present themselves.

1. Governor Faubus may have done us a great service. Everywhere else except in the deep South, and in many parts of the South, he is an object of ridicule or contempt. He has moved into a position of leadership of the segregation forces. Those whom he leads and those who share leadership with him must appercieve that their cause is discredited.

Governors McKeldin, Hodges, Collins and Clement were fairly prompt and positive in dissociating themselves from the Faubus leadership. So far as I am aware, only Timmerman and Griffin among the Southern governors unreservedly endorsed the Faubus stand. No one, I presume, wants to look ridiculous or contemptible in the eyes of his fellows. When you know what position will make you look ridiculous or contemptible, the inevitable tendency is to move at least a hair from that position.

The service which Faubus has rendered is to provide that knowledge. The attitudes of McKeldin, Hodges, Collins and Clement is a perfectly logical re-action. They have moved to greater or less degree away from Faubus and the things for which he stands. Whether you account for their action upon the theory of conversion to a new faith, or the more practical and cynical ground of escape from obloquy, the result is the same. They have moved--and to Faubus be all honor and glory.

The result has been that the four mentioned have received something like national acclaim. Radio, Television, headlines, editorials, have been theirs. The sweet smell of success is in their nostrils. The applause which has greeted even their mild pronouncements must surely be gratifying to them and must surely tend to hold them fast to their new positions if not encourage them to further ventures.

Surely, also, this phenomenon must not have been lost upon other Southern governors and politicians. The moral seems fairly obvious. If they seek anything approaching national fame,they dare not approximate the Faubus performance. Better still, move somewhat away from him, take a position slightly in advance of his. Since the motive which animates most Southern politicians seems to be a passion for fame, the inducement to move is fairly compelling. This gives them credit--I hope justified--for distinguishing fame from notoriety and preferring the former to the latter. The action of the Southern Governor's Conference in turning down Griffin for chairman is significant.

Now, if we could dictate Southern policy, what should we do to capitalize on the present situation?

A. We should accentuate the idea of Faubus' leadership of the segregation forces. We should play down Byrnes, Timmerman, Griffin and others ad nauseam and keep attention focussed on Faubus. He is in the national dog house. More importantly, there are signs that at home he has

lost the support of the churches and business, possibly other elements of the Arkansas population. Those are substantial assets he has frittered away. We may concede that he may actually have strengthened himself with the red necks of the Ozarks, but he is undoubtedly repudiated by the literate and articulate people of his own state.

If a leader is repudiated or discredited, so is the cause he represents. For that reason we should keep the label of leadership pinned to him. The cause should not be allowed to rid itself of that incubus.

b. We should praise even such tepid moderates as Hodges, Collins and Clements. (We may, of course, do this with tongue in cheek, as when we praise the school boards of Greensboro, Charlotte and Winston-Salem.) They have taken a timid first step. My belief is that they may more readily be induced to take a longer second step by smothering them with praise for the inch they have moved than by chiding them for the miles they did not move. A log jam may sometimes be broken up by removing one small pole. I give my dog a biscuit for retrieving a stick in the hope he may some day retrieve a grouse.

c. We ought, if possible, to try to use the "divide and conquer" technique. Clearly, at the moment Hodges, Clement and Collins do not see eye to eye with Timmerman and Griffin. This divergence ought to be deepened and widened. I am sure that T. and G. do not feel kindly toward the other three. There should be done whatever is possible to drive a wedge between the two groups. We should take every occasion to compare favorably and publicly the attitudes of our three boys with the attitudes of T., G. and the others. Natural envy and jealousy may be depended upon to turn those condemned from those praised.

d. As to this point, I am not at all sure of my facts. But, if the facts are as I hope, I should like to see the point made that the " moderate" governors have been disposed to meet the issue of integration upon

its merits, have conceded that honest and patriotic men may hold contrary opinions and have not indulged in character assassination of the integrationists. I hope the silly charge that the whole movement is a Communist plot has never been officially made by the Governors of N.C., Tennessee and Florida; certainly, not by the Governor of Maryland.

The development of this line would give an excellent opportunity to contrast the mentalities of the men involved. The point could also be made that only when solid argument cannot be made does one attack his opponent upon personal grounds. Further, we may explore and explode the dictation from Moscow idea.

Possibly SRC may do nothing directly in support of the principles above stated. But we may throw sand on our friends who have more liberty of action.

- - - - -

This whole personal attack on our side is reminiscent of McCarthyism, if not an off-shoot from it. The McCarthy technique was never to meet argument on its merits but to call his adversary a Red. That method prospered for a while. But the fever ran its course and McCarthy was purged.

Some of the Southern politicians have not learned a lesson. They are perhaps congenitally unable to learn. I am enough of a democrat to believe that the people are the ultimate teachers and that they will expel those whom they cannot teach.

I am sure that in Atlanta it must sometime seem to you that the opposition is firmly entrenched. You get day after day the dark side of the picture. Out here in the sticks things look brighter. The tides which finally engulfed McCarthy now begin to lap at the toes of Griffin and Timmerman. Those toes are attached to feet of clay--and clay readily dissolves.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Mailed 10/18/57 mf

MF —

Please mail back to M.A. Wright the text of his speech that he sent us some weeks ago. Should be in the files

H.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED SEP 5 1957

File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

Sept. 3, 1957

Late call from MAW obviated answer HCF

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for copy of the Breakstone correspondence. I am delighted to say that at least an element of the American Legion retains its sanity.

It was good also to get the copy of Hodding Carter's editorial. I thought it was as strongly worded as we could have desired. It might be helpful if Senator Douglas managed to get a copy of this in the Congressional Record if a convenient opportunity presented itself.

Also, it would appear that our friends in South Carolina might find it a valuable document.

I am to go to Charlotte for the Unitarian meeting on September 13. I enclose first draft of a copy of what I have in mind saying on that occasion.

Will you, Fred Routh, John Constable and other sharp-eyed critics at your elbow go over this and let me have your acid comments. I should

like to hear from you in time to make such revision as may be indicated.

Best regards to all hands.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

November 15, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a copy of the Nominating Committee's report as approved by the Council. Particularly in the case of new members, it is well to be careful about using the names until acceptances have been secured. I believe we can safely use the names of those person re-elected.

Let me take this opportunity to say for myself and the other staff members how grateful we are for the leadership you have given the Council and how much we have enjoyed working with you as president. I hasten to say also that we are looking forward to a continued close relationship, both on the professional and personal levels.

With best regards always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure.

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

11/14/57

Please send me list of S.R.C. members + officers giving effect to recent elections. This may help with Green and Carlyle.

Thought meeting was fine.

M.A.W.

File

PERSONAL

November 26, 1957

Mr. Paul W. Brown, Jr.,
Philadelphia Nat'l Bank
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Paul:

My associates on the Southern Regional Council have asked me to learn whether or not it might be possible for it to secure a grant from the Chace Fund. Since that Fund has recently, as you know, been so helpful to Penn, I am a little hesitant about approaching it personally. I am convinced, however, that it could not more wisely use its funds than by aiding this organization.

It has occurred to me that perhaps you are in position to learn from Harold Evans or others associated with the Fund whether or not it is in position to make a grant at this time and whether or not it might be receptive to a proposal from the Council.

If you could make some discreet inquiries and give me the benefit of your impressions, I shall greatly appreciate your help.

With best regards to you, Mary and the children, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion

MAW:eg

b. c. to Harold Fleming

November 26, 1957

Mr. Irving Carlyle,
Attorney,
Wachovia Bank & Trust Bldg.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Mr. Carlyle:

I plan to be in Winston-Salem on Monday, December 2, and wonder if I could see you for a few minutes. I will reach Winston-Salem about 11 o'clock and could see you at any time that day which would be most agreeable to you. I will be glad to have you indicate the time of the appointment.

By way of relieving your mind, I should say that this visit does not involve any contribution.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

b. c. to Harold Fleming

November 26, 1957

Dr. Paul Green
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Dr. Green:

I plan to be in Chapel Hill on Tuesday, December 3rd, and wonder if I could see you for a few minutes. I will reach Chapel Hill about 10 o'clock and could see you at any time that day which would be most agreeable to you. I will be glad to have you indicate the time of the appointment.

By way of relieving your mind, I should say that this visit does not involve any contribution.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

b. c. to Harold Fleming

December 16, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is the first chance I have had to write you since we learned the outcome of the meeting of the Wesley Memorial Building Trustees, before which we appeared last Monday.

They gave us a very fair and courteous hearing, after which they agreed unanimously that our status as tenants should remain undisturbed. Mr. Dabbs and Dr. Clement gave us very effective representation, as you would suppose.

Mr. Dabbs has passed on with his approval your letter concerning the Civil Rights Commission. I agree entirely and will follow through on your suggestions as time and circumstances permit.

We continue to rejoice in the acceptances of Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Green and to marvel appreciatively at the persuasiveness of your approach.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

Dec. 21, 1957

Dear Harold:

The enclosed from The Wall Street Journal is impressive. I write this personal note to make certain the clipping is carefully read. It might be worth reprinting in its entirety in New South.

Merry Christmas.

M. A. W.

December 31, 1957

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Many thanks for the several things you have sent us recently, particularly the Wall Street Journal article. We were especially pleased with the latter, since the reporter relied on us for most of the ideas and leads that went into it. We shall certainly make program use of it, either in reprint or in New South.

We were pleased with the New York Times' Christmas story on the work of the Council. I thought you would like to have some copies of the reprint.

Best wishes from the whole staff for a pleasant and fruitful New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: 15 copies of N. Y. Times Reprint - December 25, 1957

RECEIVED JAN - 6 1958

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C. 1/4/58

Dear Harold:

I would like to have your staff criticisms of the enclosed for Florida Council Jan. 17. This is a first draft. Interline as you please.

You may have suggestions of significance for Floridians. E.g. phone tapping in Georgia seemed to strike the people at Macon - seemed to ring a Southern Bell, if I may say so.

Would like to have your comments as soon as possible so can complete final draft.

Best for 1958.

M.A.W.

January 8, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In order not to delay your final draft of the Florida speech, I am returning at once the enclosed manuscript. It has been read by various members of the staff with care - and with unanimous approbation. We agree that it is quite the right tone and tempo for Florida and can think of no topical allusions that would strengthen it. (I wish, however, we could think of something that would make possible other pun of the same quality as your "Southern Belle" inspiration.) Aside from the suggestion made by Fred in the enclosed note, no one has any amendments to suggest.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Manuscript

File copy
(central

THE SOUTHERN DILEMMA

Address by Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N. C., before the Florida Council on Human Relations at Daytona Beach, Florida, January 17, 1958.

Courtesy of
The Florida Council on
Human Relations

Let us begin by getting as far away from our subject as we possibly can and approach it by imperceptible degrees. I can think of no more remote jumping-off point than Pavlov's dogs. So we begin there.

You recall the fascinating experiments of this scientist. (It may be dangerous to say it, but he was a Russian.) Pavlov trained his dogs to respond to certain stimuli. For example, when a bell sounded at meal time, if they went to a red pan they found food; if they went to a blue pan they received an electric shock. Of course, they quickly learned to visit the red, and avoid the blue, pan. Then, when they were thoroughly conditioned, Pavlov would change the pans until they unlearned what they had formerly thought to be true and visited the blue, instead of the red, pan. Finally, when they were eating in what they thought was safety, the current would be turned on and they would be driven from their half-eaten dinner.

You know the result. The dogs literally suffered nervous break-downs and engaged in conduct completely foreign to the true nature of dogs. The results held good with other animals. Subject the animal to the tug of diametrically opposed forces, and his conduct becomes irrational and aberrant.

The lesson was not lost upon our men of medicine. What was true of dogs and other animals was true of men and women. You may split a personality by dividing it into hostile camps, one of which urges the individual to follow one course of action, while the other urges an entirely different course. The result is bizarre and unreasonable conduct, something completely foreign to an individual at harmony with himself.

Now, let us leave Prof. Pavlov and his dogs for a moment to return to them, I hope, a little later.

One of the things of which we in the South may be most proud is that the leaders we have furnished to the nation have always been internationally minded. The conception of the interdependence of nations, one worldness, as Wendell Wilkie phrased it, emerged as the result of World War I. Woodrow Wilson first gave it authentic expression. The League of Nations was its concrete embodiment.

The League was done to death by leaders from New England, the Midwest and the Far West—men like Henry Cabot Lodge from Massachusetts, William E. Borah from Idaho and Hiram Johnson from California. Its staunchest defenders were men like Sen. Carter Glass from Virginia, Sen. Oscar W. Underwood from Alabama and—we must admit—Congressman James F. Byrnes from South Carolina. In all the national debate of the era, Southern leaders were solidly behind Wilson.

That was no unique and exceptional performance. Whenever the issue of internationalism vs isolationism has had congressional attention, Southerners almost to a man have stood for full discharge of our obligations as member of the family of nations. Support for United Nations, foreign aid, the Marshall Plan and all the rest has come most powerfully from the South. Senators George from Georgia, Sparkman and Hill from Alabama, Johnson from Texas and Fulbright from Arkansas, to mention only a few of an imposing company, have expressed the moral conviction of the country that we have a concern with the welfare of men and women everywhere. The South has produced no counterpart of Bridges, Knowland or McCarthy.

Our representatives on the national scene, insofar as legislation in foreign affairs is concerned, have been citizens of the world at large and of the twentieth century. It seems safe to assume that we, their constituents, share their laudable sentiments.

So there is one stream of influence operating upon our leaders. They have nobly responded to the international demands of this age.

But there is another stream which also operates upon these same men. It is one of the dramas of the times that at the same time and before the same Congresses which debated the issue of internationalism vs isolationism there was debated the issue of civil rights. The most modern and the most ancient of issues juxtaposed. The Twentieth and the Eighteenth centuries competing for the loyalties of men's minds. One must record in sorrow that many of our leaders were loyal to both.

It would serve no useful purpose to catalog events since the segregation decisions of the Supreme Court—the series of inflammatory statements by Senators, Congressmen and Governors,

the schemes and maneuvers devised to thwart the law, the shameful Manifesto, and all the rest. Of course, there were noble exceptions with whose names time will deal gently. But, in the main, our leaders have stood solidly in opposition to law. They resurrected the doctrines of Interposition and Nullification, which means that their thinking is one with the thinking of more than a century ago.

I know of no paradox more amazing than that the mind which can be as modern as 1958 can be as antiquated as 1835.

So the minds of our leaders have been subjected to the tugs of two conflicting forces—they wish to be loyal to the world of the Sputnik age and, at the same time, loyal to the world of the age of John C. Calhoun. Ambivalence can be carried no further.

Now, to get back to Pavlov for a moment. (I am sure you must have feen wondering what had become of him.) If his conclusions are correct, you would expect irrational—I am not using the word technically—irrational conduct from minds so divided in their loyalties, so variously conditioned by experience. And I hope to show that is precisely what we have had.

There are, of course, many reasons for our foreign aid program. I think it is no secret that we hope to win friends by our generosity. Indeed, Mr. Dulles seems to go out of his way to proclaim that motive when a little tactful silence might be helpful. Nasser buys something from Russia and Mr. Dulles cancels our agreement to help build the Aswan dam. Tito makes a state visit to Moscow and we "re-appraise" our grants to Yugo-Slavia. Bulganin and Khruschev visit Nehru and we are thrown into a dither. And so on.

We seek to win friends among the uncommitted peoples of the world. The vast majority of those uncounted millions are colored people. We desperately need their friendship in a world where they are the balance of power. Presumably, our representatives, who loyally support the foreign aid program, do so in response to such considerations.

Now, the Civil Rights movement in this country is designed to guarantee the Constitutional rights of all people—including colored people.

You may be sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa know what is happening to their brethren in this country. The Russian propaganda machine sees to that. So they are aware of the resistance movement in the South, aware of speeches made in Washington and in the State capitals, aware of the shabby and fraudulent tricks used to deny rights to people of color in the South, aware of burnings, boycotts and bombings.

Let us suppose that the colored citizens of Thailand were simultaneously informed of certain facts. They were told that the United States government had made a grant to Thailand for the purpose of draining a swamp. They were also told that a Southern state had announced no Negro should attend its law school; or that Negroes must ride in the back end of buses in a certain city; or that another city sold its golf course rather than permit Negroes to play on it; or that a United States Senator gave active support to an organization set up to keep Negroes in their place. And so on indefinitely. Which kind of facts, do you suppose, would have the larger impact upon the minds of the Trailand citizens? You and I know that the personal insult to men of color would far out-weigh the national gesture.

So I ask: Do the aid and comfort and leadership given the segregationists by our chosen representatives constitute rational conduct? Is it rational to destroy with one hand what we have created with the other?

But, of course, this thing of conflicting forces is not limited to Southern leadership or to the field of international relations. I mention two other areas in which some of us in the South ride horses going in opposite directions. We have time only to suggest the nature of the irreconcilable conflict and its more obvious results. I refer to the area of religion and democracy with a small d.

Segregation is repugnant to any religion having as its basic tenets the common fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all men. (I am quite aware that there are a few ministers who contend the opposite in their appearances at meetings of the Klan and White Citizens Councils. Let us tolerantly ignore them. They may well hope that history will do likewise.)

Yet the churches of the South in which religion is said to have its situs and core, with rare exceptions, are segregated. What shall we say of the members of such a church? They must be torn between loyalty to an immortal principle and loyalty to the transitory mores of the community. They strive at one and the same time to live as citizens of the Kingdom of God and as citizens of Small Town, South. That is not easy; in fact, in many areas of the South it is dangerous to try to lead a Christian life.

So the divisive effect of two loyalties must create some degree of tension in the mind of every professing Christian whose church is segregated.

Another area about which brief comment may be made is democracy. Its basic tenets are equality of all men before the law, equality of opportunity, freedom from burdens or penalties because of race, the zeal of the law to protect the rights of the humblest citizen, and so on—known to every school child. Nowhere have those noble principles had finer expression than in the South, where many of them were first uttered by Thomas Jefferson. Nowhere else today do they receive wider lip-service.

Again, as in the case of his churches, there is competition for the loyalty of the white Southerner. Shall he be loyal to the principles which lie at the heart of his democratic faith, or shall he be loyal to community attitude and policy, which negate that faith? There is the summons to greatness, which is associated with attachment to pure principle, and the summons to the comfort of identity with the little, small and mean forces which dominate community thinking.

Proverbially the horns of a dilemma are a position of extreme discomfort. They imply choice between alternatives. Pavlov has demonstrated that when the choice is hard and the penalties for incorrect choice are sufficiently severe, reason may falter, neuroses develop, and frustration find outlet in completely abnormal conduct.

May we test that idea for a moment.

With admitted exceptions which we will have to disregard, the Southern Negro has not been subjected to the inner conflicts which have gripped the whites. For example, he would be in favor of foreign aid, and, with complete consistency, opposed to the barbarism of the Klan and the more

refined cruelties of the White Citizen's Councils. He would favor the abstract doctrines of God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood, and, with complete consistency, favor their application to church membership and attendance. He would be in favor of Jefferson's moving proclamations of the rights of men, and, with complete consistency, opposed to the small and mean forces of the community which seek to deny those rights.

Consistency—that's the word. With consistency he moves from general principle to the specific application, whereas many of his white brethren mentally assent to the general principle but shy away from the specific application.

The Negro, then, in the instances mentioned, has been at harmony with himself. With him, there has been no question of a divided loyalty, no Faustian struggle for possession of his soul. By comparison, his white brother is torn and rent.

How have these contrasting mental states expressed themselves in action?

Under provocation more extreme than that borne by any people on this continent, the Negro has been calm, poised, restrained and complete master of himself. Under persecution which has run the gamut from boycott to murder, he has not stooped to retaliation. If ever men and women have turned the other cheek, which demands the highest form of moral courage, it has been the Negroes of Montgomery, of Little Rock, of Clinton, of Charlotte, and a host of other cities, towns and villages. Ghandi himself reached no higher peak of moral grandeur than thousands of Southern Negroes.

I am not sufficiently morbid to paint the contrasting picture. You are as familiar with that story as I. There are shining exceptions. This group is a notable one. It is matched by similar groups throughout the South. Names and incidents will flash through your minds. But, after all, we can't be too much influenced by exceptions. The mass effect of the Southern segregation story is the rational conduct of the great body of Negroes and the irrational conduct of the great body of whites.

The contrast, it is my thesis, must be explained in terms of harmony. The Negro, on this issue, is at harmony with himself. In the make-up of the

individual there are no conflicting or discordant egos which are hardly on speaking terms with each other, or one of which must constantly blush for the other's conduct. When confronted with a major decision, his answer comes calmly and firmly because it is uttered with mental unity, with no dissent from some mutinous fraction of himself.

By comparison, the white man is at war with himself. Surely, in every day he too must be confronted with decisions. Usually, they are presented in terms of loyalties. Shall he be loyal to the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, the ideals of the Declaration of Independence, the law of the land, or shall he be loyal to the board of deacons or stewards of this church; loyal to the members of his club or group, or to some public official or agency seeking to thwart the law? How many must shrink from having applied as epithets terms which we should be proud to have as epitaphs—"do-gooder," "egg-head," "Nigger lover." (Incidentally, what a commentary upon the times that we use in derogation terms implying a Christian desire to do good, superior intelligence and a love of all mankind!)

With exceptions, of course, the white man finds the decisions hard to make. Consequently, unless he is strong, he gives partial allegiance to all these conflicting groups. From one he becomes many. When a man leads double or multiple lives, it means there is no central authority to which all must bow, no single set of inflexible principles to which all must yield, no bright and shining standard in defense of which every one of his discordant fractions may be rallied. When that condition exists one is far gone toward the dissolution of personality. When dissolution occurs, strange conduct may follow. The inner frustration will find outlet in acts aberrant and irrational. Acts proceed from ideas, from convictions. When the same skull contains ideas and convictions that are at each other's throats, ensuing action is abnormal.

I have been at some pains to develop the point for two reasons: First, it may be of value to recognize the cause of "the distemper that devours us," to use a phrase from Voltaire, and, second, it helps me to remind you that the Florida Council on Human Relations, all the other state councils, and the Southern Regional Council are fighting on the crucial front in seeking to win the empire of men's

minds. Our task is the clearly defined but large and difficult one of making Southerners realize that it takes heavy toll of personality to preach one thing and practice another.

Of course, there will always be some discrepency between what men believe and what they do. It is easier to believe than to do. The ideal is never quite achieved. Even watch makers may allow a tolerance of one ten thousandth of an inch. But as the limit of allowance for error is increased, the watch loses efficiency and, finally, it destroys itself.

So much for what has happened in the South. I should not like to direct your attention to a proposal for future action which sometimes reaches our ears. I do so for the reason that it seems to be irrationalism carried to the exteme.

Our national representatives—always conceding exceptions—oppose federal aid to education because they don't want "the federal government interfering in education." Keep that fact in mind as the bed-rock of Southern policy. Then consider these facts:

All of the states, in Constitutions, court decisions, proclamations and other expressions of public policy, have repeatedly declared that education is a function of government. (We are not here concerned particularly with federal, state, or local government but government qua government on whatever level.)

There is talk in certain quarters, responsible or irresponsible, as you prefer, that, if integration is ordered, the State will close the schools. Surely, if the state should do that it would be abondoning a function of government.

Now, there is always one circumstance which justifies the federal government in entering a state—that is, the failure of a state to perform its proper function. For that reason federal troops were sent to Little Rock. There are abundant precedents.

So, if the sinister threat to close the schools should materialize, the way would be paved for the federal government, not merely to interfere in education, but actually to provide and control it.

Is there any doubt that it would do so? Would the conscience of the country permit a generation of children to grow up in ignorance? Would the intelligent self-interest of the country permit it?

Those who utter this threat overlook the dual nature of American citizenship and the concern and authority of the national government in the rights of the citizen. Chief Justice Marshall announced the doctrine in Cohens vs Virginia:

That the United States form, for many and for most important purposes, a single nation, has not yet been denied . . . America has chosen to be, in many respects, and to many purposes, a nation; and for all these purposes, her government is complete; to all these objects, it is competent. The people have declared, that in the exercise of all powers given for these objects, it is supreme. It can, then, in effecting these objects, legitimately control all individuals or governments within the American territory. The constitution and laws of a state, so far as they are repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. These states are constituent parts of the United States. They are members of one great empire—for some purposes sovereign, for some purposes subordinate.

So we have the spectacle of those who oppose federal interference in education threatening to pursue the one course which will insure such interference. It is the petulant and irrational action of embittered and frustrated men. They are the same men who seek to win colored friends in Asia and Africa by foreign aid and assuredly lose them by studied insult.

These leaders are careful to point out that they do not condone violence. Concededly, there are points of difference between violence and legislative or official maneuvering, as there is between highway robbery and embezzlement. Force is used in robbery and not in embezzlement. The motive in both instances is identical—to deprive a person of his property. So, in the Civil Rights field, with violence or legal duplicity, the motive is identical—to deprive a person of a right.

I am not at all sure that the points of difference are favorable to the officials. Acts of violence may often be dismissed as the impulsive and unthinking conduct of brutish men. But your

legislative maneuverers—your private school men, your state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment, local control, gerrymandering men—have no such claim upon our consideration. They are trained and skilled and cunning men. They plot their schemes, mull over them, debate them for weeks on end. There is malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Bad as it may be, what is done by the poor devil who burns a cross or plants a bomb in his individual act, in no sense committing or involving his state. But what is done by men in Governors' mansions or legislative halls becomes State policy, carrying with it all the sanction and authority of a state. It seems almost blasphemous that men should use the sacred power of a state for such ignoble ends.

We must never forget that in such acts they commit you and me as citizens of the states whose power they have abused. In the broadest sense, they are our agents, they assume to represent us.

So, in this struggle no one of us can be above the battle. Whether we like it or not, every one of us is intimately involved. Abuse of power is a communicable disease. Its objects will not be limited to Negroes or to the school situation. It will be used against any group that doesn't have the power of government in its hands and for any purpose offering advantage to the usurpers.

There may be penalties for throwing one's self unreservedly into the conflict. Penalties of neutrality are vastly greater.

Let us now address a final and solemn appeal to every senator, governor, legislator and public official of whatever rank, to every member of a klavern, White Citizens Council, or other similar group, to every individual who has actively or passively supported a policy of defiance of law. Let us say to them:

"A new age came to birth in the fading days of the year 1957. The launching of the first satellite will have results infinitely more profound than the launching of the Nina, the Pinta and the Santa Maria. Those vessels *found* a new world; the satellite *created* one. The great globe of our forefathers has become a tiny island adrift in space, an island which may be dissolved into cosmic dust if some madman pulls a trigger.

"We shall live in enforced intimacy with all mankind—next door neighbor to the Chinese fisherman on his sampan, the Lapplander herding his reindeer on the tundra, the Egyptian tending his rice fields on the mud flats of the Nile.

"If we are to get along with our shipmates on this voyage into the Unknown—and get along we must or we all perish—there is certain excess baggage we must throw overboard. That baggage is the notion that somehow merit, worth, superiority, have connection with race or color. We shall not be allowed on board if we attempt to smuggle along any such idea.

"Everywhere throughout the world governments and intelligent individuals are re-examining their basic postulates and philosophies, aware that what have heretofore served as mainsprings of conduct will no longer suffice. This involves admission of error, which requires nobility of spirit.

"We urge you to exhibit that nobility, to proclaim manfully that events have their own irresistible logic, and that, as intelligent and responsible beings, you will no longer oppose your puny wills and desires against the urgent necessities of the times.

"Take that single brave and courageous step and you will have done much to insure that this shrunken globe shall be the abiding place of men at harmony with themselves and nations at peace with each other."

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

Linville Falls, North Carolina

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

January 18, 1958

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Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

In behalf of the Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services, Incorporated, I am pleased to extend to you an invitation to become a member of that Institution's newly created Advisory Board.

The purpose of the Trustees in creating such a Board, is to have constantly available constant advice on programs, to be followed by the Board, in striving to achieve equal opportunity for all citizens of the South. We realize, of course, that all wisdom does not repose in our Board, and that better ideas than we have may no doubt be contributed by persons familiar with Southern problems, but detached from the actual operation of Penn Community Services.

There would be no fixed date of meetings, but meetings might be called once or twice a year at the discretion of the Executive Committee. Expenses of those attending such meetings would be paid by Penn. In addition to such meetings, we would like from time to time by correspondence, to place particular questions before you to secure the benefit of your mature judgement.

In extending this invitation, we feel that it should be made clear to you that Penn Community Services, Incorporated, by history, tradition, and conviction, is committed to the principle of the complete equality of opportunity of all men. One of the objectives of the organization is to provide a place where groups from all parts of a troubled South may meet freely to discuss common problems. We feel that this should be made clear to you, in order that your acceptance of membership upon the Advisory Committee, may not be given under any misapprehension as to the policy of this organization.

We enclose that portion of our ByLaws relating to our Advisory Board, and certain brochures which you may find of interest.

We shall be happy to have your acceptance of this invitation.

Yours very truly,

M.A. Wright, Chairman
Penn Community Services, Incorporated

MA:rfp

Enclosures

EXCERPT FROM BY-LAWS

OF

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

Adopted October 29, 1957
by the Board of Trustees

ARTICLE IX

ADVISORY BOARD.

The trustees may, at each Annual Meeting, elect an Advisory Board composed of not more than fifteen members, each of whom shall serve for a period of one year or until his successor has been elected. Members of the Advisory Board, upon invitation, may have the right to attend meetings of the Board and participate in the discussion, but they shall not have the right to vote or to exercise any other powers over the business and property of the Corporation. Those present at any meeting shall not be considered in determining a quorum. The duties of the Advisory Board shall be, individually or as a group, to give to the Board of Trustees their counsel, advice and aid in determining policies to be followed, as well as ways and means of executing such policies.

The Executive Committee shall determine whether or not presence of members of the Advisory Board shall be requested at annual or other meetings.

January 23, 1958

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter of January 18th, inviting me on behalf of the Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services to serve on their Advisory Board. I have discussed this with Harold Fleming and we are in agreement that there is no conflict of interest between my staff position here and serving on Penn's Advisory Board.

Personally I am gratified by the invitation and will be pleased to serve! In accepting the invitation I do so with the full knowledge that "by history, tradition and conviction (Penn Community Services) is committed to the principle of the complete equality of opportunity of all men." Indeed, were it not so I probably would not be invited to serve and if I were invited I would have to refuse.

Once more, thanks for the invitation. Add me to the list and I will do whatever I can in an advisory way to assist program planning for Penn Community Services.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

cc: Courtney Siceloff

Los Angeles. 2
Feb. 18, 1958

My Dear Mr Wright:

I read in my Jan. issue of New South part of your Speech to Georgia Council on Human Relations I take this way to Praise you and especially on the explination of "Fear"

I have noticed in several issues of the Human Relations Councils in many States in the South.

This Being Brotherhood week All over Our America it may be Good Time to have All Americans to take New (Spiritual) Look at their Bibles and Some may convince their Five Senses or Human Selves that God Created "Spiritual" Man and Their Earthly Mother and Dad Created the Human or Physical Man. there-fore we All are Spiritual Beings and Spiritually All of Us are Brothers-Sisters

If and When Americas Spiritual Growth Overtakes Its Educational and Industrial Growth We will then have Brotherhood in Action

I am an American with a black way of showing it (Smile) and I was born and received my early schooling in Houston, Texas and I am Greatfull for Being a (so called) Negro and having had the Experience of the Short End of this Race Problem that exists in some Degree All Over Our America

I have Faith in Americans growing in Spiritual Under-standing untill they Become "Willing" not Forced to be "Born Again" Change their Thinking from Human to Spiritual and then They will "See" each other as Spiritual Brothers Seeing with "Single Eye" their Vision will Be Up in T. W. H. Plane so High that they cant See White, Negro, Jew, Jap Etc.

The Hardest Part of this Job is to know thy (Spiritual) Self. or for your Spiritual (Real) Self to "Get By" your Five Senses or Human Self. as a Teacher once Said Let your "Light" (Spiritual Self) "Shine" Apply the Ideals of Christanity - Democracy in your Daily (Human) Living with One Another.

All men are Created Equal by the Creator now All men are not "Born" Equal so there must be a Spiritual Part in All of Us that was Created by the Creator (God)

Now if God had enough "Sense" to Create this and All Universes, He has enough "Sense" to Show Us How to live In it, if and when "We "See Spiritually and Stop Judgeing from Appearences White, Negro, Jew, Mex, Chinese Etc. and I am sure this "God" Way will help Us to Solve this Race and All Problems and Grow Out of Our Mistaken Beleifs about Each Other marching on to the Goal of "Love (like) ye One Another.

I was a saberiber when you organization Changed your Name to Reginal Council so Maybe since you have a bit of Influence in the South you can Encourage these "Human Relation Councils" to Change their Names to "Spiritual Relations Councils, I know they will Progress faster

May you and All co-workers continue to enjoy the Blessings of Good Health, Happiness, Success and Devine Guidance in All your Efforts, Lovingly yours

Johnnie Weaver 754 E 93 St.

Thanks for Reading.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

2/27/58

HCF:

Roy Ray of Harper Printing Co. quoted following price for 30,000 copies of speech of MAW if it ran similar to Georgia one.

$565.65

Ray said he'd quote the Council a set price of $550 for entire 30,000 since we're a good cause.

Uncle
Why don't
Prince like

March 3, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

My apologies for this delay in offering our comments on your untitled manuscript on the space age and segregation. Neither my lynx-eyed associates nor I could spot anything much erroneous or capable of improvement. Indeed, the only exception is on page eight (8) where you refer to a white nurse eating with a Negro nurse. The white person involved in this incident was, in fact, a public health doctor.

As for my reaction to the quality of the speech, I have to confess that as I read it an evil impulse grew upon me - namely, to reinforce any thought you may have given to writing a book on this subject. There are many arguments against this popular course of action. There are more books than buyers of books in this field, and publishers are increasingly difficult to find. But it does seem a pity that your wise and compelling words on this subject, as presented in the speeches you have made over the years, cannot reach a wider audience. Perhaps there is a better way to attempt it than through a book. I will continue to reflect on it, and I hope you will too. Meanwhile, I like the current manuscript so well that I would like to keep it on file, if I may. If the carbon is indispensible to you, write me and I will reluctantly return it.

I do hope that the matter of the Florida speech is working out satisfactorily. Just after you called me last week, I received a long distance call from Bill Williams, who apologized abjectly for his delinquency. In addition to his involvement with the State legislative investigating committee, he said his printer had been extremely dilatory in returning an estimate. He further promised that he would telegraph your brother that same day, and on the strength of his repeated assurances, I left it that way with him. I may say that we went ahead and got our own estimate just in case. It amounted to approximately $550.00 for 30,000 copies. I am looking forward to further word from Williams on the progress of the project.

I will appreciate it if you will keep me posted on any further steps that I can take to keep Mr. Preston Wright's interest alive and to facilitate his efforts on our behalf.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf

Linville Falls, N.C.
March 18, 1958

You probably noted reference by Sen. Douglas to S.R.C. on Page 40 of The Atlantic for December, 1957.

M. A. W.

March 19, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Many thanks for your several recent communications. In order to deal with a variety of matters in this letter, I am adopting your device of numbered paragraphs:

1. I have sent a copy of the relevant paragraph from the West Coast newsletter to Bill Williams, and have returned the original to your brother. Incidentally, I hope I am correct in assuming that Williams has been in communication with your brother about the proposed publication.

2. I have taken the liberty of copying the letters from your brother, for future reference, and am returning the originals herewith. We have had no fund-raising relationship with any of the organizations he mentions - though we are completely willing to remedy this omission. I do not have Mr. Chester Davis' address but will try to secure it and pass it along to Mr. Preston Wright.

3. I feel confident that you will hear from Popham. Aside from the notorious laxity of newspapermen in correspondence, Popham is much away from home. If a response is not forthcoming soon, I will be glad to send your manuscript to the Times Magazine, but I think we should allow Popham a little more time.

4. The clipping from the News and Courier was colorful, if replusive. Ashmore has since sent me a copy of the speech in question, and I am reassured to find that it is neither more nor less "Marxist" than my own quoted remarks.

5. The letterhead is prescribed by Mrs. Alexander herself. While there is no reason (aside from modesty) why she should be last on the list, it is the fact that she should be listed as a staff member rather than an officer. You may recall that the bylaws specify that no staff member, including secretary-treasurer, shall be a member of the corporation. There is provision for a lay treasurer as an officer of the corporation, but this position has never been filled.

6. We have made little progress toward securing the necessary financial support for the proposed conference on race and foreign relations - mainly because of the pressing needs of our general operating budget. I am to be in New York next week and hope to explore the possibility with one or two foundations. In any case, we are far from shelving the idea.

7. If you have not heard already, I know you will be glad to learn that the Chace Fund has approved a grant of $5,000 for the general support of the Council's work. I am sure that Mr. Evans' favorable association with you and Mr. Dabbs was an important factor.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]A

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~OFFICE OF PRESIDENT~~
~~XXXXX "TOP KNOT"~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Linville Falls, N. C.
March 10, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.

Dear Harold:

One very small matter which I have neglected mentioning before. With due regard to the sensitiveness of women (which may be no worse than my own,) it occurs to me that the next time you have stationery printed it might be appropriate to have Mrs. Alexander's name and title appear along with the other officers rather than at the end of the list. Of course, the location of the name has not the slightest significance but it may please her more to enjoy the august company appearing at the head of the column. This is almost too trivial to mention, but it may be worth your considering.

- - - - -

Your kind remarks about my most recent manuscript affect me strongly in the cardiac region. You are entirely welcome to keep the copy you have, since my indefatigable brother is now having a hundred copies mimeographed. You see, we have a large family.

As much as I am flattered by the book idea, my cold and calculating mind rejects the idea. I would, however, like to crack the ranks of some

of the magazines. With that in mind on January 23 I wrote Mr. Popham the letter of which a copy is enclosed. In spite of my suave and Oriental approach, I have not heard from Mr. Popham and presume that my manuscript lies unread on his desk or reposes in his waste paper basket.

Since the manuscript which you now have has not been presented as a speech or otherwise received publication, it is ~~im~~minently illegible for consideration by any editor who cares to consider it. If you care to make me a suggestion along that line, or better still, if you would care to draw the attention of any editor to the manuscript, I should be very glad to have you do so. For magazine purposes it would perhaps have to undergo some revision to bring it within the essay and less within the speech classification. If you or any of your sharp young associates wished to give it that transformation before submitting it you are entirely welcome to do so.

I think that my rather long experience in making speeches militates against my writing for magazines. You know a boxer never makes a good wrestler, and vice versa. The wrestler's muscles are developed pull and hold while the boxer's muscles are developed to strike.

Similarly one making a speech likes to reach the ear rather than the eye; hence his choice of words is heavily influenced by their tonal quality, a matter of slight concern to the essayist.

Also, the speech maker must, above all else, keep his audience awake. Hence, he strives for involvement of the group. This is done by posing occasional questions for them to answer and by resorting to colloquialisms, or slightly serio-comic expressions. This would appear a little undignified in an essay. But, unless the speaker can establish something approaching psychological fusion between himself and his audience, he is lost.

I bring these difficulties to you in partial extenuation of my shortcomings as an essayist.

- - - - -

I will try to enclose in this letter two or three which have come to me from my brother and which indicate his zeal in our behalf. You might see if we have any line on the agencies or institutions to which he refers and, if so, write him direct telling him what our files show.

I am very ~~much~~ anxious to get the little Florida printing matter behind him so that he may devote some of his talents and energies to larger matters. In that connection, if you have the address of Mr. Chester C. Davis (a good friend of SRC who was, I believe, at one time also on the board of the Fund For The Republic) you might give him that address and inform him of Mr. Davis' interest in us. I think Mr. Davis lives in Pasadena where my brother has some interest. It may be that a conversation between the two might result in unearthing some foundations which would be kindly disposed toward us.

- - - - -

Are there any developments on the conference on the effect of our segregating practices upon our foreign relations? I have great faith in the good results which would flow from a discussion of that subject by well known personages.

My apologies for writing at such length. At least I do this seldom.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

c. c. to Preston L. Wright

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.

March 9, 1958

Dear Harold:

The enclosed is for your information. You might copy the pertinent paragraph and send to Williams, returning the enclosure promptly to P.L.W., who asked that it be returned.

I have an engagement with my stenographer tomorrow (Monday) afternoon at which time I hope to write you fully about various matters.

Tuesday night and through March 15 I will be at the Sieloffs, where Penn's annual meeting will be held on the ~~15th~~ Ides of March. (A Wright knows his Caesar).

Best regards.

M. A. W.

Same ltr. sent to: Dr. Clement, Mr. J. M. Dabbs

March 21, 1958

Dear Mr. Wright:

I thought you would like to see these good letters from Mr. Carlyle and Archbishop Lucey, commenting on our annual report.

Regards,

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Linville Falls, N.C.
3/28/58

Believe there is an error in figures appearing in first paragraph on Page 6 of minutes of Jan. 29 meeting of executive committee. Please check.

M. A. W.

UNITED STATES SENATE

April 17, 1958

Personal

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In case you have not already seen it, I am enclosing a copy of the new civil rights bill which I introduced in the Senate two months ago in behalf of myself and fifteen other Senators.

As you will see from the copy of my remarks in the Senate at that time, which is also enclosed, we hope to lay special emphasis upon the constructive assistance that the federal government may give to the desegregation of our public schools in line with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

We expect that hearings on this bill will be scheduled for early May, and we are anxious to have thoughtful testimony from those who are aware of the complexity of these problems but are themselves deeply concerned about finding a means of making progress. By virtue of your long experience and demonstrated concern, you would rank high on the list of desirable witnesses.

I am writing now to inquire informally whether you might find it possible to accept if you were invited to testify by the Chairman of the Subcommittee, Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri.

Those of us who are the proponents naturally hope that we can give a new boost to the idea that other branches of the federal government besides the Supreme Court should assume some responsibility for action to carry out the provisions of the Constitution.

It would greatly help us in our planning if you could send me a telegram collect, indicating whether you might be in a position to respond affirmatively to such an invitation. It would also help in planning the allocation of time between proponents and others if we knew in a general way what your attitude toward the bill's major proposals is. If it is not practicable for you to testify in person, perhaps you would consider either submitting a formal statement for inclusion in the hearing record or giving me your confidential comments and suggestions on the bill.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/fwm--ss

C O P Y W E S T E R N U N I O N T E L E G R A M

MARION NC APR 22

SENATOR PAUL H DOUGLAS

WASH DC

RE LETTER APRIL 17TH AM SYMPATHETIC WITH BILLS PROVISION AND WILL BE GLAD TO FILE STATEMENT AS SUGGESTED. WILL CONFER WITH ASSOCIATES AS TO MY APPEARING AND TESTIFYING AND WILL INFORM YOU LATER OF DECISION

MA WRIGHT LINVILLE NC

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
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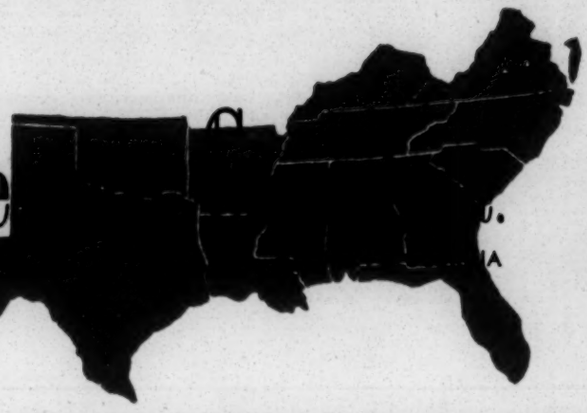
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]U.
[redacted]A



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

April 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

For your information I enclose copy of Senator Douglas' letter and copy of my telegram in reply.

I am still reflecting on the wisdom of appearing and would appreciate your mature judgment on the point.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

M. A. Wright

April 29, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M.A.W.:

During Harold's absence I have read your letter to him with the enclosed letter and your telegraphed reply. While we both await his mature judgment on the point, I hasten to add my advice.

I firmly believe that your voice would add reasonableness and responsibility to the side of progress.

Nothing could be more impressive than an Adlai Stevenson with a Southern accent. You are my candidate for that title.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 6, 1958

TO: HCF

FROM: JC

Marion Wright called from North Carolina to talk with you concerning two matters.

First, MAW said he plans to check into the Piedmont Hotel here at 6:30 p.m., May 13. He has asked his niece and nephew to dinner, but said they have disappointed him so much before that he would like you and Fred Routh to hold dinner in abeyance so if his niece and nephew don't show, you two may have dinner with him. In any event, he will be free at 8 p.m. and would like to confer with you and Fred from then until about 10 p.m.

Second, MAW has been to Columbia, South Carolina, and talked with the South Carolina Council people. MAW said it was rather certain that the S. C. Legislative Committee will take action against the South Carolina Council.

MAW said he believes the Southern Regional Council should take active interest in this matter since he believes it is the SRC that is being attacked even though indirectly through the states.

MAW suggests HCF check the minutes of the Executive Committee in regard to the Dr. Wells retirement matter. MAW believes that the SRC is on record to aid the state groups in such matters.

MAW made two practical suggestions as things the SRC could do:

(1) Call Bill Williams from Florida and an appropriate person from New Orleans to Atlanta to discuss what has happened in Florida and Louisiana along this line. Then see what ideas come to mind to aid the South Carolina group.

(2) Send Fred Routh to New Orleans and Miami to discuss this activity with persons involved, including counsels, and make suggestions as to ways to aid the South Carolina group.

MAW suggests you may write him concerning your ideas on these matters.

May 8, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

John Constable relayed to Fred and me the substance of your telephone call. See attached

We are both undertaking to keep Tuesday evening open so that we can get together with you at dinner, or later, or both.

We have had a letter from Alice Spearman outlining the various types of consultation which the South Carolina Council feels might be helpful in preparing for a possible inquisition. We have send Alice various rebuttal materials, including the statement which I presented at the meeting of the Wesley Memorial Building Trustees.

As to the proposed consultation, I am negotiating with the Rights of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee about the possibility of underwriting an able and imaginative lawyer who might make a thorough study of the legal and other factors involved in state committee hearings. I should have an answer from the AFSC within a few days. If this

possibility evaporates, we will consider other ways to make a sharing of experiences and legal counsel available to the South Carolina Council and our other associated state groups which are confronted by similar perils.

There is no question that SRC has a mandate to assist the state groups with such matters to the extent that our resources and competences permit.

We are looking forward to seeing you next Tuesday.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C. 5/10/58

Will get your criticisms in Atlanta on the 13th.

M. a. W.

Return to M. A. W.

FALL-OUT

Address delivered by Marion A. Wright,
of Linville Falls, N. C. before the
Greenville County Council on Human
Relations at Greenville, S. C.
May 15, 1958

It seems often to be true that the remote consequences of an act are of much greater importance than the immediate results; that effects produced upon the periphery or outer fringes of the range of impulse exceed those lying close to the source, and that the by-products of an active force have larger significance than than the planned or intended creations. Iam sure that in Greenville County many of you as children played crack-the-whip. If so, you will remember that the big boy on one end of the running line who dug in his heels and stopped the forward progress was unscathed while the little fellow farthest from him emerged with scratched nose and skinned knees.

Now, It's a far cry from crack-the-whip to the hydrogen bomb but they may both illustrate the principle that remote consequences flow from primary causes. For example, the reason for the bomb's creation was that it could obliterate a purely military objective, as a fort or an arsenal. But we saw with even the atom bomb in Japan that thousands of civilians were also obliterated. And, over the awesome shape of the hydrogen bomb there looms the dark and sinister shadow of fall-out, carrying devastation which renders relatively trivial and innocent the results of the searing and scalding impact.

Japanese fishermen hundreds of miles from the blast have already been mained and disfigured by one explosion. If we are to believe the scientists, the atmosphere above us may become polluted and lethel to the degree that men on every continent and all the islands of the seven seas may face death from what happens at Alamagorda or in Siberia. Moreover, and perhaps of greater and more tragic importance, we may be producing in future gen-

erations grotesque and misshapen and bestial creatures having but faint resemblance to their human ancestors. All of this by fall-out from a bomb originally designed to wreck a single bridge or factory.

But, of course, I didn't come to Greenville to discuss the hydrogen bomb, of which I know so little. I came to discuss matters which lie within the range of knowledge and experience of all of us. I merely use the bomb as an oblique and somewhat sneaky way of introducing the subject. One usually proceeds from the known to the unknown; there seems to be no sound reason why that process may not be reversed.

So to the known and the familiar.

Following the Supreme Court decisions--of course, you know which ones I mean--there came from certain governors, senators, congressmen and others highly placed declarations that their states would not observe the law. One law. The law relating to integration of the public schools. A new phrase crept into our speech--"massive resistance"--and two old ideas were resurrected after 100 years of quiet repose--"nullification" and "interposition". I wish to emphasize that the proponents of such views had in mind a purely limited objective, non-compliance with one single law, not public rebellion against all law. If we may liken their inflammatory utterances to a bomb, their pin-pointed target was integration of the public schools.

They employed all of their cunning to develop methods of preserving a segregated system--private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, local control, complicated legal steps to be taken by aggrieved parties, re-districting and all the rest of a list of odorous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded as the transparent frauds they are.

Such was the pin-pointed objective and such were the methods of attaining it.

But, of course, basically, what they advocate is disrespect for law.

They choose to limit such advocacy to one law. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which protects the life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence.

The bomb is aimed at integration of the schools. But whither drifts the fall-out? It drifts in part into the mind and heart of the ignorant, the unlettered, the evilly disposed. When cunning and sly maneuvers have had their day, when all legal tactics are exhausted, when what passes for intelligence has failed--what is the untutored citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

So we have proceeded inevitably from the rolling phrases of a governor, through the subtleties of legislation, to repression, cross-burnings, assaults, bombings and murder. Through all these evil and sometimes bloody acts there runs the dark thread of connection. The official policy of resistance to one ~~of~~ law was the bomb. Foul and dastardly deeds are the inevitable fall-out.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the segregationist public official who weeps at violence:

These leaders are careful to point out that they do not condone violence. Concededly, there are points of difference between violence and legislative or official maneuvering, as there is between highway robbery and embezzlement. Force is used in robbery and not in embezzlement. The motive in both instances is identical--to deprive a person of his property. So, in the Civil Rights field, with violence or legal duplicity, the mo-

tive is identical--to deprive a person of a right.

I am not at all sure that the points of difference are favorable to the officials. Acts of violence may often be dismissed as the impulsive and unthinking conduct of brutish men. But your legislative maneuverers--your private school men, your state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment, local control, gerrymandering men--have no such claim upon our consideration. They are trained and skilled and cunning men. They plot their schemes, mull over them, debate them for weeks on end. There is malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Bad as it may be, what is done by the poor devil who burns a cross or plants a bomb is his individual act in no sense committing or involving his state. But what is done by men in Governors' mansions or legislative halls becomes State policy, carrying with it all the sanction and authority of a state. It seems almost blasphemous that men should use the sacred power of a state for such ignoble ends.

So the fall-out from the bomb of resistance to one law has borne in its train resistance to any law one does not like. Carried to its logical conclusion, the end result would be anarchy.

The fall-out has also spread geographically. No doubt each of the governors and senators who lent his voice and the prestige of his office felt that the effects of his action would be limited to his own state. This seems a naive faith in privacy. No longer in public affairs is anything done in a dark corner; no longer is official action undetected or its full significance unappreciated.

So, the voice of resistance to law of the harsh denial of rights, was heard around the world. It has produced devastating repercussions. The bright image of this nation as a land of equal opportunity of concern for the weak and oppressed, of the full equality of all citizens without regard to race or color--that bright image has been marred and defaced. From the Siberian steppes to East Berlin, from the banks of the Ganges to the

head waters of the Nile, there have been blazoned the lurid details of the resistance story, not merely the slick official maneuvers but the repression and violence such maneuvers have sired.

All of this negation and denial of our proud pretensions as a nation have been spread before the world's 800,000,000 colored citizens. This at a time when we try desperately for our own survival to win their friendship and support!

Not only was there this child-like faith in privacy. There was a faith equally boundless that the effects of the policy of resistance would fall only upon our Negro citizens. The Negroes would be denied certain rights. Perhaps even, regrettably, there might be violence directed only at <u>them</u>, they said.

But in today's closely knit world there is no such thing as Negro rights and white rights. There are only human rights. Deny the rights of a black man and, by a process of osmosis or capillary attraction, you deny also the rights of all other men, whatever their color. "No man is an island, entire of itself: he is a piece of the main . . . . Whatever diminishes him diminishes mankind."

So the fall-out has inevitably blighted the whites. The subjective effects of wrong-doing are often more damaging upon the actor than the objective effects upon the intended victim. Thus, educational opportunity upon the same terms and under the same condition enjoyed by white children may only be withheld from the Negro by a process of deception more stupefying intellectually and more stultifying morally to the whites than would be the entire lack of schools.

The demon of intolerance indulges in no precise discrimination. Release him from the bottle and he lays about him with a stout cudgel for those who are different from him, whatever their race. Hence the orgy of burning of Jewish temples. Hence, in a town not too far from Greenville the home of a white, Gentile woman was bombed. Hence, white newspapers

are boycotted, white professors driven from university faculties and white ministers ousted from their pulpits.

The fall-out from resistance to law, like the fall-out from the hydrogen bomb, may produce results apparent only in the next generation. The evil men do does, indeed, live after them. What is now being said in the heat and rancor of the moment, what is being done in anger and spite--the bitter word, the evil deed--these, tragically, are assimilated by the very young, the babe in arms. They become a part of the mass of each child's experience, to be years later dredged up from the depths of the sub-conscious. They will help to determine the attitudes and the conduct of the adult.

I have a Negro friend of middle age. He is one of the leaders of his race and one of the able men of the South. He told me that as a small child in Atlanta he stood one night at a window and watched a white mob riot in the streets, assaulting and killing men for no other reason than that their color was the same as his own. The trauma of that experience will live with him forever, affecting, if not controlling, his relations with all other men.

There is another friend, white and a native of Greenville, who is active in the organized labor movement. His name would be familiar to many of you. When this man was a little boy, his father sought to organize one or more of the Greenville mills. He was beaten by thugs, fired, his credit cut off and his family ostracized. When my friend now deals with mill owners, do you doubt for one moment that the recollection of what befell his father is a large part of his armament, a principal factor in the spirit which he carries into the negotiations?

Those advocates of segregation who exhaust the vocabulary of ridicule and abuse, or who use the slick stratagem or violence, to maintain the shaky structure of our caste system bear a heavy burden of responsibility.

They pollute the well-springs of the future.

There is a final, desperate step that advocates of segregation have taken. It has ample precedent in the history and literature of tyranny. When such a step is taken there is the implied admission of abject failure. The step is the effort to control freedom of the press, speech and thought. Being unable to cope with the logic of an idea, to win the competition in a fair forum, those who have only power on their side have always employed that power to throttle and gag the opposition. From the Roman emperors through the czars and Hitler and Mussolini to the Communist masters and Southern segregationists, men have tried to keep themselves in power by stifling dissent. The policy always ultimately fails. But some never learn.

Certainly, it will fail in South Carolina. This state has a long and shining tradition of tolerance for the opposing view. Great issues have been fought out here. In Colonial days, church control of government, and, in later years, nullification, secession, Populism, Tillmanism, the primary system, the dispensary, legislative representation--all were issues of some magnitude about which men felt deeply. But through all the debates, the opposition was given its hearing and its spokesmen respected.

South Carolinians will never totally divest themselves of the example of James L. Pettigru. This brilliant Charleston lawyer opposed Nullification and Secession when those twin follies were being spawned. Fort Sumter was fired upon and war raged around him until his death in 1863 but he stood his ground. He lies buried in St. Michael's churchyard in Charleston, his monument bearing this epitaph:

"In the great Civil War he withstood his People for his Country but his People did homage to the Man who held his conscience higher than their praise, and his Country heaped her honors on the grave of the Patriot, to whom living his own righteous self-respect sufficed alike for Motive and Reward."

In that epitaph the spirit and soul of South Carolina found eloquent

expression.

In 1897 South Carolina pondered its first segregation law, relating to trains. The politically inspired public sentiment of the day favored the law. But one newspaper stood firm in opposition. The editor wrote: "We have no more need for a Jim Crow system this year than we had last year, and a great deal less than we had twenty and thirty years ago." Such a law was "unnecessary and uncalled for" and furthermore it would be "a needless affront to our respectable and well behaved colored people."

Do you know what paper that was? It was the Charleston News and Courier.

This firm insistence upon the right to dissent was in the best tradition of a free press. It seems that merely to have been born and reared a South Carolinian may plant that principle deep in the editorial consciousness. I have in mind a Greenville youth who moved to a distant state and there, amid scenes of turbulence and in resistance to powerful economic and social pressure, has yielded not an inch in the struggle for human right. His name is Harry Ashmore.

Perhaps Mr. Ashmore is kept firm and steady upon his present independent course because in this city years before his birth there lived and wrought Benjamin F. Perry. As lawyer and editor of the Greenville Mountaineer, he fought nullification and secession with the brilliance and skill shown by Pettigru in the Low Country, braving the wrath of such powerful politicians as Calhoun, Hayne and Rhett. Commenting upon his death, the Greenville News could say with truth:

"Years and events approved his judgment and his principles, but they were not needed to win him honor. His thirty years of hopeless fighting was honor and triumph enough because it was evidence that could not be questioned that he believed in his cause and had in him the manhood, strength and devotion that constitute heroism."

To come to modern times in South Carolina, one may cite with pride

the action of a handful of our fellow citizens who wrote the truth as they saw it in a booklet "South Carolinians Speak." Every one of its courageous contributors ranks justly with Pettigru and Ashmore and Perry. They struck a telling blow for the right of dissent from the prevailing orthodox lunacy. All of us, I am sure, are grateful to the Governor for his public warning of the danger of reading the booklet, since he thereby greatly increased its circulation. So censorship always back fires.

No one should be complacent about the firing of university professors, teachers, ministers of the gospel and others because they dared to express their real convictions, or about the boycotting of brave newspapers, or other threats to freedom of thought and speech. Far from it. Those men are champions of your liberties and of mine. But from our knowledge of the ultimate results of such ignoble efforts, we may assure our segregationist friends that they are headed for disaster. Men are no more prepared today than they were in Jefferson's time to surrender their precious right to think for themselves.

All of us must, at times, have our moments of doubt. Faith in the very survival of democracy must falter. The opposition seems firmly entrenched. It has blandishments and inducements with which to attract support--business, political preferment, social prestige. To the young man pondering his future these are substantial considerations. There seems so little that we may offer.

One is reminded of the speech of the Irish patriot in Joyce's Ulysses in which he replied to an Englishman's appeal for Ireland to give up her independence. The patriot imagined a similar appeal by the Egyptians to the Israelites:

"Why will you Jews not accept our culture, our religion and our language? You are a tribe of nomad herdsmen: we are a mighty people. You have no cities nor no wealth; our cities are hives of humanity and our galleys, trireme and quadirireme, laden with all manner of merchandise furrow

the waters of the known globe. You have but emerged from primitive conditions; we have a literature, a priesthood, an agelong history and a polity.

"You pray to a local and obscure idol: our temples, majestic and mysterious, are the abodes of Isis and Osiris, of Horus and Ammon Ra. Yours serfdom, awe and humbleness; ours thunder and the seas. Israel is weak and few are her children; Egypt is an host and terrible are her arms.

"But, ladies and gentlemen, had the youthful Moses listened to and accepted that view of life, had he bowed his head and bowed hiswill and bowed his spirit before that arrogant admonition he would never have brought the chosen people out of their house of bondage nor followed the pillar of the cloud by day. He would never have spoken with the Eternal amid lightnings on Sinai's mountaintop nor ever have come down with the light of inspiration shining in his countenance and bearing in his arms the tables of the law, graven in the language of the outlaw."

The South Carolinian of today will find little material inducement to volunteer his support for the cause of human rights. But, if he should steel himself against the seductions of those presently in authority and in majority, and give himself unreservedly to that cause, he will enjoy the companionship of the elect spirits of the earth and have a part in elevating mankind an inch nearer to the stars.

Rcd 5/14/58

File Wright - a personal ltr

May 12, 1958

Senator Paul H. Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

I have sent you telegrams advising of my willingness, as invited, to file a statement and also to testify in support of your Civil Rights bill.

My delay in giving you an answer was due to the fact that I felt I should have the approval of my associates, which was forthcoming. We all live in fear of some effort to deprive us of our tax exempt status. Of course, as a private citizen, my testimony should not to any extent imperil that status. But you are well aware of the fact that the opposition will seize upon anything to damage us.

However, both I and my associates felt that the importance of the legislation justifies our taking whatever risks may be involved.

It will be greatly appreciated if you will have your office forward me from time to time any material which you think might be helpful in preparing ~~names~~ myself for this appearance.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

b. c. to Harold Fleming

May 21, 1958

Senator Paul H. Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

I regret to learn from your letter of May 15 that there is no plan for holding immediate hearings on the proposed Civil Rights bill. Surely at some time during this session such hearings will be held.

You asked my opinion as to whether or not it would be helpful for you to put into the Congressional Record brief statements from some of those who might have appeared to testify. My present feeling is that if these statements could be collected and put in one issue of the Record they might serve a useful purpose. It would be possible for organizations such as this one to secure and circulate reprints of such statements and your remarks incident to their publication in the Record. The fact that they have appeared in the Record might tend to give such statements a degree of sanctity which they would otherwise lack.

My own disposition would be to prepare and furnish you such a statement if it should be requested. I do feel quite safe about the matter; however, I will submit to my associates the question of the wisdom of my following such a course.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

b. c. to Harold Fleming

Harold: Do you see any objection to this?

MAW

May 23, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have just received a copy of your letter of May 21 to Senator Douglas.

I can see no objection at all to your preparing a statement, as a private individual, for insertion in the Congressional Record along with others. Whether or not the Southern Regional Council could circulate reprints of the statements from the Record is another question. Assuming that the statements will be in support of the specific legislation proposed by Senator Douglas and others, this would seem to make it a political question and thus one with which the Council should not be associated. Of course, if the statements deal only with civil rights in their broad aspects and do not advocate or oppose a specific measure, there would be no problem. But this is a matter that we can consider later on in the light of what Senator Douglas does.

It was good to be with you before and during the Executive Committee meeting last week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JC
"For appropriate action" HCF
Please return for filing - M.F.

I've made a cc of Wright's letter — MM

June 2, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I could not agree more with your excellent syllogism concerning the relationship between tyranny and the suspension of constitutional guarantees. I believe one of your eloquent speeches demonstrating this identity in terms of the Southern situation would provide a beneficial focus to thoughtful Southerners who have sought to evade recognition of the seriousness of recent state actions. I am asking our capable information staff to comply with your request as fully as our files and other files available to us will permit.

In response to your second request, I am sending separately 200 sheets of SRC stationery and envelopes.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]U.
[redacted]IA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

May 26, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I seem to be out of SRC stationery. Since correspondence relating to that organization continues rather brisk, I wonder if you might let me have about a couple hundred sheets and the same number of envelopes. Thanks.

I am mulling over an idea which I hope to work into some future speech. It centers around a syllogism about as follows:

1. A distinguishing characteristic of tyranny is that it either establishes or maintains itself by suspension of constitutional guarantees.

2. Hence, such suspension creates the prima facie presumption of the existence of tyranny.

3. There is no difference in morals or practical effect between suspension by formal proclamation on the one hand or by mere failure to invoke or support the guarantees on the other hand.

4. Hence ~~speech~~ officials who fail to invoke or support constitutional guarantees thereby bring themselves within any proper definition of tyrant or dictators.

5. All rights guaranteed by the constitution are of equal sanctity.

6. Hence, denial of a right of school attendance is inherently as vicious as suspension of the right of petition or assembly.

I do not recall having seen this point made and feel there may be some value in developing it fully. So--.

First, I would like your impression of the general theme, and, secondly, I hope you may get some bright young staff member to look up for me one-half dozen or so of the most notorious incidents of formal suspension of constitutional guarantees, giving names, dates and the rights suspended.

If possible I should like to have the pertinent parts of any formal edicts suspending such guarantees, since I cherish the theory that the language used by the dictators might closely parallel the language used by some of our governors and other public officials.

This is a fairly large order but you will understand that I am remote here from library facilities and would perhaps not have the skill of your young people in using library services if they were available.

A corollary to my labored syllogism is that tyranny or despotism is not necessarily limited to one individual, but may involve a number of officials acting in concert or even the majority which makes up public opinion. That dragnet would get about all of the evil geniuses on the other side of our issue.

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

June 13, 1958

Mr. N. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was very glad to see the copy of your letter to Senator Douglas concerning the proposed institute on segregation and our foreign relations. If he catches fire on the idea, we should be well on the way to overcoming the financial obstacles. I shall look forward with great interest to the reply you receive.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/kf

Write MAW

June 4, 1958

Senator Paul H. Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

The Southern Regional Council and Atlanta University are considering holding at that University and Institute ~~are~~ for from one to three days on the effect of our segregation practices upon our foreign relations.

Atlanta has been chosen as the site of the institute since it is in the deep South, has good transportation facilities and is convenient for newspaper and TV coverage. Atlanta University has been chosen because it enjoys an excellent reputation and because those attending may do so upon a completely integrated basis.

While details are not completely worked out, the prevailing opinion is that we should include upon the program, if possible, a spokesman for United Nations such as Mr. Hammarskjold or Dr. Bunche, one or more representatives from the higher levels of the state department, some Southern senator about whose position on this issue there can be no question (this may be a large order) and one or more spokesmen for the European, African, or Asian point of view, such as Toynbee, or Nehru. We are seeking men of stature whose views would command attention and respect.

We would hope to have in attendance the ablest editors, teachers and

others interested in public affairs from throughout the South.

Neither the Southern Regional Council nor Atlanta University has funds which it could devote to that purpose. We are going to have to secure such funds from some foundation or other philanthropic source.

The slender hope is entertained that the state department might be interested in such an institute as an aid in its dealings with other nations and, particularly, with Asians or Africans; and, assuming such interest, that it may have funds which it could devote to such purpose. Of course, we would be exceedingly optimistic to indulge either hope but we do not wish to ignore that possibility. We are hopeful that you might inquire of the state department whether or not the general idea of such an institute would appeal to the department and, whether or not, if so, it would be in position to offer financial aid. If you should get a favorable response to the general idea, we would, of course, then develop the details in the form of a proposal to the department.

If you should find that the department is unwilling or unable to help us financially, we should greatly appreciate your advice as to certain foundations or individuals who might be disposed to be of help. We would then submit to such foundation or individual detailed proposals with estimates as to amounts involved.

This is quite a large order but we know of no one more interested than you in the subject and in better position to give us guidance on the practical aspects.

The underlying thought which we have in mind is that Southerners may consider segregation as their private play-thing so long as they do not see the tragic consequences to our leadership as member of the family of nations. The kind of institute we have in mind would, we hope, cause all of us to realize more fully that what we do as to a Southern bus or school or swimming pool imperils the very safety of the country.

Will you please address your answer to me at Linville Falls, North Carolina.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

b. c. to Harold Fleming

June 16, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your promise to do the profile of Mr. Dabbs. I am enclosing his biographical sketch. I am sorry but he is not listed in the latest Who's Who. The wordage may be at your own discretion.

The speech has been printed and I have reminded Mrs. Knox that one hundred copies are to go to you. If you need any additional copies, let me know and I will supply them from our copies.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosure

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear John:

I will be glad to attempt the Dabbs profile. About how many words?

If he is listed in Who's Who would you please forward me copy of the sketch. If the office has its own brief biography, I should like a copy of that also.

If and when my talk before the Greater Atlanta Council is printed, please remember that 100 copies are part of my honorarium. Thanks.

Sincerely

M. A. Wright

June 4, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Harold has passed on to the information department your request for some research into instances of cessation of constitutional guarantees. Marge Manderson, our research assistant, is checking into this for us and has already paid one visit to the library for material.

In the meantime, I would like to ask a favor of you. New South has never formally acknowledged Mr. Dabbs election as president of the Council. I wonder if you might consider doing a short profile of Mr. Dabbs for New South? Would sincerely appreciate it and I know of no one who could do a better job.

Also, I have been dickering with the printers concerning publication of your speech to the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. The page proofs were returned to the printers yesterday and so we should have the finished product in a few days. The Greater Atlanta Council, the Georgia Council, and SRC are cooperating in publishing this one.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

June 16, 1958

Have full information about Dallas.

Will send profile in next day or so.

Have not heard from you about length.

M. A. W.

June 17, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Paul Anthony and I have deliberated on an estimated budget for the proposed international conference, and I have discussed the matter with Dr. Clement. The enclosed tentative budget represents the result. Since we had to make certain assumptions about the conference, the following observations are in order:

(1) We assumed that we would need to pay travel and expenses of at least sixty guests -- that is, twenty to thirty personages in the international field, and thirty to forty of our own board members or other leading Southerners. It might be naively assumed that the latter would pay their own freight, but experience argues against such optimism.

(2) We assumed that the long-range groundwork for the conference would be done by SRC and Atlanta University personnel, but that the final arrangements would require a conference director for at least two months.

(3) We assumed that no honoraria would have to be paid to the distinguished guests -- perhaps too sanguine an assumption.

(4) Since any beeakdown of expenses at this early stage is highly speculative, I suggest that

you stick to the total in corresponding with Senator Douglas. A detailed, realistic budget would require much more specific planning and exploration. Also note that the rough estimate is described as a minimum budget. We feel, and Dr. Clement agrees, that the conference could not be properly staged for appreciably less than $15,000 and that $20,000 would be a reasonable figure.

I note that Senator Douglas mentions the Fund for the Republic as a possible angel. Our current relationship with the Fund pretty well rules out our asking them for the funds, since we are still operating on a terminal grant from them and they have made it quite plain that they do not expect any further request. Since Senator Douglas might make approaches on his own, I believe it would be well if he understood our relationship to the Fund. The same would apply to some of our other contributors.

The original of Senator Douglas's letter is enclosed.

With best and hopeful regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Original of Sen. Douglas's ltr. to MAW)

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE - ESTIMATED MINIMUM BUDGET

Travel & Hospitality of Guests (40 guests at an average cost of $150 each)	$ 9,000
Temporary Personnel (Conference director - $700 per month for two months; Secretary - $300 per month for two months)	2,000
Conference Facilities (auditorium rental, utilities janitorial services, equipment rental, etc.)	1,000
Travel, Project Director	800
Communication, Printing & Supplies	1,600
Miscellaneous & Unbudgeted Expenses	600
Total:	$15,000

File

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

6/15/58

Dear Harold:

Please copy the enclosed Douglas letter and return. Could you - Dr. Clement give me information requested on Page 2?

M. A. W.

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
J. ALLEN FREAR, JR., DEL.
PAUL H. DOUGLAS, ILL.
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J. H. YINGLING, CHIEF CLERK
ROBERT A. WALLACE, STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

June 13, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have been greatly pleased to learn that the House Judiciary Committee plans to hold hearings on our new civil rights bill in late June and mid-July.

This news is particularly welcome since, as you know, a Southern Democratic-Republican majority of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee recently blocked the scheduling of the expected hearings over here.

At his request, I am therefore turning over to the Chairman of the House Committee a list of able witnesses which includes your name. You may well hear from Congressman Celler or the clerk of his Committee in the very near future in this regard.

I sincerely hope that you may find it possible to appear and testify on one of the dates he may suggest. According to my information, the dates tentatively fixed are June 25, 26, 27 and July 9, 10 and 11.

Amid all the reports of extremist action, we hope these hearings can help the voices of sanity and reason once more to be heard in the land.

On the subject of your letter of June 4th - which did not reach me until Monday - I am making some inquiries and shall report to you when I have anything definite. My guess is that the State Department will consider the Administration too dependent upon some Southern support in Congress for mutual aid, U.S. Information, reciprocal trade, appropriations legislation, etc., to be willing to do anything as sensible and imaginative as you suggest. Even the Department of Justice seems hog-tied in the use of its existing authority in the civil rights field and has refused - among other things - to intervene in the Georgia county unit suit, as they did under President Truman.

In this climate of appeasement, therefore, you will no doubt have to have recourse to one of the funds, like the Fund for the Republic, or to interested individuals. The Fund for the Republic has had some critical publicity. But at least it has some courage and imagination. In the meantime, it may be helpful if I can know about how much money you estimate the conference would require.

I shall write you further about this soon.

More power to you.

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/fwm/es

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Re[illegible]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[illegible]A

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 18, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I enclose the Dabbs profile which I hope you may find usable. Edit as you please. I have stressed his South Carolina, farming and military connections, since I feel they are assets to us.

At my suggestion, Miss Reid has gotten pictures of Dabbs and Rip Raps enclosed herewith. These should be returned unless that is impossible because of use. It may be entirely impracticable to use either--your judgment is conclusive as to that. My thought was that the picture further stressed the idea of the Southern country squire.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

P.S. Pictures sent separately.
They may be sent direct
to Miss ~~Reid~~ Rebecca Reid, 29 E. Calhoun St.,
~~Clarion~~ Sumter, S.C.

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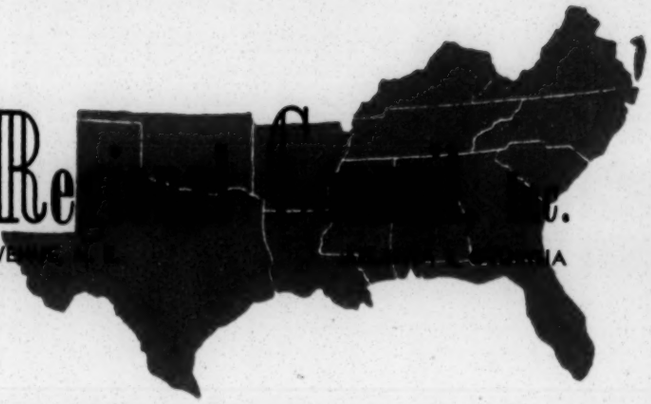

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I had concluded the little article on Dabbs before the biographical material was received but I hope, without it, I may have touched upon the essentials.

The notes are returned with the suggestion that I am sure Alice Spearman would be greatly pleased to have a copy in her file.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

Autobiographical Notes, James McBride Dabbs

I was born near Mayesville, in Sumter County, South Carolina, in 1896, of ancestors on both sides who had lived in South Carolina since about 1750. These American ancestors were all farmers. I was brought up on a farm, and am now farming for a living.

A. B., University of S. C.; M. A. in psychology, Clark University, Worchester, Mass.; several years graduate study, in English, at Columbia University.

Taught college English, mainly at Coker College, Hartsville, for 20 years. Head of dept. of English, Coker, 12 years. Returned to my grandfather's farm, now mine, in 1937, though I continued to do part-time work at Coker until 1942.

Have been writing magazine articles fairly frequently since about 1930. Have contributed to a number of leading American publications. This includes the Old Scribner's and the Old Forum, the Christendom, the Yale Review, the Virginia Quarterly, the Sewanee Review, the Old Southern Review, the South Atlantic Quarterly, the Churchman and The Christian Century, most frequently, over the years, to the Christian Century.

I think my main interest is the compartmentalization of modern life, the tendency to put religion in one area and the rest of life in another. How did we get this way, and how can we get out of it. In the South we have managed to remain, in a sense, generally religious, but have compartmentalized the Negro off by himself. The Negro problem has been my chief interest for about ten years now.

I am a Southerner who, deeply convinced as he is of the great value of Southern life, sees no sense in fighting the world, and has no desire to defend all that we have done. We are an interdependent part of the world, with needs to be filled and resources to lend. I have no desire to live anywhere else. There is too much richness here, too much variety, and, when all else fails, too much sheer foolishness to laugh at.

As illustrations of my writings, the following may be cited: "The Resonance of the World", Yale Review, Autumn, 1955; "Southern Challenge", South Atlantic Quarterly, Jan., 1956; and various issues of the Christian Century, at least for the last several years. Also, the Presbyterian Outlook, for about the same period.

ADDENDA:

Honorary Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha Chapter, South Carolina, 1937. Member of Board of Trustees, Penn Community Service, Inc., Beaufort, S. C. Elder, Presbyterian Church in the United States. For some years chairman of the S. C. Division of the SRC. Member of Little River Farm Committee, American Friends Service Committee.

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The word "has" in third line from end should be "have"

M. A. W.

The word "phrase" in first sentence of third paragraph on Page 2 should be "phase".

M. A. W.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

June 27, 1958

TO: H. C. F.

We have distributed Marion A. Wright's "Segregation Versus The Space Age" to the Board of Directors, the State Offices and the Inter-agency groups. Since we only have one thousand, I plan to retain the others to use for free material.

J. C.

JC

Segregation

versus the

Space Age

by

Marion A. Wright

SEGREGATION vs. the SPACE AGE

by MARION A. WRIGHT
Former President, Southern Regional Council

This is a day in which our imaginations soar with our satellites. None of us is so dull-witted that he does not visualize as happening within his life-time, or certainly within the life-time of his children, easy and safe flights to the moon and slightly more arduous journeys to Mars and other planets. All eyes are toward the future and toward the skies. Men look up and ahead. At no time in all the tortured history of mankind has the next decade seemed so alluring and beckoning.

The prospect is so rosy and enticing that it is almost inconsiderate to direct our attention elsewhere; almost a brutal intrusion to turn our thoughts from the bright future to the dark past. I don't want you to think for a moment that I am insensitive to the romance of the times. My own space helmet hangs conveniently in a closet. But, of course, there is always connection between past and future. If we seem to stray from contemplation of tomorrow's fair vision, we shall, I hope, a little later return to that congenial occupation.

So—to the past. And when I say past, I *mean* past. Pre-historic past. In that day the most conspicuous feature of tribal life was the tabu. Every tribe had them, as every primitive tribe has them today. Men may not eat the heart of a deer; to do so would make them timid, whereas they gain courage from eating the heart of a lion. If one should touch the foot of a chief he would die of scrofula, later known as "the King's disease." There were elaborate rules men must observe to keep from offending the gods. Incantations must be spoken at birth. Marriage, war, death—every human custom or occupation was hedged about with tabus. A great part of the time, attention and energy of the tribe was devoted to preserving these tabus in pristine vigor. They were a way of life, and, as such, sacred to primitive minds.

Every tribe had as part of its social system special rules regarding aliens or foreigners. It was generally permissible to steal from them though not from members of the tribe. Kipling wrote of "lesser breeds without the law." An alien was strange, unknown, and therefore, dangerous. In The Golden Bough, Sir James Frazier writes: "Of all sources of danger none are more dreaded by the savage than magic and witchcraft, and he suspects all strangers of practicing these black arts. To guard against the baneful influence exerted voluntarily or involuntarily by strangers is, therefore, an elementary dictate of savage prudence."

PRIMITIVE SUSPICION

This primitive suspicion of the foreigner carried over to later generations of men otherwise civilized and cultured. Dr. Frank Graham has collected many instances. To the Greeks, he points out, the world was made up of Greeks and barbarians; to the Israelites, of Jews and Gentiles. Aristotle, the Greek, rated low the intelligence of the people to the north of Greece. Cicero, the Roman, later considered the Greeks to be given to much talk and more ineptness, held that Syrians were fit only to be slaves, that Britons were "incapable of learning, too stupid to be slaves and unfit to be a part of the household of Athens," and called the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula wild and barbaric people. A thousand years later a resident of the Iberian peninsula, Said, an Islamic scholar of Toledo University, said that the races north of the Pyrenees were "of cold temperament, never reached maturity, were tall and of a white color, but lacked keeness of intellect." In the late eighteenth century the Emperor of China scorned receiving an Ambassador from the British King and made it clear that such a presumptuous suggestion came from "outside barbarians," who had nothing to contribute to the superior Chinese civilization, and could not be considered by the Emperor of the favored people of the "Celestial Kingdom." In this country the white man used "redskin" as a term of contempt, and the Indian so used "paleface." None here has forgotten that Hitler's Germany regarded as inferior everyone who was not of pure Aryan blood.

Of course, from the vantage point of 1958, we

may smile indulgently at the primitive tabus and those later assumptions of racial or national superiority. But it is hardly fitting or becoming to smile when we reflect upon the woe and misery which men have endured because of their belief in such nonsense. Such beliefs have through the centuries produced not merely the short, sharp agony of war but the prolonged and subtle and refined torment of spirit which follows discrimination.

Nor are we justified in using the past tense as to such beliefs. In certain of our state capitals—not all—are men highly placed—irresponsible men in responsible positions—who apparently cling to such dangerous and repudiated concepts. Some of these men are coarse and they use harsh language. Others, suave and oily, use polished speech. But their basic ideas are the same. They are the ideas of the tribal chief of 5,000 years ago.

IRONIC

If I may illustrate: The Governor of North Carolina, my state, uses good grammar. He never champions "white supremacy" in so many words; he employs euphemisms that are supposed to be becoming to moderates, though the euphemisms mean white supremacy and nothing else. Recently, he was interviewed in company with a Michigan congressman, who remarked that many Southern Negroes were moving to Michigan. "Yes," Governor Hodges replied, "we are sending them up to you as fast as we can." How ironic that a governor of *all* the people considers 35 per cent of his constituents as undesirable citizens! No doubt when Adolph Hitler drove a certain Jew into exile he chortled that it was good riddance to bad rubbish, though the rubbish turned out to be Albert Einstein.

The principal concern of the tribal chieftain, as I have said, was to preserve the tabus which constituted what they no doubt called their "way of life." A large part of tribal time, attention and energy went into strengthening the tabus, adding to their rigidity and meting out punishment for their infraction. To the chief and, it must be admitted, to a majority of the tribe, these tabus were not, as we now know, completely meaningless; they were felt to be moral principles of the highest order, reflecting the strength and virtue of the tribe.

I hope that what I have said thus far may have suggested to you the point which I should now like to drive home. That point is that every one of our customs which flow from segregation is nothing more nor less than a primitive tabu and that those who strive to maintain them have merely failed to distinguish between a tabu and a moral principle. All of the turmoil and social upheaval and personal tragedies we now endure flow from the dominance of the aboriginal over the cultivated intellect.

Let us examine some of the tenets of the creed of the segregationist, keeping a sharp watch for any suggestion of a moral principle which may lurk in any of them.

Basically and generally, they seek to regulate association of human beings with each other. Whites must sit in the front and Negroes in the rear of buses. In theaters whites must occupy the lower floor and Negroes the balcony. Members of the two races may not play on the same golf course, use the same swimming pool or even ocean. They may not read together in the same library or eat together in the same restaurant. They must occupy separate waiting rooms at railroad or bus stations or airports. The men who fought together in Germany or Korea must be members of separate American Legion posts when they have returned home from enduring common dangers. They must not risk incurring the wrath of God by worshiping Him jointly. Nor must they damage young minds by having them trained in the same schools.

CODE OF CONDUCT

Underlying all of this elaborate code of conduct is the basic premise that somehow members of the white race would undergo some debasement or contamination if exposed to members of the Negro race under the condemned circumstances. But not under *all* circumstances. There is one important exception. That is, the master and servant relationship. It is quite all right for whites to have Negro cooks, maids, wash women, gardeners and chauffeurs where the relationship is far

more personal and intimate than under the proscribed conditions.

Why the difference? There is but one answer: The master and servant relationship is consistent with the idea of superiority of the whites; the other relationsips are consistent with the idea of equality of members of the two races. Up with that, as Mr. Churchill would not say, your segregationist will not put.

SPIRITUAL HEIRS

The point is important because it lets the air out of the principal contention of the modern segregationist. The old fashioned segregationist was a hardy and forthright individual. Your "Cotton Ed" Smiths and Cold Bleases and Vardamans openly and unequivocally championed white supremacy. They didn't flinch from use of the phrase. The modern boys have become soft and effete. They no longer use the term and, in fact, disclaim the entire idea. They are, for the record, of the separate but equal school, bearing down on the word equal. But when they fully uphold the master and servant relationship, with all the personal and intimate contact associated with it, and condemn the purely formal and conventional and incidental contacts detailed in the segregation code, it becomes evident that equal status is the last thing they will concede. The present day breed of segregationist politician is spiritual heir of the cruder demagogue of an earlier and a more forthright day.

Reverting to the segregation code, it is evident from our brief resume of its essential features that what and all that it does is to impose limitations upon the right of association. It outlaws normal contact between individuals of different color. It does so for the sole reason of the supposed detriment suffered by the white person from such association.

Now, habitual and constant conformity to a moral principle, theoretically at least, makes one, if not wiser, certainly better. Do you see in any of this baffling code the slightest suggestion of a moral principle? Would the scrupulous observance of every one of its provisions for an entire lifetime make one wiser or better? Rather, would it not, by the contraction of his sympathies, by the narrowing of the circle of his associates, by the exclusion from his full friendship of an entire segment of human beings, however worthy, by the hostility and arrogance which flow from an assumed superiority — would not the faithful observance of all the rules make one smaller, meaner, something more of the brute and less of the divine?

Religion and philosophy are concerned with the principles by which men should live. Can the seregationist refer us to any system of religion or philosophy, holding the allegiance of civilized men, which conjures a white man to ride in the front end of a bus, or to leave a restaurant if a Negro should enter, or not to share with him a book in a public library, or to withdraw his child from school if a colored child should also there seek light and truth, or to have his name stricken from the rolls of his church if a person of another color there sought the solace of religion?

So the segregation code seems to have little in common with any moral principles of which we are aware. On the contrary, it is a system of tabus, of things men are forbidden to do, which would fit perfectly into the primitive tribal life of 5,000 years ago. The motivations of tribal tabus are suspicion of those of another tribe or color, belief in the superior excellence of the tribe of which one is a member, and fear of contamination from association. In India today, despite the devoted labors of Ghandi and Nehru, there are millions of outcasts whose very shadow is believed to contaminate those Brahmins upon whom it falls. Such are also the motivations of the segregation code.

TRIBAL TABUS

The role of the tribal chief deserves somewhat fuller attention than we have given it. Murdock writes in Our Primitive Contemporaries, "The chiefs are the custodians of tradition, the censors of etiquette, the masters of ceremonies." Upon their shoulders rests primarily the burden of seeing that the entire congeries of tribal tabus is preserved—that, for example, no soldier shall eat the knee of an ox, lest, like the ox, he should become weak in the knees, and unable to march;

that no male animal shall be killed at the home while a soldier is away at war; that no person who has helped bear a corpse to the grave may enter a house until he has undergone a ritual of purification; that shorn hair and clipped fingernails must be a carefully buried, and so on. All of these tabus constitute the tribal "way of life" which the chief feels he must defend.

It is a matter of historical record that the office of chief evolved into the office of governor. I think it is equally a matter of proof that the primitive tabus evolved into the segregation code of the Southern states. The defense of that code by certain of those governors is a classic example of atavism. They are in 1958 playing the role of a Timbuctoo chief of 2,000 years ago.

SIGNIFICANT KINSHIP

There is a species of kinship of vastly larger significance than relationship by blood. In this country, at least, by refusing to establish royalty as an incident of the newly created union of states, by abolishing the right of primogeniture and by decreeing that the father's misdeeds should impair no rights of the son, we relegated blood relationship to the realm of the governmentally and officially unimportant.

The kinship which *is* important is the kinship of spirit. Not what corpuscles run through our veins but what ideas run through our brains—there's the rub. Between certain Southern governors and certain African chiefs there is a kinship more momentous and more ominous than any mere blood relationship. In the insistence by chief and by governor that no hand shall be laid upon irrational custom there is a kinship of spirit which transcends the affinity of blood.

I return now to the point which I tried to make a moment ago. That is, that those who strive to maintain segregation fail to distinguish between moral principles and a mere system of tabus. How much of this failure is due to perversity and how much to pure ignorance I do not know. If the former, there can be no palliation; if the latter, there is still no excuse for, in this age, ignorance is not compulsory. In John Erskine's phrase, there exists a "moral obligation to be intelligent." All of the facilities for enlightenment are available if they were only used. None is so blind as he who will not see.

May I press the analogy to the tribal mentality a little further. As I said somewhat earlier, much of the time, energy and attention of the chief went into preserving and strengthening the tabus. Naturally, agriculture, industry, education, the arts, suffered from this concentration of thought and effort upon non-essentials, upon maintenance of "a way of life." In the competition between tribes, that one forged ahead which first diverted tribal energy away from pre-occupation with its caste system and applied it to more seemly pursuits.

What have we been witnessing in the South, particularly since May 17, 1954, the date of the first segregation decision? With notable exceptions which history will honor but which we do not have time here to discuss, what has been the absorbing engrossment of our political leaders? Any headline reader, any school child, can give the answer. It has been the devising of ways and means to preserve the region's caste system. I have no way of proving it, but I think you will agree that far more than half of the time, thought, effort and energy of our governors, legislators and public officials generally has been devoted to shoring up the shaky edifice of segregation. That item has been No. 1 on any political or legislative agenda. Education, science, the arts, the humanities—all of those functions of government which tend to improve the lot of the citizen—have been relegated to secondary position. What matters it that a man is poorly feed, or clothed, or housed, or unemployed, or his children poorly educated, or justice poorly administered, in face of the dire threat that young people of both races shall together learn that two times two equals four?

ENORMOUS EXPENDITURE

All of this blood, sweat, tears and toil have been spent, essentially, to see that a white child and a Negro child do not, side by side, learn their ABC's or the multiplication table.

On some of the French battlefields a plowman occasionally turns up a stone battle axe or an

arrow lying alongside a rusted 75 millimeter gun or the remains of an exploded tank. Five thousand years intervene. The tools have changed—but men?

If one could believe in re-incarnation, in whose person would we now look for the shade of the tribal chief who, in History's dewy morn, impaled upon a spear that fellow creature who violated the caste system of the group? Well, it wouldn't be among this company or in the person of anyone who has a sincere attachment to the Bill of Rights or who is genuinely devoted to democratic principles.

Can there be any doubt that the Southern states have suffered from this enormous expenditure of official energy upon the task of maintaining our caste system?

GREATER LOSSES

It might be possible to ascertain the dollars actually poured down this rat hole, though I am not sure how it would be done. But the greater losses are indirect, and not measurable in dollars. The other American states move forward on many fronts while we mark time. They strengthen their school systems to meet the demands of this age. They build up their public libraries. They enlarge their parks. They strengthen their public health services. They do all of this while we debate—debate who shall go to school with whom; how to keep certain people out of our libraries and out of our parks. When it comes to public health, one of our states took time out to fire a white doctor for eating with a Negro nurse. Another has under consideration a requirement that donations to the blood bank shall be accompanied by certification of the color of the donor

Let us disregard the facts that, by such antics, we make ourselves a national laughing stock and that, by the turmoil and uncertainty we have created, we discourage Northern investment here. The important fact remains that wise government requires the closest attention of the best minds. Far from giving it such attention, we are frittering away our energies grappling with a mock issue. The same energy applied to compliance with law would long since have devised a plan of integration satisfactory to the courts, and we could have kept step with the other American states in their advance toward proper goals of government. As it is, while we stop to bolster our caste system, the procession of progressive states leaves us in the lurch.

I think I may perhaps demonstrate how we lag because of our concern with caste. Just a very few years ago in the national government the witch hunt was on in full cry. Sen. McCarthy, notably, and other lesser inquisitors, blasted reputations ruthlessly in the effort to find Communist influence in government. It took some years for sanity to be restored and for the senate and the country to call a halt on such inquisitions. Even now the army, the State department and all other branches of government are quietly, almost furtively, re-employing the discharged, purging records, issuing passports long withheld, making formal apologies, and, generally, seeking to atone for the reckless disregard of constitutional rights and human sensibilities manifested by Sen. McCarthy and the senate and house committees on un-American activities. The whole country has breathed a sigh of relief that this orgy of brutality is ended.

STATE COMMITTEES

But, mark you, it is merely beginning on the state level in the South. In South Carolina, Florida Georgia and Louisiana—no doubt there are other states—they have created, or plan to create, their own *state* committees on subversive activities. This means that, despite the existence of the F.B.I., especially charged with the duty of detecting subversion and especially equipped for that purpose, and despite the existence of congressional committees having duties in that field, these states now will devote time, attention, energy to catching Reds. And, of course, in the view of these committees any person or organization that believes in upholding the Supreme Court decisions in the segregation cases is a Red.

My point is that, in their zeal to maintain the caste system, these states will now, on the state level go through the orgy of investigation and persecution which the nation as a whole has repudiated. The energy of the states will be dis-

sipated on a futile enterprise when it should be applied to solution of the legitimate concerns of government. No wonder we lag behind the procession.

INVESTIGATION

There is, of course, an ironic touch to these investigations. They ostensibly seek subversives. A subversive, by definition, is one who seeks to undermine the foundation of his government. The foundation of our government is the Constitution. Hence, one would suppose, the committees would attempt to ferret out those who act contrary to constitutional provisions, who deny rights guaranteed by the constitution, or who use unconstitutional means to attain their ends.

But those who sponsor the legislation creating the committees and who will conduct the investigations are members or supporters of the notorious White Citizens' Councils, organized, financed and maintained for the sole purpose of denying to millions of people their constitutional rights. The country has recently been treated to the spectacle of Sen. Eastland, proceeding directly from addressing these councils all over the South, spewing his particular type of venom, to conduct investigations of honorable men and women and honorable organizations who are suspect only of favoring due observance of law. If he wanted to look subversives in the face he should have cast his eyes around him at his council meetings. By the way, I wonder if the man has a good mirror.

Of course, Sen. Eastland has no connections with Moscow. Of course, he mortally hates Communism. But he is apparently unaware that not all subversion is manufactured in Moscow. There is an equally detestable American brand.

One of the symptoms of our immaturity in this belief that all evil things come from abroad, are imported. Take the names of our diseases and pests: Spanish influenza, Asian flu, German measles, Mexican bean beetle, Japanese beetle, Mediterranean fruit fly, Dutch elm blight, to mention only a few. Did you ever hear of a disease or pest or blight which bore an American name? American malaria, Yankee small pox, or Carolina chestnut blight? It is treason to suggest the idea.

This fundamental trait of equating the evil with the foreign affects our use of color in description. A bad taste is dark brown. A coward has a yellow streak. Prose that is too rich or frothy is purple. A guilty man is caught red-handed. A thing is black as sin. But when we have received unusually kind and considerate attention, we have been treated white. Our color, white; hence a synonym for the good, the pure, the beautiful.

You see, we make our own vocabulary, coin our own terms. You recall Aesop's fable of the man and the lion who were looking at a statue of a man standing with his foot on the neck of a prostrate lion. The man remarked that the statute correctly showed the relationship of the parties. Replied the lion "If a lion had been the scuptor, the lion would have his foot on the neck of the man."

EXCEPTIONS

But, to return to matters governmental—

Such, then, are the pre-occupations of certain of our statesmen—not all, thank God. For the exceptions, for those who have resisted the mass pressures of the times, special niches will be reserved in History's hall of fame. But such are the pre-occupations of the majority at the dawn of the satellite age.

One is reminded of what Robert Louis Stevenson wrote of the French poet Francois Villon:

"The world to which he introduces us is blackguardly and bleak. Paris swarms before us, full of famine, shame and death; monks and servants of great lords hold high wassail upon cakes and pastry; the poor man licks his lips before the baker's window; people with patched eyes sprawl all night under the stalls; . . . the drunkard goes stumbling homeward; the graveyard is full of bones . . .

"In our mixed world, full of green fields and happy lovers, where, not long before, Joan of Arc had led one of the highest and noblest lives in the whole story of mankind, this was all worth chronicling that our poet could perceive. His eyes were indeed sealed with his own filth. He dwelt all his life in a pit more noisome than the dungeon

at Meun. In the moral world, also, there are large phenomena not cognizable out of holes and corners. Loud winds blow, speeding home deep-laden ships and sweeping rubbish from the earth; the lightning leaps and cleans the face of heaven; high purposes and brave passions shake the sublimate men's spirits; and, meanwhile, in the narrow dungeon of his soul, Villon is mumbling crusts and picking vermin."

How modern is every word of this In this day how much intellectual rubbish is being swept from the earth, including man's most dangerous myth—the inviolability of caste. What high purposes and brave passions *now* shake and sublimate men's spirits—including the passion for equal and exact justice and opportunity for every man and woman, every school child. And, with such a back-drop of stirring and whirling events, how dwarfed and shrunken appear those who seek to interpose their puny wills and desires against history's onward surge.

SCALES MUST FALL

Surely, scales must fall from eyes. Surely, none is so deaf that he cannot hear the message of the satellites. The beeps which come to us from chill and distant space tell us of temperature, radiation, all the secrets of the ionosphere, but they tell us something vastly more important.

They tell us that the globe which we all inherit is now so diminished and shrivelled that every man is our next door neighbor. In this enforced intimacy friendship with all men is our most priceless possession. We must make friends and be friends with all mankind.

And so we move into the age of space. What mental equipment shall we carry with us on this leap into the unknown? What shall be our credentials as citizens of the brave, new world? Shall we go as Neanderthal men, weighted down with the suspicions, fears and hatreds of our Adamic ancestors? Or shall we go as men and women, erect and unafraid, recognizing every other men and women on this now tiny orb as full and equal partner in the most fundamental and enduring of all enterprises? That enterprise is to develop human capacities for good to the ultimate limit of their potential.

If we shall enter the new age in that spirit and with that high resolve, we shall slough off some traces of the gross and the brutish; prove that we are indeed made a little lower than the angels.

•

Speech Presented

April 9, 1948

to

Greater Atlanta Council

on

Human Relations

Reprinted
Jointly by

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

GEORGIA COUNCIL
ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

---

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

18

July 1, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your several recent letters.

First and foremost, I have read the enclosed draft of your proposed remarks, and have no criticisms to make. To put it more positively, you have said very clearly and forcefully everything that occurs to me on the subject. Fred is away, but others on the staff have read it with the same reaction.

I am also returning Senator Douglas's letter, which I have copied and carefully noted. I think there is some merit to the point which Senator Douglas relays - namely, that emphasis should be on Americans considering the damage that our racial policies do to our international reputation, rather than foreigners doing so. Of the two foundations he mentions, Dr. Dent is in a strategic position of advising us on the Stern Fund; my own opinion is that there would be little chance of substantial aid from this quarter for such a purpose, but I would defer to his judgment.

The Meyer Fund might be much more hopeful. I will see what I can find out.

I am pleased to see that the Senator is making use of your speeches. You will be pleased to know, I am sure, that Dr. Dent received a call from an influential friend of his in New Orleans asking for information about you. It seems that Justice Frankfurter had read your Florida speech and was moved by its excellence to write his New Orleans friend for background. Needless to say, Dr. Dent supplied it and asked me to send him some additional copies of the speech for distribution to influential people in those parts. I have written Bill Williams for such copies.

I appreciate the information, originating with your brother, on the Rosenberg Foundation. I will follow-up this lead and call on your brother for his advice if a request from us seems warranted.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P. S. The Fourteenth Amendment was proposed to the several state legislatures on June 16, 1866. It was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State on July 28, 1868.

H.C.F.

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN
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ROBERT A. WALLACE, STAFF DIRECTOR

Please Copy for us

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

June 26, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Our contacts at the lower levels of the State Department - Democrats don't do well at the higher ones, you know - reported that they knew of no precedent for official support of such a conference as you have proposed.

They also confirmed our political guess that even sponsorship would embarrass the Department in connection with appropriations and other measures for which they need Southern Congressional support. They guessed the United States Information Agency would be similarly inhibited.

Our contacts also raised the basic question as to whether those whom you wish to convince will be persuaded, or antagonized, to have foreign leaders come here to tell us a few homely truths. The question was: will not American spokesmen with the facts about foreign reactions, press treatment, etc., be more persuasive, rather than having "foreigners tell us?"

I leave that to you without expressing an opinion, since you and your board will know so much better than I what Southern reactions are likely to be.

Other possible sources of support are:

1. The Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation, Mr. James L. Kunen, Executive Director, Room 204, 1001 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. (It is suggested that you send a copy of any appeal also to one of the trustees, Dr. Eugene Meyer, Johns Hopkins Medical School, Baltimore, Maryland.)

2. The Stern Fund
I do not know the director's name, but the principal founders are:

Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Stern
11 Garden Lane (residence)
New Orleans, Louisiana

The Fund for the Republic must think highly of your Council already, so I am not sure there is much I could do to help on that.

I am enclosing a copy of my statement to the House Judiciary Committee yesterday in which I took the liberty of quoting from your brilliant speech at Columbia, South Carolina, on April 29th. We hope the Committee will go into these issues and draw on the experience of persons like yourself.

With all best wishes,

Faithfully yours,

Paul H. Douglas

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/fwm/es
enc.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
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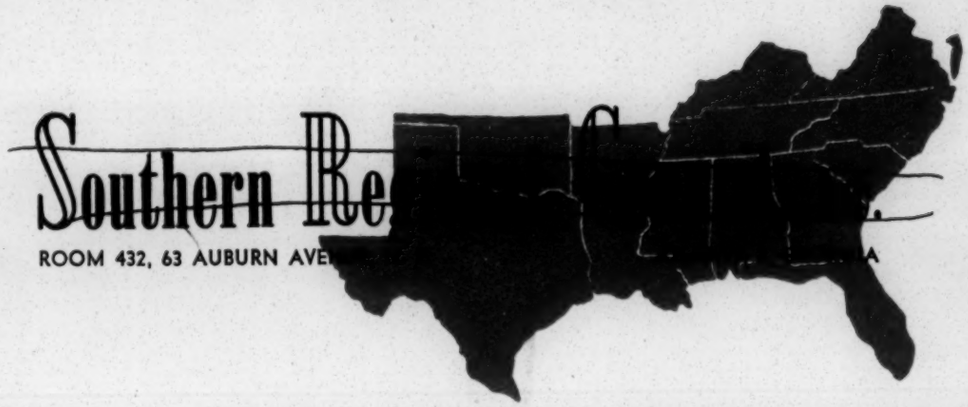
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER



A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

~~OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT~~
~~"TOP KNOT"~~
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
~~Southern Regional Council~~
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing copy of analysis of the Civil Rights bill of Senator Douglas et al. This is rather long but I wanted to put down about everything that occurred to me in the view that I could shorten it if the good Senator felt it was wise to do so.

I should like for you, Fred and other sharp associates on the staff to go over this critically, editing it in any way that you like and return the final product to me. My idea will be to send this in to Senator Douglas and get his views as to its suitability for filing as a statement with the House committee and/or using it as the basis of remarks before that committee.

Please fill in the date of adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. I should have this but cannot put my hands on it.

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Wright
M. A. Wright

I write as an individual to an individual.
M.A.W.

Rec 6/21

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Re[redacted]
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVE[redacted]

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

June 19, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of June 17th with enclosures referred to, all relating to dealing with Senator Douglas on the conference suggestion. I am writing him today as per enclosed copy and will keep you informed of developments.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

P.S. Copy will be sent later.

Draft returned 7/1/58 mf

Rec'd 7/8/58

July 5, 1958

Senator Paul Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

Enclosed you will find a statement prepared with the view that it might be filed with the House Judiciary Committee in support of your Civil Rights bill. I hope you will feel at liberty to criticize this frankly, both as to form and content, since I am quite prepared to make such revisions as would seem proper to make the statement more effective so long as they were in accordance with my own convictions.

If it appears adequate as written will you be good enough to advise the procedure for having it filed as a part of the Committee record. Thus far, I have received no invitation to appear before the Committee. If such invitation should be received, I presume it would be proper for me to appear, read the statement, make such additional comment as may occur to me, and subject myself to questioning. If I am not to appear personally I would like to know the method for having the statement appear as a part of the record. It may be that it will be sufficient for you to hand the statement to the Chairman. I have no information on the point and will be governed by your suggestions.

I am delighted that you found something which I said in my talk in Columbia, South Carolina worthy of quotation in your own statement made before the Committee.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright

M. A. Wright

b. c. to Harold Fleming

July 5, 1958

Senator Paul Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

Your letter of June 26th has been referred to the Atlanta staff which will give serious consideration to the point that Southern opinion may be antagonized by foreign participation in the conference which is being planned by the Southern Regional Council and Atlanta University.

We appreciate your suggestions about the Meyer Foundation and the Stern Fund as possible sponsors for such a conference. The staff is making preliminary investigation of the best approach to these organizations.

Your interest and support are greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

b. c. Harold Fleming

July 7, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am returning the second draft of your presentation herewith, as agreed in our telephone conversation a moment ago. It's an excellent job and I have little doubt that it will be one of the ablest presentations they receive. I know you will keep us posted on the action that is taken.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Statement of MAW before House Judiciary Committee in Support of The Civil Rights Act of 1958)

July 8, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Harold, who is away from the office, has asked me to inform you that after reading the text of the Supreme Court decision in the Alabama-NAACP contempt case, Section III of that decision has been reproduced and sent to the state groups.

It's my understanding that you will be with us on August 12th for the Executive Committee meeting, if that date proves satisfactory with a majority of the members. We will confirm the date as soon as possible, and look forward to seeing you then unless we hear otherwise.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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July 3, 1958

Dear Harold:

The Supreme Court decision in the Alabama-NAACP contempt case seems to have significance for S.R.C. and all the State Councils. The decision is enclosed. The pertinent portion begins with II.

Without indicating any opinion of my own, I raise the question as to desirability of sending (without comment) photostatic copies of the significant portions of the opinion to State groups.

M. A. W.

July 11, 1958

Senator Paul Douglas
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

There is one point about the Civil Rights Act not fully developed in the statement sent you.

I believe it is important and may win some Southern support. Hence I should like to attach the enclosed sheets at the end of that statement. They would constitute the conclusion.

I hope that the statement with the enclosed addition may be satisfactory to you. Your frank criticisms will be appreciated.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

b. c. Harold C. Fleming

July 16, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I received a call the other day from George Hunton, director of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, which publishes the Interracial Review.

Mr. Hunton was wondering if there would be any objection to his publishing, perhaps with some condensation, your speech made in Greenville County some time back. I assured him that you would have no objection.

You will be receiving several copies of the Interracial Review which contains your article. I trust I had your proxy in giving Hunton permission to reprint your speech.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Linville Falls, N.C.
7/16/58

Am forwarding separately Spring, 1958, issue of The Antioch Review which has article valuable for reference. You may keep.

Glad to advise Sen. is mildly enthusiastic about statement.

M. A. W.

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July 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am, of course, delighted that Interracial Review wishes to reprint my Greenville talk in whole or in part and am glad that you extended permission for such reprint.

Do you guess it would be possible to drive a little something in the nature of a bargain with this publication, to wit: They to furnish the South Carolina Council on Human Relations as many free copies of the reprint as the traffic will bear? I think that Mrs. Spearman could make use of these reprints, especially since this talk was aimed specifically at South Carolinians. I would prefer that the matter be handled by the South Carolina Council rather than the Greenville county Council, since I think I detected some faint evidence of timidity in the latter group.

If you think well of the idea you might call Mrs. Spearman and get her views as to the number of reprints, if any, which she thinks she might wisely use.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Th. A. W.

c. c. Mrs. Alice Spearman
1745 Sumter St.
Columbia, S. C.

VIA AIR MAIL July 24, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter and the suggestion about extra copies of The Interracial Review. I will write George Hunton today and make that proposal to him. I am not optimistic that this will yield many copies, since the total printing of The Interracial Review is quite small. But any results will be net gain.

I am looking forward to seeing you again at the August meeting of the Executive Committee

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Air Mail
Blind copy sent to Mr. Dabbs

July 24, 1958

Mr. Harding Lemay
Publicity Director
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Lemay:

Many thanks for the advance copy of The Southern Heritage by James M. Dabbs. Needless to say, since Mr. Dabbs is the president of our organization, we are extremely proud of the book and eager to do whatever we can to promote its readership. Apart from this, however, let me say that I think the book is a uniquely rich and rewarding approach to the South's peculiar problems. For many Southerners who have been confused and beset by inner conflict, the book will offer a new and refreshing way of reconciling the claims of region, nation and religion.

We plan to publish a review of the book as soon as possible in our monthly publication, New South, and we will call it to the attention of as large a group as possible through all of our organizational channels.

If you should plan to prepare a promotion leaflet on the book, I hope you will let us know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 7/17/58 mf

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

July 14, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming,

We are sending you, under separate cover, a copy of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE by James M. Dabbs, which we are publishing August 18. We think you will be interested in this thoughtful analysis of a major social and economic question in this country. If you care to make any comments about the book, we would appreciate hearing them.

Faithfully yours,
for ALFRED A. KNOPF, Inc.,

Harding Lemay

Harding Lemay
Publicity Director

Harold C. Fleming, Esq.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HL/ijk

PUBLISHER OF BORZOI BOOKS

FBR - Read, weep, advise + return.
See attached HCF

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 28, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I will reach Atlanta about 6:00 or 6:30 o'clock on the afternoon of August 11th in connection with the Executive Committee meeting on the 12.

Will you be good enough to have a room reserved for me at the Peidmont for the night of the 11th.

If you and/or Fred Routh could break bread with me that evening I should be quite happy.

An idea has occurred to me in regard to New South which I pass on for consideration by you and John Constable. This idea has been sparked by receipt from Fred of an excellent speech made by a South Carolinian before the Florida State Teachers Association and an other item from Emory Via, being a really scholarly article by Ben Segal. I observe that additional copies of these may be secured by writing to addresses given on the printed speech and article respectively.

The excellence of this material and the fact that additional copies are available for a very small charge suggests to me that New South might find it appropriate in each issue to devote a page or less to a thumbnail review (just 5 or 6 lines) of the more significant speeches or articles currently

available. There is, of course, a great deal of valuable material being ground out regularly. We might perform a valuable service by giving to our readers an inkling of the nature of the material and a statement of where copies may be secured and at what prices.

Our page might be titled "What others are saying", "gleanings from current literature", or some such similar title. In order that you may precisely understand what I have in mind I would suggest that under the above caption reviews similar to the following might appear:

by Benjamin Segal

> Industrialization: Accent on the South. A scholarly treatise on the movement of industry to the South and the impact of that movement upon the Southern economy, with especial reference to labor supply and the status of unionization. Copies at 10¢ each may be secured from Labor's Daily, Bettindorf, Iowa.

The argument for the plan of monthly reviews in New South would apparently be: 1. We would give increased circulation to material helpful to SRC; 2. we would perform a valuable service to our readers, and 3. we would ingratiate ourselves with the authors and publishers.

I put the matter before you for your consideration and will be quite content to abide by your judgment.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:eg

July 31, 1958

Mr. Marion Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your two recent communications. I am returning herewith the heart-warming telegram from Senator Douglas and the bracing exchange of correspondence between you and R. B. Herbert. You had all the best of it - so much so that I found myself feeling a trifle sorry for the vulnerable Mr. Herbert.

Fred and I will look forward to dinner with you on Monday, August 11.

Your suggestion for New South confirms the old saw about great minds running in the same channels. A short time ago, it struck me forcibly that we are remiss in not posting our readers on the stream of useful literature in this field. Marge Manderson, I discovered, had arrived independently at the same conclusion. She and John Constable have devised a plan for regular descriptive listings of such literature in New South. Your detailed suggestions should be of great help in perfecting this procedure.

Have you seen a copy of Mr. Dabbs' book yet? I think it may make something of a splash.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
encls.

August 27, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

You've done your usual masterly job of rebuttal. I should think Professor Bradley would recognize that he's been cut to ribbons, but he is probably one of those people who can survive any attack of logic. Here's hoping you will have an occasion to expose him further.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: Wright ltr. to Prof. F. W. Bradley, Std. Aug 2, '58

MM - See # 6

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted] [redacted]EORGIA
[redacted]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Sept. 4, 1958

Answered 9-9-58

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As the abdicating King once said, "at long last." This letter will dispose of many matters which have accumulated during my estivation.

1. Your handling of the White House left me filled with admiration. I thought that the President's action was all that we could have asked. Of course, alas, he ruined it all with his "going slower" statement a few days later. Unfortunately, we cannot stand at his elbow and tell him what to say at all times.

2. The Virginius Dabney result is not tinctured with any flavor of regret. I thought he responded magnificently and am sure we will make good use of the ammunition he has given us. We will similarly be able to use Ralph McGill's review of the Dabbs' book.

3. In any listing in New South of current literature recommended for reading I am sure we will not omit Cable's "The Negro Question." I am reading it now with profound admiration.

4. Many thanks for copies of the reprint from The New Christian Advocate.

5. The mid-summer report struck me as being excellent. I have sent one copy to my brother in San Francisco and will get my other

copy into appropriate hands.

6. Please thank ~~the~~ Miss Manderson for her excellent research on the use by dictators of the device of suspension of constitutional rights. I will be able to use much of this. I do not wish to ride a willing mare todeath but would greatly appreciate her further research into another dictatorial device which I had overlooked and which is quite pertinent by analogy to our present situation. That is, the suppression of courts, or the setting-up of so called "people's courts", or the transfer of jurisdiction from civilian to military tribunals, or the limitation of jurisdiction of courts, which do not reflect the dictatorial will or desire.

I am hopeful that in the research ~~in~~ which she has already done she ran across illustrations of the kinds which I have enumerated. I am sure that Hitler and Stalin followed such methods and believe that Mussolini did.

Without going into too ~~much~~ great length, you will recall that I am giving some thought to the idea that dictatorship begins to manifest itself by suspension of constitutional rights. I should like to add to that point the further point that dictatorship usually finds established and respected courts not sufficiently pliant for dictatorial ends and consequently, seeks to undermine the courts. I trust that the conclusion I have in mind is not so subtle as to escape you without my putting it on paper.

Anything which she may be able to dig up for me on the attitude of dictators toward the courts would be useful--particularly, the reasons which might have been given for the invasion of judicial prerogatives.

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

September 9, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your very welcome omnibus letter of September 4th. I will respond by corresponding numbers.

(1) Of course we were dismayed by the unhappy sequel to the President's statement on law and order. There is some reason to hope that he may be brought to retrieve the situation, as much as that is possible, by another carefully prepared statement. If he does, we can only hope that he will subsequently observe the old saw about silence being golden.

(2) As I told you on the telephone, we have printed up a supply of Virginius Dabney's editorial and have circulated it to the offending newspapers, our board, and other key people who should know about it. I even sent a copy - probably in vain - to Senator Russell, who inserted the New Bedford series into the Congressional Record.

(3) We have the Cable book. While I have only dipped into it as yet, I agree with your estimate of it. We will give it some notice in New South.

(4) I am glad that copies of the reprint from the New Christian Advocate reached you in proper form.

(5) We have had an excellent response to the Midsummer Report. Most significantly from our philanthropic friends.

(6) I am referring this section of your letter to Miss Manderson. I am sure she will give it prompt and efficient attention.

I am looking forward to the next opportunity to discuss with you our many common interests.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BLIND COPY TO HCF

September 17, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

The "Anatomy of Tyranny" is done with a real flourish. I particularly like the historical development and the philosophical focus; I find them devastating. While this speech does not "klonk" our Neanderthals on the noggin, it is a sideswipe that will surely knock their halos askew.

I have made some minor suggested changes which you will see on pages 5, 7, and 8 when we return the manuscript.

Harold had to rush off to New York and had no opportunity to read the manuscript before he left. I will hold it for his return so that he too may make such comments as he wishes. We thought it wise, however, to give you the questionable benefit of my comments pronto.

I need hardly say that I am well pleased that you have accepted speaking engagements with NAIRO and ADA. The rest of the nation needs to hear from white Southerners who are unafraid of the Twentieth Century and who do not accept the segregation orthodoxy.

With all good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

September 19, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

I have passed on your interesting idea about research on the question of the constitutionality of private school plans to Mr. Griswold. He found your idea rather exciting and said that there were several groups who would be in a better position than the Arkansas Council to undertake this task in the "land of opportunity."

We sent him a list of articles of sources that should be helpful to any person undertaking this educational project. On the attached sheet is a copy of the sources we recommended.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

(Information sent to Nat Griswold)

1. Nicholson, Francis B.
   "Legal Standing of the South's School Resistance Proposals,"
   S. C. Law Quarterly, v. 7 (No. 1, Fall, 1954),

2. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
   "Racial Desegregation and Integration"
   v. 304, March 1956.

3. Leflar, Robert A.
   "What the Supreme Court Said..."
   Southern School News reprint - by SRC.

4. Journal of Public Law
   "Segregation in the Public Schools - A Symposium"
   Emory University Law School, v. 3, Spring 1954, No. 1.

5. Vanderbilt Law Review
   "Annual Survey of Tennessee Law"
   v. 7, August 1954, No. 5.

6. Gauerke, Warren E. (Emory University)
   "Private" School Plans and Racial Integration
   Reprinted from SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, April 30, v. 81, No. 2058.

7. Murphy, Jay
   Can Public Schools Be "Private"?
   Reprinted from Volume VII of the Alabama Law Review
   Fall, 1958.

-:-

September 23, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have read both of the enclosed manuscripts with the usual pleasure and admiration. I concur with Fred's favorable comments.

I have only one slight qualification to add. It seems to me that your thesis would be borne out more strongly if your earlier examples all were shown to have led clearly to tyranny. I am not sure that this could be demonstrated in the case of the English example, but it would be possible to spell out in a sentence or two the excesses and successive dictatorships which followed the French Revolution.

I think this is a very fruitful analogy which should serve to alert many complacent people to the dangers of present developments in the South.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P.S. See Marge Mandelson's comment enclosed
H.C.

Mr. Wright states on page 5, "the Jews had made the suspension (of personal liberties, under the 'Act of Authorization') necessary."

Actually, I believe at that time 1933 the Communists rather than the Jews were the bogeymen... this act was one of several following the Reichstag fire, for which the Nazi party attempted to blame Communists (& Christian Democrats) exclusively, I think. I'll check at library tonight to see if this (one)

correction is justified;
but I think it would
be historically more
accurate to say something to this effect:
"the Communists had made
the original suspension necessary,
the Jews made a
continuance of ~~dictato~~
tyranny a necessity."

MM

Linville Falls, N.C.
9/26/58

Will you please send my Who's Who to Geo. W. Culberson, NAIRO, 152 W. 42nd St. New York 36, N.Y. Who has requested it. Thanks.

M. A. Wright

September 29, 1958

Mr. George W. Cullerson
N.A.I.R.O.
152 W. 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Cullerson:

We are sending you the enclosed Biographical Data Sheet for Mr. Marion A. Wright at his request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

September 30, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I hasten to return the enclosed draft of your speech for the ADA Convention. I have read it with wholly favorable response, and I have filled in the blank spaces. This, then, can serve also as a reply to your letter of September 25th.

I have only two slight questions to raise. First, as to your criticism of the National Government's leadership. I share your view wholeheartedly, but I do feel that the quiet, impressive leadership given by Attorney General Rogers and the Department of Justice in recent weeks perhaps deserves a little more favorable notice. Belated though it is, it's quite creditable.

Secondly, on page 5 you speak of "integrationists" as being more militant now than ever. Actually, most of the examples which you cite deal with the activities of people who would not describe themselves as integrationists. The Little Rock lawyers for example, made it quite clear that they were not advocating

integration as such, but felt that the closing of the public schools was unworkable and intolerable. I suggest that on page 5 and in succeeding passages, you might want to find another label for these people who are using practical arguments urging the continuance of public education.

These are not major criticisms, and you may well prefer to leave the text as it stands.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 (Manuscript "Progress in Desegregation...")

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

9/28/58

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Harold:

Please give me your criticisms of the enclosed.

Remember:

a) The audience is politically minded. Hence, I have felt free to attack reactionary and timid politicians, State and National.

b) I have only 20 minutes.

c) The topic was assigned me, so I must try, in a measure, to answer the posed question, which requires some factual treatment. I would prefer to follow my usual free-swinging style.

I leave here Sat. A.M., Oct. 4, so time is of the essence.

Thanks.

M. A. W.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Sept. 25, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am working on some remarks for Americans For Democratic Action to be used in Cincinnati on October 5. In that connection can you please have someone fill out the blanks in the following statement and return to me promptly:

There has been public school integration in degree ranging from the merely token to full and bona fide in the Southern states of Ark., Ky., N.C., Tenn., Tex.; border states of West Va., Del., Md., Mo., Okla.

AND the District of Columbia. In terms of school districts the number integrated is some 800 out of a total of 2,890. And, in terms of Negro children in "integrated situations", as the phrase is, the number, _____ out of a total of _____.

I am to reach Cincinnati Saturday night, October 4th and will be around during the next day. If you or Routh happens to be in the vicin-

ity I hope we may have a small reunion.

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

P.S. How many Negroes admitted as undergraduates in a Louisiana state college or university in September? 59

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
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JAckson 2-8764

10-3-58

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

The points you make about draft of the Cincinnati speech are quite valid.

Before your letter was received I had decided, in view of the Supreme Court decision, to throw that speech out of the window and prepare another. If I get it from the stenographer before this is mailed I will enclose a copy. If you find anything drastically wrong with it, you may phone me at Sheraton-Gibson Hotel, Cincinnati, where I will check in about 7 P.M. Saturday, Oct. 4. The speech is for delivery on Sunday at 2:30 P.M.

Many thanks.

M.A.W.

Return to M.A.W.

PROGRESS IN DESEGREGATION? VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

Address by Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N. C., delivered October 5, 1958, before Americans for Democratic Action at Cincinnati, Ohio

---

I am sure you will appreciate my dilemma. The subject assigned me is Progress in Desegregation? View from the South. That was an appropriate topic when assigned. But it seems to have been rendered obsolete by events happening within the week. Would it not now be somewhat academic or sophomoric to discuss the progress of desegregation since the decision of May 17, 1954, to consider statistics reflecting that progress and analyze forces speeding or retarding the integration movement? All of that has assumed minor significance in the light of the Supreme Court's decision of September 29.

That decision is now the large and important fact within the consciousness of us all. What will be its effects? Where do we go from here? Those are the momentous questions. We are still too close to the event and the situation is still too fluid to permit cocksure answers. But the field for speculation is wide open and it would seem that certain generalizations may safely be made.

The fact of overwhelming significance is that the decision brought certainty where doubt may have existed. Some may have felt that replacements on the court would not share completely the views and philosophy of the court as constituted in May , 1954. We now know better. There may have been fear that the ignoble Southern Manifesto, the impertinent resolution of the Chief Justices of State Supreme Courts and the skilful propaganda conducted by the resistant states might have weakened the resolution of certain justices. We now know better. If we entertained such fears, we are now due the court an apology. The most recent decision is fully as robust and vigorous as the original pronouncement.

On the positive side, the decision means that there is to be no compromise in the national effort to give an equal chance to every American child. The nation is resolved that there shall be no such thing as second-class childhood, second-class citizenship, or second-class education

In only the narrowest sense did the court declare the law. In the broadest sense it declared the national will and spoke the national conscience. Insofar as the President is the nation's voice, his prompt appeal for faithful observance of the decree also reflects all that is best in American thought. The participation of the Justice Department, while grating upon the sensibilities of our politicians, is applauded by the nation as a whole. Remember, it is a Justice Department. What is it to do if it does not seek to secure justice for every American citizen?

The forces, economic, social, moral, spiritual, which have thus far given the movement for equal rights its resistless momentum, will not abate. On the contrary, they gain strength throughout the world. The South has become a small fortress in a state of seige. If the beleaguered garrison fought for an honorable cause, we might applaud it for its heroism. But, when the cause, stripped of its tawdry pretensions, stands revealed an an effort to preserve a caste system within a democracy and to embalm a part of the dead 18th century within the living 20th, those who defend the citadel become not heroes but objects of scorn.

The decision further means that there is to be no surrender to the mob. It required granite-like strength of character to meet the Little Rock challenge. How persuasive must have been the argument that, unless you retreat from a high moral position, there will be violence around Central High. This is, of course, judicial blackmail, the effort to control and shape a judicial decision by placing a court in terror.

Everyone, of course, hopes there will be no violence. But consider the alternatives. Bow to the threat of violence or declare for all Americans--particularly children--that the law is supreme, that human rights

are sacred and that surrender to a mob is anarchy.

Let me digress for a moment to comment upon a statement we frequently hear. That is, that race relations in the South have become worse as a result of the 1954 decision in the segregation cases. The proponents of that view point to clashes which have ensued and say, but for the decisions, this would not have occurred.

For the sake of argument let us concede the facts. What do they imply? They imply that there was latent in some areas of the South racial ill-will amounting to hostility or even hatred. But it was unexpressed; it did not come to boiling point. It had no normal outlet. Hence, it perpetually simmered and smouldered. I am, of course, not an expert in the field, but I have a feeling that any good psychiatrist would tell us that such pent-up hatreds wreak great damage to personality. Relief comes from "getting things off our chests." The last four years have been a period of catharsis, of cleansing and purging ourselves of this foul accumulation of fancied spites and grievances. We may in the future be less neurotic because for once and at long last we have spouted the venom we have harbored.

Whenever we make it possible for every man to air publicly a logical grievance we have contributed to community sanity.

Race relations seem worse because their ugly aspects have been revealed. They were just as ugly when unseen. Dirt under the rug is still dirt.

But there is one point about the court's decision of the 29th and other decisions above all other points which should not be lost on the Southern states. That is, that the court is not deceived by evasive maneuvers. Since the original decision of 1954 one by one these maneuvers have come before the court. One by one they are struck down. The court has pierced the legal fictions which surround these tactics. It has probed to the heart and core. What it found there were deception and fraud. The

South cannot win by subterfuge and evasion and might as well face that fact.

There is a moral aspect about such procedures. The legal qualities upon which the South has relied have been shrewdness, cunning, slickness, if you will. Such have been the qualities maghified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and young politicians. They are no substitutes for brain, intelligence and character. The great lawyer is not slick; he is profound. We have just witnessed the taming of the shrewd.

We may now return to our former conception of what is an honorable course for a state to pursue.

Such is the handwriting upon the wall. Those who cannot read it should go to school--preferably to an integrated school.

Surely, if we concede to Southern politicians even rudimentary intelligence and minimum devotion to the nation, they must now be reconsidering their basic postulates. They must be seeking means of saving face, of retreating with some show of grace from their vulnerable positions. But I would not make book on it. For a long time to come the Southern liberal will have his work cut out for him.

Fortunately, one target is clearly defined. It is to wipe from the statute books the foul blots placed upon them in the last four years. Those were the years of delusion--the years in which governors, legislators and attorneys general were assuring the public that it might have its cake and eat it too--that it might <u>appear</u> or <u>seem</u> to obey the law while actually clinging to segregated schools, that they could fool the Supreme Court. I must say that all of these evasive schemes were analyzed by Southern law professors in their journals and found to be completely vulnerable on constitutional grounds before they were adopted. But, with a faith which now seems naive, the resistant states followed the politicians. Within four years they mangled their state constitutions and evolved more repressive

legislation than had been produced in all the years since the 1880s.

There is no other name for such practices than tyranny. The first badge of tyranny is that it establishes or maintains itself by suspension of legal or constitutional guaranties. It does so for the basic reason of self-preservation. It cannot exist where such guaranties are in full vigor. As William Pitt remarked, "Where law ends, tyranny begins." The tyrant or dictator wishes to impose his own will upon mankind but there stands the Law, shining and undissuadable, between him and the citizen. So the Law must first be struck down.

There might be infinite multiplication of instances of dictatorships created or maintained by suspension or revocation of rights guaranteed by constitutions. Illustrations leap out from every one of history's more unsavory and grisly chapters. Indeed, the generalization might be ventured that no dictatorship or tyranny is ever created except by first striking down the constitutional safeguards which surround the citizen. For the suppression of individual rights is of the essence of tyranny. It is impossible to imagine tyranny without suppression; conversely, it is impossible to imagine suppression without tyranny.

There is a second badge of tyranny. It is the hostility which tyranny feels for established and respected courts and judicial process. (We must keep in mind that tyranny may mark the conduct of an individual, a group or government itself.)

What stands between the tyrant and the citizen, as we have noted, is Law, usually the Constitution. The instrument through which Law or Constitution speaks is the Court. The Law, conceived of as a real existence, dwelling apart and alone, speaks through the voice of the Court. The Law impinges upon mankind, not more because it exists than because the Court has given it voice. The will of the dictator is thwarted, if at all, because of what the Court has declared the law to be. In its final analysis, the inevitable clash is not between two abstractions, Dictatorship

and Law, but between Dictatorship personified in an individual or group and Law personified in the Court. Such was the recent conflict in Washington.

So, the character, composition and powers of courts are matters of profound and unholy concern to dictators. An independent judiciary, able, learned and incorruptible, is anathema to the dictator. To him the Court alone may say "Thus far and no farther shall you go." In his hot quest of power, in his trampling upon human rights, the sole agency to challenge the dictator's will is these interpreters of the law. So upon them war is declared.

Such, then, historically, are the methods of tyrants or demagogues. (The terms may be used interchangeably.) The formula is simple: By decree or legislative act strike down constitutional guaranties; and undermine confidence in courts to the point that their decrees have no public acceptance. Either alone would probably be effective. Taken together they inevitably insure the temporary success of tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of an individual, a clique or a majority. Under such a regime the rights of a minority are doomed.

What we have experienced in certain areas of the South in the past four years is nothing less than tyranny. There has been suspension of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In many instances this has been affirmative action--constitutional amendment, statutory enactment, proclamations by governors, resolutions by school boards, and the like. In other instances, there has been negative suspension--a failure to uphold or support constitutional rights. There is no difference in morals or practical effect. In either case rights have been lost or destroyed. One struck by lightning is only academically interested in whether the bolt was positive or negative electricity.

The books must now be purged and cleansed of all legal perversions written into them by bigotry. This is primarily the job of us in the

South. The school laws; teacher's oaths; laws requiring that the NAACP bare its membership; anti-barratry laws aimed at the NAACP; laws setting up so-called anti-subversion committees--the whole breed of repressive statutes must be erased. That is largely a Southern job.

There is also a national job.

Certainly, the demands of the moment cannot be met merely by a court. That is employing only one third of the national power and energy. The executive branch has its role. Congress has its role. For all three arms of the government there is good fighting all along the line. At the last session of the Congress Senator Douglas and associates introduced a bill which, if enacted, would have marshalled government's united power in aid of the liberal elements of the South. I have time only to point out that, among other features, it provided federal funds for school districts whose state aid was cut off because of their compliance with law. What a different situation we might have in Arkansas and Virginia if such were the law!

While, admittedly, law will not solve everything, the Douglas, or some similar bill, must be enacted. A lone Negro child, seeking a right under the Constitution, a qualified person seeking to register to vote, a skilled and qualified workman seeking a job--these must not be left to pit their puny strength against the massed power of a state. The federal government should not be callous spectotor of such unequal conflicts.

Just a word as to what you beyond the South may do to aid the cause;

First, and negatively, don't succumb to the argument that you are outsiders meddling in other people's affairs. We must never overlook the dual nature of citizenship in this country. The Negro children knocking upon school doors may be citizens of South Carolina or Louisiana. They are no less citizens of the United States of America. It is rights under the American constitution they seek to assert. They do so as your fellow-citizens. In that view, your concern is fully as acute as the concern of

a native-born white citizen of South Carolina or Louisiana.

Keep always in mind that what is happening in certain areas of the South is a suspension of guaranties of the American constitution. That suspension is as real as if proclaimed by a formal edict of a dictator. Such a suspension, whether formally proclaimed or not, is an act of tyranny. No American citizen has the right to acquiesce in tyranny.

All rights guaranteed by the constitution are of equal sanctity. The right of school attendance is as sacred as freedom of the press. There is no moral difference between closing school doors and closing printing presses. One will lead to the other.

Finally, the white Southern liberal is acutely vulnerable. He bucks the truly formidable power of his state; quite often he bucks community, friends, family. He is apt to be lonely. Don't wash your hands of him. Let him at all times be sustained by the consciousness that, in those areas of his land where men are not so stirred by the passions of the moment, there are understanding and sympathy.

October 9, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for letting me see a copy of your Cincinnati speech. It didn't arrive until Monday. Even with ample time to comment, however, I should have had no changes to suggest. It is excellent. I trust the occasion went well and will look forward to hearing about it when opportunity permits.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Linville Falls, N.C.
10-9-58

Please send copy of my
Who's Who to
Miss Mary Sheridan
The Progressive
408 West Graham St.
Madison 3,
Wisconsin.
She has requested it.
Thanks.

M. A. Wright

October 13, 1958

Miss Mary Sheridan
The Progressive
408 West Graham Street
Madison 3, Wisconsin

Dear Miss Sheridan:

At his request, we are sending you the enclosed vita sheet on Mr. Marion A. Wright. If additional information is needed, I will be happy to supply it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

cc: Mr. Marion A. Wright

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

Personal

10/27/58

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

The Cincinnati speech seems to have been fairly well received, as indicated by the aftermath of letters enclosed, which you will please return.

Since I always seek your advance comments before the outcome, it may not be immodest for me to let you thus be gauged, in this instance, hopefully, vindicated.

Sincerely

M. A. W.

P.S. At Frogmore Oct. 30 - Nov. 2

October 29, 1958

Mr. M. A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

The draft of your speech for NAIRO, which I am returning, is up to your invariably high standard and is admirably suited to that audience. My only suggestion is one that I believe I have made previously.

On page 12 you state that integrationists are now more militant than ever, then proceed to illustrate this by such examples as the public statement issued by the sixty-one lawyers of Little Rock. I doubt that these persons and others of their stripe can accurately be called integrationists, even though the effect of their actions may be to advance school desegregation or integration. The new recruits to our cause are mainly persons who, while declining to take a partisan position on integration as such, commit themselves to compliance with law and preservation of the public schools. If you should change the word on page 12, you might also want to consider changing "integration" on page 13.

Fred Routh, whose handwritten note is enclosed, makes similar suggestions along this line.

I am also returning the fine letters which resulted from your Cincinnati speech. The people who wrote you are high quality, and you might

likely conclude that your speech was a hit. We are always interested in such evidence of your effectiveness, since confirmation of one's own views is always pleasant.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P. S. I have not yet seen the November Progressive but I am looking forward to reading your review of Mr. Dabbs' book.

HCF

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

10-25-58

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

Your criticisms on the enclosed are sound.

M. G. W.

P.S. The Progressive for November has my review of the Dabbs book

p. 12 - "integrationists"

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

There is one feature of your proposal for use of the Rockefeller Grant which seems to me to offer a natural and close cooperation between SRC and Penn.

With reference to police training, you made the entirely valid point that it will have to be done upon the basis of a small area or region. Quite by coincidence Penn has been considering trying to have its facilities used for precisely that purpose. I think you will agree that for the area within a radius of 100 miles, Penn would be ideally adapted.

Since, largely due to SRC's efforts, police forces are now to some extent integrated, Penn has great advantage over any other locality if all officers are to receive the training.

All that I want to do at this time is to let you know that the two organizations have the same idea in mind and that at the right time we should be able to join forces on this project.

I repeat what I told you over the phone that I felt Tuesday's meet-

ing establishes the high water mark for excellence and productiveness. My undiluted congratulations to you and all of the staff.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/eg

November 14, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

I am sending along a series of questions and answers which might be of some help in any radio or television interview. They contain some of the more important considerations in the current segregation controversy.

In the rush of events Harold asked me to draft them. He has gone over them and feels they are allright. At his request, I am sending a copy to Linville Falls and to the Penn-Sheraton Hotel (marked please hold) in Pittsburgh.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

1. Q. I see you are past President of the Southern Regional Council; what is the Council and what does it do?

A. The Southern Regional Council is an old, established organization of Negro and white Southerners working for just and peaceful solutions to interracial problems. At the present time our chief concern is the public school crisis, the resulting break-down in communications between the races, and the growing tendency to subvert the law of the land.

2. Q. You use the word subvert--do you refer to subversive activities?

A. Yes, in a very fundamental sense of the word--though not in the sense it is usually used. Some Southern politicians and leaders of the resistance groups openly seek to "subvert" the law of the land as defined by the Supreme Court of the United States; and they are subversive in the sense that they have created a climate in which disrespect for law is encouraged.

3. Q. You say that these men have created a climate in which disrespect for law is encouraged?

A. Yes. When men in responsible position refuse to obey a law which they are unhappy with, less sophisticated men feel free to disregard any law they choose, and sick-minded individuals feel free to throw dynamite.

There is even greater worry about the next generation, for school children are being taught--by the example of some of their states' leading citizens--that the law doesn't really matter...it's what you want that counts.

4. Q. You don't paint a very encouraging picture of the situation in the South, Mr. Wright; has all progress toward desegregation stopped?

A. No. While there is much that is discouraging in short-term trends, the long-view is hopeful. In 1954, before the Supreme Court's school decision, there were seventeed states and the District of Columbia which officially practiced segregation in their schools systems. Today there are only seven states left which have as their official position a policy of segregated public schools.

But the picture isn't as good as it sounds. While ten states and the District of Columbia have started the process of desegregating their school systems, less than 25% of the school districts are in the process and less than 10% of the school children are in integrated schools.

5. Q. Are you saying that "massive resistance" is working?

A. No, not exactly. "Massive resistance" is on trial in Virginia and Arkansas at the present time. The Border and Upper-South states didn't engage in massive resistance. There was some local resistance but these state governments accepted, either actively or passively, the Supreme Court decision. Other factors have kept small the actual number of white and Negro children going to school together...among these factors are: housing patterns, reluctance of parents to have their children be pioneers, plans of gradual desegregation--some communities have a twelve year program, one year at a time, and plans for limited desegregation--as in those communities in my state of North Carolina where only a very few, carefully chosen Negro youngsters are admitted to formerly "white" schools.

6. Q. Which of these plans of school desegregation do you think best?

A. First, let me say "good faith compliance" and a "prompt and reasonable start" are more important than which type plan is used. The real tragedy of today is defiance of the court, not inadequacy of plans for compliance.

What experience we've had shows that desegregation across the board--in all schools and at all grade levels--tends to cause less community tension than piece-meal desegregation. Williams' and Ryan's excellent book Schools in Transition bears this out.

7. Q. Does the Southern Regional Council assist school systems which are faced with desegregation?

A. Of course this varies from state to state and community to community. In the Upper South, the Southern Regional Council, through its field staff and Consultant Service Program, has worked directly with school systems in

developing desegregation plans.

The Council, through its information services, has supplied information and materials to community groups working on the desegregation issue. It has put in the hands of decision-makers vital information.

Through the state organizations, associated with us, we have assisted, both directly and indirectly, local leaders as they were faced with the question of "how and when?" rather than "if?".

8. Q. In summary, what do you see the future holds for the South?

A. Several things are important to remember. First, the South is a part of the nation--an indissoluble Union--there is no thought of secession this time. Second, the rest of the nation and the rest of the world will not and cannot leave the South alone.

As I see it, the white South will come to accept desegregation--not necessarily because a majority likes it but because it is the more acceptable of two alternatives: public schools with some degree of desegregation or no public schools.

At the Council we talk of a doctrine of hard choices--these are questions which the white South must answer: Do you insist on maintaining segregation at the cost of being judged undemocratic by the rest of the nation and the rest of the world? Do you insist on maintaining segregation at the cost of closing your public schools? Do you insist on maintaining segregation at the cost of jeopardizing the foreign policy of the United States? Do you insist on maintaining segregation at the cost of creating anarchy?

When the white South realizes that these are the questions which must be answered, I have enough confidence in the basic common sense of my fellow Southerners that the answer will be that though they prefer segregation, the cost of maintaining it is just too high. That, plus the calm determination of the Negro community to win full citizenship and equality of status and treatment will bring about the required social transition in the South.

I suspect, that like a patient recovering from a long delayed operation, after we have completed the process, we will wonder why we ever put it off so long.

- : -

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Phone: 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N.C.
Nov. 24, 1948

Dear Fred:

I am afraid I have overdone thanking you for securing for me the ADA and NAIRO engagements. These were golden opportunities to strike blows for S.R.C. and the public weal. I am grateful for your efforts.

You were in good form at Pittsburgh. The convergence of our paths was a pleasant feature.

Please have 200 S.R.C. envelopes sent to me.

Best regards.

M.A.W.

November 25, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

Thank you for your note of November 24. No need to thank me for recommending you to the ADA and NAIRO. It was my belief that you could do the best possible job in these two slots. As you say, these were golden opportunities to strike blows for SRC and the public weal. I might add that it was a blow at the misunderstanding prevalent in much of the North.

Throughout the remainder of the Conference, people came to me and said: "Where did you ever find a guy like this man Wright? He is absolutely terrific!" I trust that your Stetson will still fit after learning this. I might add that I shared their sentiments.

I have caused to be sent to you the 200 SRC envelopes you requested.

I was sorry it was not possible for us to get together yet another time at the NAIRO Conference. I called your room several times, but all to no avail.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

December 9, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

Thanks for the kind words about my election as President-elect of NAIRO.

I have sent a copy of John Temple Graves' column to John Lassoe, the Executive Secretary of NAIRO, suggesting it be sent to the membership. I sent along a copy of your letter, saying that I seconded the motion.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Wright, Marion A.

REGARDING

Statemnnt in support of civil rights legislation
Recommendations for 86th Congress (Submitted as an individual rather than officer of SRC)

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

News release from Office of Sen. Paul H. Douglas, dtd. 12/12/58
see folder marked: "Congress, U. S., Corresp. with Senators, etc."

Linville Falls, N.C.
12-17-58

Please send promptly
copy of my Who's Who
to

Miss Annabel C. Prescott
Committee on Human Relations
Board of Education
228 N. La Salle St.
Chicago 1, Ill.

Thanks.

M. A. Wright

Sent
12-18-58

December 19, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I find that I have not acknowledged your letter of several weeks ago suggesting that SRC and Penn might work together in the future on police training efforts. I can foresee some difficulty in convening Southern policemen by either of our organizations, but to the extent that it is possible I heartily agree that we should work together.

The very best of the Holiday Season to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 24, 1958

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was glad to see the enclosed from Arnold Aronson, indicating that your NAIRO speech is commanding the attention it deserves.

I am writing George Hunton of the Interracial Review asking whether he can supply a quantity of that issue in which your article will appear. As for Crisis, I believe it would be more effective if you wrote directly. The address is Crisis Publishing Company, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

You are really on the intergroup speaking circuit! I hope this pleases you as much as it does us. You should know that you are about to get yet another invitation -- this one to speak to the annual meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in Washington sometime in April. A Miss Mary Alice Baldinger will be writing you. This is a good, if impoverished, interagency coordinating group.

Thanks for the copy of U. S. News and World Report. The contents are down to their usual standard. I know of no specific deal that David Lawrence is thought to have transacted with the segregationists. I am led to believe that the

magazine's viewpoint is dictated by a combination of Lawrence's own wrong-headedness and the fact that their myth-making is commercially rewarding; this is one way of competing with TIME!

Best wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Aronson Ltr.)

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 2-5764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

For your information I enclose letter from Mr. Arnold Aronson under date of December 5 which I shall appreciate your returning for my file.

Naturally, I am pleased that Crisis and Interracial Review will make some use of the talk I made in Pittsburgh. My horse trading instinct leads me to raise the possibility that one or both of these magazines might furnish gratis a number of reprints for distribution by SRC. I would like to have about 100 copies of each for my personal use.

If the idea appeals to you as to having merit, I should be very glad to have you negotiate with the publications. If you are dubious--as you may well be--and will give me the addresses of the magazines I will write them in my own behalf for my own copies.

I believe that I have alerted you to the fact that I am to make a talk in Chicago on January 12th. I plan for this one to be substantially what I said in Pittsburgh with some enlargement on the idea of the Southern invasion of the North. No doubt I will have time to send down an advance copy for the critical appraisal of you and Staff.

If I can think of it I will send you under separate cover a copy of

U. S. World News (?) which has three articles designed to give aid and comfort to our friends of the opposition. The unholy suspicion begins to crystallize in my mind that some quid pro quo must be involved in this prostitution of Mr. Lawrence's talents.

Have you a similar suspicion and is there any evidence aliunde the record to support the suspicion? (Wright is in his Latin phase today.)

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

Dear Harold —
For your information, & with thanks for your advice & help —
Mary Alice

December 24, 1958.

Mr. Marion Wright,
Vice President,
Southern Regional Council,
Linville Falls,
S. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am writing you at the request of the Program Committee for the eleventh annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, to invite you to speak at the conference's opening meeting, Thursday afternoon, April 16, 1959, at the Hotel Sheraton-Carlton here.

The Clearing House is a voluntary association through which national organizations meet to share their programs in the fields of civil rights and liberties. The officers and Washington representatives of over 100 national groups customarily meet at our conferences for study of outstanding current issues in these areas.

We are planning to devote all of our two-day meetings this year to school desegregation and the varied problems that have arisen in connection with it. It is our hope that you will be our opening, key-note speaker, discussing the situation in the South today. (If you're free to come to us, we can pinpoint this more precisely together as our total program crystalizes.) We are now planning on following the opening talk with a discussion of the why's of the situation by a social scientist, plus a couple of discussants from among the staff workers of the organizations that will be represented at the conference.

The co-chairmen of our program committee -- Dr. Fred S. Buschmeyer, director of the Washington office of the National Council of Churches, and Tom Harris, associate general counsel of the AFL-CIO -- join me in the hope that you'll be able to be with us, as do our chairman, Herman Edelsberg of the Anti-Defamation League, who was tremendously impressed by your talk at the recent NAIRO conference, and our good friend Harold Fleming, to whom I was talking just yesterday about our intending to invite you.

With cordial hope that we may have the privilege of hearing you,

Sincerely,

Mary Alice Baldinger,
Executive Director.

January 2, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Sorry my response to your letter regarding police training was confusing. You are absolutely right in recalling that the Rockefeller Brothers Fund project has as one of its objectives constructive influence on Southern law enforcement officials. The question is only one of method.

As I pointed out at the Annual Meeting, Southern police officials are especially resistant to approaches by liberal organizations, and thus may have to be dealt with indirectly, within the channels of their profession. I cited as an example our having negotiated with the St. Louis Police Department to play host and adviser to visiting police officials from the South. Our role would be that of a self-effacing middle-man. Similarly, I spoke of our hope that we could reach police chiefs through the instrumentality of the Southern Police Institute at Louisville. Finally, the RBF proposal, which I read, spoke of the preparation of popular material on principles of police work with minority groups, which "could usefully be directed both at police officials and community leaders."

This doesn't mean that we would not be glad to deal directly with police leadership; merely that we have had no luck so far in involving them in activity under our auspices. All I meant to say in my letter

to you was that we are eager to cooperate with Penn at any time that SRC or Penn is able to convene a body of police officials for training conducted by either or both of our organizations. I do hope Courtney will call on us if his efforts in this direction bear fruit. You can be sure that we will jump at a chance to do likewise.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Courtney Siceloff

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

(Formerly Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School)

December 29, 1958

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have your letter of December 19 with reference to possible cooperation between SRC and Penn in the field of police training. While you endorse the general idea, it seems to be one of novel impression to you.

I must confess that I may not have followed as attentively as I should your very lucid report at the last SRC meeting. But I understood you to say that you had in mind using a part of the Rockefeller Foundation for proper training of peace officers. If that should materialize, it seems to me that Penn might provide ideal facilities for schools of the kind in question.

Was I day-dreaming at that point in your remarks, or did you say something of that sort, about the immediate development of which you may have some doubt?

At any rate I hope that you will keep Penn on your mind as being a place ready, willing and anxious to foster any kind of experiment which gives reasonable prospect of value.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

c.c. Courtney Siceloff

January 7, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

Harold is out of the city, as I indicated in our phone conversation this morning. I have read with some care your newest speech; my admiration for your ability as a phrase-maker continues to grow. That, plus sound reasoning, good organization, and a wealth of content make your speeches outstanding.

After checking with you, for it would be presumptuous without, I have revised the use of the terms "hard-core" and "resistant" because we feel that although there are seven resistant states there are only five hard core states. If you will examine the original Ms you will find changes in the following: p. 3, paragraph 1; p. 8, paragraph 3; page 14, paragraph five. One other addition: p. 5, paragraph 2, "There does rest upon him, as an earnest (expression) of his sincerity, the heavy..."

The only other point that might be made which would be impressive to professional educators is the jeopardy in which their profession and their job security are being placed. Beyond their responsibilities as citizens, they have a professional responsibility in this area.

My good secretary, Luleen Sandefur, has retyped the speech for you. We will file a copy of it along with your others. Let me say once again that I still believe we ought to get M. A. W. in book length print. Perhaps during the remainder of the winter and spring you could pull together the various speeches, with revisions of course, into chapters for such an undertaking. It would be helpful to have it on the market.

One last bit of information which I think you will find of interest. You may be a goose-man, but I, suh, have just become a swan-man! My landlady has just acquired a Japanese swan named, of all things, Suwannee Sue. Sue has been the pet of a family who thought it unfair, now that she is grown, to keep her in a chicken yard with no lake close by. She now sails my lake, renamed of course Swan Lake, and makes her home close by my house. We carry on great conversations, making strange gurgling noises at each other. When I drive in the driveway she "honks" at me and I honk the car horn back at her. This is quite the blue eyed lady, as you will see.

All my best.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

TODAY'S CHALLENGE TO THE SCHOOLS - NORTH AND SOUTH

Address delivered January 12, 1959 by
Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N. C.,
before Teachers In-Service Training
Class in Human Relations at
Chicago, Illinois

It is quite natural that you should be told of me that I am a Southerner and that I should be told of you that you are Northerners and teachers. But I should like to get away as quickly as possible from those facts and their implications. Only the circumstance of birth made me a Southerner; only the same circumstance or migration made you Northerners. Only the exercise of choice made me a lawyer and you teachers. I get away from these facts because they are of trivial importance and tend to set us apart from each other whereas we are drawn to each other and gather strength from each other by the things which we hold in common. As Mr. Attlee observed in his graceful birthday tribute to Mr. Churchill, "The things which unite us are vastly more important than the things which divide."

Dr. Howard Odum, the great sociologist of the University of North Carolina, was the author of several profound books and a figure of national renown. But he was un-noticed by the citizens of Chapel Hill until, late in life, he acquired a small herd of cows. Dr. Odum took a white faced heifer down to the State fair at Raleigh, where she won a blue ribbon. Then he was acclaimed by his fellow citizens. That was a achievement they could appreciate. "Good old Dr. Odum," they called him. At last they met upon common ground.

You and I do not meet upon the common grounds of geography or profession. Those are, at best, narrow or provincial points of contact. But we do meet upon the vastly more important plane of citizenship, not as citizens of Illinois and North Carolina but as citizens of the United States of America. I do not know whether or not it will rasp upon mid-Western ears, but the time

may come when even American citizenship will itself be relatively provincial and parochial. Events propel us into an age foreseen 2400 years ago by Socrates who said he was not an Athenian or a Greek but a citizen of the world. Diogenes, when asked from what country he came made the same reply -- "I am a citizen of the world." Ancient truth for a modern age.

It is against the background of stirring events which daily make each one of us more aware of the ties which bind him to all other men, of the duties and obligations of world citizenship, that we come to examine only one phase of our duties and responsibilities as American citizens. That phase has to do with the public schools and, more particularly, with the public schools of certain Southern states and the controversy which presently rages around them.

It is a happy circumstance that we may limit the discussion only to certain states. Not all are involved. I may perhaps refresh your memories by reminding you that since the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court there has been integration in degree ranging from the merely token to full and bona fide in the Southern states of Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas; the border states of West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Oklahoma and the District of Columbia. In terms of school districts the number integrated is some 800 out of a total of 2,890. And, in terms of Negro children in "integrated situations," as the phrase is, the number is 400,000 out of a total of 3,000,000. These figures, I am sure, are familiar to you but I like to recite them. They are evidences of solid progress and re-assuring reminders that peaceful and statesmanlike procedures do not make headlines. "Happy the people whose annals are dull."

In passing, and in order to wring the last drop of comfort from the Southern situation, let us salute Florida which, in September, admitted the first Negro student to its law school, and Louisiana, which in the same month

first admitted 59 Negroes as undergraduates in a white state college. Perhaps we should more appropriately salute the Federal Courts which directed these admissions. But at least Florida and Louisiana have bowed gracefully to the inevitable. Grace in race relations is so rare as to deserve applause.

For the record the currently resistant states are Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and, to a lesser extent, Florida. In their back-to-the-wall stand on integration of the public schools, six of these seven resistant states are now pursuing a new and significant strategy. The early effort of the segregationist leaders was to move and stir Southern opinion to the point of open opposition to the law. That was a thoroughly ignoble but fairly easy task. More recently they have embarked upon a much more ambitious enterprise -- and I think you who live out of the South should be quite aware of it. They now seek to subvert the public opinion of North, East and West to the segregationist view. Of course, they don't call it that. They refer to it as education in states rights, limitation of judicial power, and other euphonious terms. But what they mean is the preservation of a caste system in the South. Under one name or another your aid--you non-Southerners--your aid is now being actively sought. It's an old story--Confederates capturing Yankees.

The movement to convert you is well organized and well financed. Certain states have their propaganda bureaus into which tax money of all citizens--Negro and white--is poured. Georgia, for example, has spent thousands--no one knows how much--on a slick and glossy illustrated publication shipped and mailed to states outside the South. Its central thesis is that integration is a Communist plot and that the NAACP and other groups which urge compliance with law take direction from Moscow.

State funds are supplemented by subsidies from anti-labor and other reactionary sources. There is a Southern columnist whose drivel is widely

carried by the Southern press. Recently, in one of his repeated appeals for contributions, he reported that $250,000 had already been spent by the notorious White Citizens Councils on spreading written progaganda in the North. This consists in large part of a letter which relies upon Scripture to establish Negro inferiority, although making the customary nauseating avowal of the author's affection for members of that race.

The segregationists of the hard core states send speakers on foreign missions to North, East and West. They flatter and fawn upon Northern papers or writers who abet their plan. And their own apostles and philosophers have spread their doctrine in certain Northern publications. A magazine of national circulation and influence and a columnist whose writings appear coast to coast are skilled and effective advocates of bigotry.

So the movement to convert you should not be taken lightly.

There is something quite persuasive in this new Southern approach to the rest of the nation. You are no doubt acutely aware that you have not perfectly solved your own integration problem. To you, then, is addressed the disturbing question: "Who are you to tell us how to run our affairs?" I am not here to disparage the legitimacy of that query. And I think I should hardly be honest if I did not say frankly to you that the spectacle of around-the-clock guarding of Negro homes in a white section of Chicago has been a vast dis-service to the cause of school integration in the South. The phenomenon of racial clashes is not unknown in many Northern cities. This hurts the liberal movement in the South.

But, of course, there is a vast difference between segregation by individual decision and segregation by law. In Chicago, for example, there is the area of choice; in the hard core states, there is no choice. In Chicago, the law protects the right of association upon terms mutually satisfactory to the persons involved; in South Carolina, for example, whatever the individual wish,

the State asserts you shall not associate in certain prohibited situations, or except upon terms prescribed by the state. To be specific, in the hard core states you may not legally share a "public" park or beach, but you may share a street car--that is, if whites sit in the front and Negroes in the rear.

The great distinguishing facts are that in the North the warm and natural and human instincts for friendship may be freely indulged; in the hard core states such indulgence is arbitrarily regulated by law and is experienced at one's peril. And, of course, the protracted suppression of a generous impulse tends to its extinction.

So the stones in glass houses argument hardly applies. But certainly, as I am sure you will concede, what a Northerner must attack is not Southern injustice or bigotry, but injustice or bigotry wherever found. One is not required to stand mute, or keep his convictions to himself, merely because he has been unable to make them prevail perfectly at home. There does rest upon him, as an earnest expression of his sincerity, the heavy moral obligation to divest his crusade of any geographical implications.

But your vulnerability because of your imperfections is not the chief complaint against you. The argument, dinned into Southern ears day in and day out, is that you who live outside the South should leave us alone to solve our problems. Not that you should not sweep abroad until you have cleaned your own door step, but that you shouldn't sweep at all. It is awkward to tell you, but I may whisper that you are known as meddlers in our affairs.

And I must confess that there are voices in the North which seem to echo that point of view. Again there is a certain persuasion in the argument that the rebellious states should be allowed to solve a problem which has its physical roots there. But this presupposes that the nation as a whole has no stake in the solution.

President Roosevelt was entirely accurate in describing the South, not as an economic problem or a local economic problem, but as the nation's economic problem No. 1, a phrase which rasped on Southern ears. It is the problem of the man from Wisconsin or California or New York, as well as the man from South Carolina or Mississippi or Georgia. The theory which generally prevails in federal government policy and is subscribed to by intelligent men everywhere is that the resources of the nation must be used to eliminate weak spots in the nation's economy. In its simplest terms, this means spending in South Carolina money raised by taxes in Wisconsin. Federal aid to education, libraries, roads, health, will naturally be more generous in poorer than in wealthier States. The poorer are the Southern States. Hence, the citizen living north of the Mason and Dixon line is going to have a progressively larger dollar-and-cents stake in his neighbor to the South. Whatever contributes to Southern poverty touches the pocket nerve of the man from Wisconsin.

If the Southern Negro, because he is a Negro, is kept out of employment for which he is qualified, or is paid less than the white for similar services, or if he is required to pay higher rent for inferior housing, or if his credit terms are unnecessarily harsh, or if he doesn't get his proper share of health or educational facilities, and if these conditions tend to keep the South economically backward, then they are properly subject to interest, comment, and action by outsiders. It is not necessary here to determine that such conditions do exist. But inquiry into the possibility of their existence and editorial comment based upon bona fide belief that they do exist would seem to be entirely legitimate and authorized.

After all, who is the best critic of an institution or policy--one who has lived under it and with it and, therefore, has acquired biases for or against, or one who views it with icy detachment? It is generally agreed that Lord Bryce, Montesquieu and DeTocqueville are among the ablest critics of our

government. The best study of the race problem in this country was made by Myrdal, a Swede. These foreigners were the best critics, not in spite of their detachment, but because of it. The unembroiled critic has a vantage point not vouchsafed to those closely involved. For that reason we insist that our judges and jurors have no interest in the controversy before them.

If all authors could write reviews of their plays they would all be hits.

This invasion of the North--a kind of second march on Gettysburg--presents one of the anomolies of the times. This is the age of the sputnik. Each day the range of our interests is extended. Each day we become more acutely aware of the inter-dependence of men upon each other. We become more conscious of involvement of our own destinies with the destinies of men in the world's remotest corners. There is daily borne in upon us the essential unity and indivisibility of mankind with the result that what affects one affects all.

In such a context how like a voice from the Dark Ages is the white supremacist's whimpering plea that you in the North have no concern with what happens to your Negro brothers in the South! That you have no license to be heard! That your endeavor to influence the Southern situation is impertinent meddling in a matter of only local interest and significance!

Certainly you will not fall for that argument. Only one far gone in schizophrenia can embrace at the same time a sense of international civic responsibility and the provincialism of the segregation philosophy.

You who share the world's revulsion at the Russian treatment of Boris Pasternak will hardly remain indifferent to the stern fate of hundreds of lesser Pasternaks in the South who think and write and teach and preach and speak at their peril.

There is, then, this trend, this effort to sell the segregation cause to the non-Southerner. Beware of its soft seductions.

You may not know it but you are being wooed by Sen. Eastland and Sen. Thurmond. We hope there shall be no betrothal; certainly no marriage, and as to issue, God forbid!

The package which the seven rebellious states offer you is attractively labelled. "States' rights" they call it. (Everybody likes rights. You may have heard of the right-to-work law.) But surely you will be interested in what is wrapped up in that package and in the saleman's character.

Those who offer you the package have declared that they will not obey the law of the land. They are engaged in "massive resistance", to that law. One has great reluctance to define such conduct in its appropriate terms. But I ask you the question: Are not those who defy the courts and deny human beings their constitutional rights enemies of their country? If so, you are being asked to give your aid and comfort to the enemies of your country, an offense in war punishable by death.

Resistant states, only five or six in number, seek your aid, or, at least, your benevolent neutrality. A clear case of the tail seeking to wag the dog. And what a tail! Some years ago Mr. H. L. Mencken and Mr. Charles Angoff wrote a series of articles entitled "The Worst American State." They were based upon statistics furnished by Dr. S. H. Hobbs of the University of North Carolina, an impeccable source. They examined factors indicating the degree of civilization of the American states. Admittedly, the statistics are now out of date. But it is informing to note that among the ten lowest ranking were all the hard core states. It is they who seek Northern aid or benediction.

But, after all, what lies behind this noble facade of states' rights? This requires an examination of the evolution of the resistance movement.

Following the Supreme Court decision there came from certain governors, senators, congressmen and others highly placed, declarations that their states would not observe the law. One law. The law relating to integration of the public schools. A new phrase crept into our speech--"massive resistance"--and

two old ideas were resurrected after 100 years of quiet repose--"nullification" and "interposition." I wish to emphasize that the proponents of such views had in mind a purely limited objective, non-compliance with one single law, not public rebellion against all law. If we may liken their inflammatory utterances to a bomb, their pinpointed target was integration of the public schools.

They employed all their cunning to develop methods of preserving a segregated system--private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, local control, complicated legal steps to be taken by aggrieved parties, re-districting and all the rest of a list of odorous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded as the transparent frauds they are.

Such was the pin-pointed objective and such were the methods of attaining it.

But, of course, basically, what they advocate is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may, with as much right, choose to flout the law which protects the life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence.

The bomb is aimed at integration of the schools. But whither drifts the fall-out? It drifts in part into the mind and heart of the ignorant, the unlettered, the evilly disposed. When cunning and sly maneuvers have had their day, when all legal tactics are exhausted, when what passes for intelligence has failed--what is the untutered citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of

authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

So we have proceded inevitably from the rolling phrases of a governor, through the subleties of legislation, to repression, cross-burning, assults, bombings and murder. Through all these evil and sometimes bloody acts there runs the dark thread of connection. The official policy of resistance to one law was the bomb. Foul and dastardly deeds are the inevitable fall-out.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the segregationist public officials who weep at violence! Actually, there is blood on their hands.

These leaders are careful to point out that they do not condone violence. Concededly, there are points of difference between violence and legislative or official maneuvering, as there is between highway robbery and embezzlement. Force is used in robbery and not in embezzlement. The motive in both instances is identical--to deprive a person of his property. So, in the Civil Rights field, with violence or legal duplicity, the motive is identical--to deprive a person of a right.

I am not at all sure that the points of differnece are favorable to the officials. Acts of violence may often be dismissed as the impulsive and unthinking conduct of brutish men. But your legislative maneuverers--your private school men, your state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment, local control, gerrymandering men--have no such claim upon our consideration. They are trained and skilled and cunning men. They plot their schemes, mull over them, debate them for weeks on end. There is malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Bad as it may be, what is done by the poor devil who burns a cross or plants a bomb is his individual act, in no sense committing or involving his state. But what is done by men in Governors' mansions or legislative halls becomes State policy, carrying with it all the sanction and authority of a state. It seems almost blasphemous that men should use the sacred power of

a state for such ignoble ends.

Certain public officials are appalled at the bombing of a single school. Who wouldn't be? But what shall be said of governors, legislators, or school officials who wreck the entire school system of a state? Which offense is the more despicable?

It is with actions such as those that you are asked to associate yourselves by withholding your scorn and condemnation. I can't believe you will do it.

Have you observed that only when civil rights are involved does the phony issue of states rights rear its head? There is complete willingness--even eagerness--on the part of Southern statesmen to accept every form of federal aid to the states, except aid to the public schools which might help the desegregation process. They are present, hat in hand, when national funds are distributed. Their harsh strictures upon the federal government are muted and stilled when Uncle Sam wears his Santa Claus costume.

How sincere are they, anyhow? Last year the Congress had before it a bill prescribing humane procedures for the packing industry. Did any Southern statesman arise and proclaim that how Chicago butchered its hogs was a matter of only local concern, that it was a matter for consideration only by the sovereign state of Illinois, and that Southerners should not interfere, but, on the contrary should keep their hands--cotton pickin' hands, suh--out of Illinois affairs?

The nation, with full Southern approval, enacted that law because of proper national abhorence of cruelty. Even a hog has a right to die with a minimum of suffering. If a hog has a right so to die, has not a child the right so to live? If the national conscience is properly concerned with rights of dying hogs, is it not equally concerned with the rights of living human beings?

Is there cruelty in the segregation system? Unfathomable, incalculable cruelty. In every waking moment the segregated black child has shouted at him by deeds more eloquent than words "unfit, unworthy, despised." The whole system tends to grind him down, to reduce and abase him.

Toward the end of the war with Germany there was much discussion of what form of punishment would fit Hitler's monstrous crimes. A Negro girl answered in few words: "Paint him black and make him live in the South." A procedure probably in conflict with the Constitutional prohibition of cruel and inhuman punishment.

When an ancient prophet sought to express the ultimate in human woe and misery he turned to the plight of one "despised and rejected of men." Such a one is "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

Segregation is a diabolical device to proclaim every hour on the hour that millions of American citizens are despised and rejected by their fellows.

Under the glittering pretext of defense of states rights you are asked to help preserve such a system.

In your own interest as citizens of Illinois you may not do so. Let us return to our bomb and its fall-out. We have noted how resistance to one law--public school integration--led to resistance to many others.

There is also a geographical distribution of fall-out. With that you are concerned. No doubt every governor and senator who champions the cause of rebellion feels that the effects of his action are limited to his own state. This is a naive faith in privacy. No longer is any official action taken in a dark corner. It is known and its effects felt throughout the world.

Those more philosophical than I have with alarm pointed out that the growth of scientific knowledge far exceeds man's spiritual development, that twentieth century tools may be employed by 18th century mentalities. Especially is this true in the field of communication. So we have the phenomenon of a

governor or a senator whose words may leap across oceans and continents but whose moral perceptions can't leap across his back yard fence.

Therein lies your peril. The Neanderthal gutterals of Gov. Faubus and Senator Eastland stir the primitive in men not merely in Arkansas and in Mississippi but in Illinois as well. Don't for one moment think that the Mason and Dixon line is a rampart behind which you are secure. There is no quarantine against an idea. It enters the national blood stream and affects every living cell of the body politic. If little fires are not quickly trodden out they may become raging conflagrations which rivers cannot quench.

So in any proper or realistic view, the question of desegregation of the Southern schools is a national, not merely a local, issue.

It was considerations such as these which motivated the Supreme Court decision in the recent Little Rock case. That decision means that there is to be no surrender to mob action, no compromise in the national effort to give an equal chance to every American child. More importantly, it made a point which should not be lost on every rebellious state. That is, that the court is not deceived by Southern evasive maneuvers. The hard core states now know they cannot win by subterfuge and evasion.

There is a moral aspect to such procedures. The legal qualities upon which the resisting states have relied have been cunning, slickness, shrewdness. (We have just witnessed the taming of the shrewd.) Such have been the qualities magnified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and politicians. We now know they are no substitutes for brain, intelligence and character. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick; he is profound.

We may now return to our former conception of what are honorable courses for states to pursue. Such is the meaning of the recent decision. Such is the handwriting upon the wall. Those who can't read it should go to school--an integrated school, of course.

You will be told by many that race relations in the South have become worse as a result of the 1954 decisions in the school segregation cases. Proponents of that view point to clashes which have occurred and say that, but for the decisions, this would not have happened.

For the sake of the argument let us concede the facts. What do they imply? They imply that there was latent in some areas of the South racial ill-will amounting to hostility or even hatred. But it was unexpressed; it did not come to boiling point. It had no normal outlet. Hence, it perpetually simmered and smoldered. I am, of course, not an expert in the field, but I have a feeling that any good psychiatrist would tell us that such pent-up hatreds wreak great damage to personality. Relief comes from "getting things off our chests." The last four years have been a period of catharsis, of cleansing and purging ourselves of this foul accumulation of fancied spites and grievances. We may in the future be less neurotic because for once and at long last we have spouted the venom we have harbored.

Whenever we make it possible for every man to air publicly a logical grievance we have contributed to community sanity.

Race relations seem worse because their ugly aspects have been revealed. They were just as ugly when unseen. Dirt under the rug is still dirt.

But I return to my thesis. The task of ending legalized segregation is the first order of business for the United States. In your own state a few weeks ago Carl Sanburg put it in homely vernacular: "The United States <u>is</u>, not <u>are</u>. The Civil War was fought over a verb. Gov. Faubus don't know that, but he goin' to learn." The job of teaching him and others calls for the total mobilization of all the nation's moral power.

Consider with me for a moment the situation in stark and unvarnished terms, stripped of all its tawdry pretensions. The Supreme Court has held

that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional. But four years after the event it exists in seven Southern states, six of which declare they will not obey the law. That is rebellion without the dignity of formal secession.

Certain school districts wish to comply with law. They are told in some instances if you do, state funds will be cut off, and in others, we will close your doors. That is blackmail by State action. No idle threat either, as Gov. Faubus and Gov. Almond have proven.

Presented with a choice between ignorance and honor, they have chosen ignorance.

Negro children seek to exercise a constitutional right. They turn to the one great organization qualified to help. That organization is beset with a series of state actions designed to cripple it or to force its suspension. That is sabotage of an honorable agency whose sole mission is to secure judicial determination of legal rights.

So, if we were morbid enough, we could run the entire gamut of repression.

Certainly, such activities are not matters of merely local concern. I say to you from the North that your own welfare, your own destiny, hang in the balance. The bright image of America as a land of equal opportunity, of concern for the rights of the individual, of the open door to merit and worth--that image is being marred and defaced. I know of no more serious indictment of a nation than that it permitted school doors to be slammed in the face of an aspiring child.

At the last session of the Congress, Senator Douglas and associates introduced a bill which, if enacted, would have marshalled government's united power in aid of the liberal elements of the South. I have time only to point out that, among other features, it provided federal funds for school districts whose state aid was cut off because of their compliance with law.

What a different situation we might have in Arkansas and Virginia if such were the law!

While, admittedly, law will not solve everything, the Douglas, or some other similar bill, must be enacted. A lone Negro child, seeking a right under the Constitution, a qualified person seeking to register to vote, a skilled and qualified workman seeking a job--these must not be left to pit their puny strength against the massed power of a state. The federal government should not be callous spectator of such unequal conflicts.

Just a word as to what you beyond the South may do to aid the cause!

First, and negatively, don't succumb to the argument that you are outsiders meddling in other people's affairs. We must never overlook the dual nature of citizenship in this country. Negro children knocking upon school doors may be citizens of South Carolina or Louisiana. They are no less citizens of the United States of America . It is rights under the American Constitution they seek to assert. They do so as your fellow citizens. In that view, your concern is fully as acute as the concern of a native-born white citizen of South Carolina or Louisiana.

Keep always in mind that what is happening in certain areas of the South is a suspension of guaranties of the American Constitution. That suspension is as real as if proclaimed by a formal edict of a dictator. Such a suspension, whether formally proclaimed or not, is an act of tyranny. No American citizen has the right to acquiesce in tyranny.

All rights guaranteed by the constitution are of equal sanctity. The right of school attendance is as sacred as freedom of the press. There is no moral difference between closing school doors and closing printing presses. One will lead to the other.

Finally, the Southern liberal is acutely vulnerable. He bucks the truly

formidable power of his state; quite often he bucks community, friends, family. He is apt to be lonely. Don't wash your hands of him. Let him at all times be sustained by the consciousness that, in those areas of his land where men are not so stirred by the passions of the moment, there are understanding and sympathy.

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C. 1/9/59

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your quick service on the Chicago speech and your warm endorsement.

All of the changes you made are appropriate.

I must, however, introduce you to the word "earnest" as a noun, defined by Webster as "a pledge" ... "part of the price of the commodity bargained for, paid by the buyer to the seller, to prove the validity of the transaction" ... "a part of something delivered beforehand, as a security." ... "proof or evidence of good faith".

But if, standing alone, "earnest" to you seemed incomplete, no doubt it would so seem to Chicago teachers. So I gladly accept the amendment.

Again many thanks.

W.A.W.

January 15, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

Thank you for introducing me to the word "earnest" as a noun. I trust that the Chicago teachers were as impressed with the speech as we in the office were. I am glad that we were able to help you in getting extra copies of the speech prepared for distribution to the press.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 15, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Probably you should add to my Who's Who a note to the effect that I am Chairman of the Board of Penn Community Services, Inc., and a member of the Board of National Civil Liberties Union.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Wright
M. A. Wright

Done - 1/19/59 WE

FOR COMPLETE FILE ON DEES SEE: "Criticisms - NC Defenders of States' Rights, James P. Dees"

C O P Y C O P Y

LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA
January 19, 1959

Rev. James P. Dees
Trinity Episcopal Church
421 Walnut Street
Statesville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Dees:

I appreciate your having written me under date of January 15 as follows:

"Be assured that you do not stand for what the South stands for. If you are a Southerner, then you have betrayed your heritage."

I am not facetious when I express my thanks for your having written me. In the absence of such a letter I would not have the occasion or the incentive to correspond with the head of one of the resistance groups in North Carolina and its chief theological champion. Your letter gives me a convenient opportunity to place before you considerations you may otherwise overlook.

You are no doubt entirely correct in asserting I do not speak for the South. I have never assumed that I did. There are some 30,000,000 people in the South of many colors and descriptions and gradations and shadings in their beliefs. It would be quite presumptuous for anyone to pose as spokesman for so conglomerate a group.

For example, for whom do you speak? The millions of Negro citizens? The states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia, all of which are peacefully de-segregating their schools? The Catholics, the Quakers, the Unitarians? The Southern divinity schools, including, notably, Sewanee? The ministers of all denominations in Atlanta, 311 in number, in Dallas, in Little Rock, and in scores of other Southern cities? The Methodist Council of Bishops who spoke their convictions in their statement of Nov. 13, 1958? The Protestant Episcopal Bishops with whose profound utterance of Oct. 17, 1958, you must be familiar?

Surely you do not speak for any of those groups. Your convictions must be at war with theirs. And, particularly in your isolation from the moral and religious trends which now nobly assert themselves, you must be a very lonely figure.

It is only fair to say that you must be conceded spokesmanship for the official policy of the "hard core" states. Those states are now in open rebellion against the law of the land. They have suspended guaranties of the Federal Constitution as effectively as if such suspension were formally proclaimed by edict of a Hitler, a Batista or a Fidel Castro. The fruits of such policy have been cross-burnings, bombings, assaults and murder. For these the policy makers and policy spokesmen must answer to their consciences.

While I speak for no one except myself, I derive comfort from the fact that the Supreme Court, both political parties, all religious bodies, United Nations, labor unions and the overwhelming weight of informed opinion throughout the world condemn legalized segregation. The Southern "stand" to which you refer is in opposition to such imposing and respected forces.

So, when you say I do not stand for what the South stands for I must ask what South you mean. There are many features of Southern life worth preserving -- the tradition of hospitality; urbanity, good manners, mastery of parliamentary procedure; sense of international obligation and responsibility evidenced by support of the old League of Nations and United Nations; and a scale of values which minimizes the importance of the sharp commercial instinct. For all of those things I should like to stand. This heritage I do not betray.

But when you and your associates use the expression "our Southern way of life," you never seem to mean any of those things. You seem to mean only a system of caste legally enforced. Probably you do not intend to do this, but the image of the South which you are fashioning and exhibiting to the rest of the world is of a region obsessed with the significance of pigment, with the preservation of a fixed status for some millions of Southerners. For those features of Southern life I do not stand. I should be humiliated if I were thought to stand for them. If they are a part of my heritage, I have no particle of loyalty to them.

If I have understood anything at all of the religion you profess, it is that the supreme loyalty is not to state, or region, or race, but to truth as it is given one to see the truth. And if your religion has the slightest meaning for mankind, that

meaning is that no man looms larger or smaller in the divine vision because of his color. Man-made institutions which attach personal status to color depart from what even the conscience of the unorthodox tells him is the only honorable way of life.

You and your associates seem deeply disturbed that I and others seek to change Southern custom, "the Southern way of life." My answer is that there is nothing sacred about custom; that its right to survive unchanged depends upon how it affects humanity; that the human race has progressed as it has had the wisdom to abandon outworn institutions, and, that the only way of life worth preserving is one which is always subject to change.

You will no doubt recall that the complaint of the rabble of Thessalonica against Paul and Silas was that they had "turned the world upside down"; and that the founder of your religion said, "I come not to send peace but a sword."

Those who hack away at the injustice and cruelty inseparable from segregation feel that they humbly wield that sword. All the world's great religious bodies and the vast majority of their ministers, rabbis and priests have their hands upon the hilt. The defection of any one of their number causes the peculiar sorrow with which one always observes a betrayal of a noble faith.

Sincerely,

/s/ M. A. WRIGHT

M. A. Wright

MAW/eg/mf

January 19, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Sorry my travels prevented my reading and commenting on your Chicago speech in advance. I agree entirely with Fred's enthusiastic judgment and trust the reception was all it should have been. (I differ from Fred only in being comfortable with "earnest" as a noun.)

I am returning herewith the two letters concerning the NAIRO speech. Incidentally, I shall soon be sending you a number of copies of the Catholic Interracial Review containing excerpts.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Jan. 5, 1959

Dear Harold:

What with guests, the holidays and a duck hunting trip to South Carolina, I am just getting around to the Chicago speech scheduled for the 12th. Copy is enclosed. Please have the lynxes and ferrets of your staff turn their beady little eyes upon it and give me the verdict.

My hosts wanted me to dwell upon the North's interest in our problem. I have tried to accommodate them.

From the typewriting - if no other - standpoint the copy is lousy. In addition to normal inadequacies, the letter "e" is frequently lacking. If it would not impose too greatly upon you, I should greatly appreciate your having made for me as many copies as may be typed at one time. Such copies, as you know, greatly help in getting liberal press coverage.

I will leave here on Sunday, Jan. 11, so will get my last mail on Saturday, Jan. 10. May I ask that staff reaction be sent me in

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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Duplicate, one copy coming here and the other to me at Shoreland Hotel, 5454 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill. Copies of the speech should go to the Hotel address.

Unblushingly, I enclose two letters in which you may be interested. Please return.

M. A. W.

P.S. For the purpose of making copies, if changes seem to be indicated, please edit any way you like.

M. A. W.

January 20, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your letter to the Reverend Mr. Dees. This is as neat a job of polite mayhem as I have come across. I am moved to ask your permission to reproduce the letter, probably in mimeographed form, so that it can be shared with some appreciative spirits. The thought occurs to me, however, that it would be only fair in that event to reproduce also the letter to which you are replying.

Could I have your reactions to both points?

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 22, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

In order that you may have something in your file, this will confirm my statement over the phone that my letter to Rev. James P Deas quoted in full his letter to me, and that I am today in receipt of a letter from him asking permission to give my letter publicity.

I shall probably write him tomorrow at which time I will send you the complete correspondence.

You have my unreserved permission to give such publicity as you may see fit to my letter to Mr. Deas.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/eg

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MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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Mohawk 2-8764

1/27/59

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

A very good meeting I thought. Thanks for your official and personal kindnesses.

One suggestion: John Wheeler has had more to do with handling securities and trust funds than any member of our board. He is exceptionally able. I think it would be diplomatic, as well as good judgment, for you to seek his advice on (a) investments, (b) joint control & access to safety deposit box, and any other steps (including bookkeeping) to insure proper handling of reserve accounts. I am appreciative and thought I detected a note of impression on John's part that he might be useful in that field.

Another: It is a little unfair to Mr. Haas to ask him to give opinions "from the hip" on tax exemption matters. You now seem to have an excellent chance to educate him on Council-state relationships and extract valuable services from him. I liked him and believe he wants to help. He will grow in interest and value as he becomes involved.

Now, I decided to delete biological references in my proposed letter to Mr. Dees. This will shorten & deprive of punch, but I think it wise to do so.

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3

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

If you mimeograph the first letter I could use some 25 copies effectively.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

Harold:
Decide on this reply & mr. back!

Jan. 28, '59

Rev. James P. Dees
Trinity Episcopal Church
421 Walnut Street
Statesville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Dees:

I congratulate you upon the courteous and polite tone of your letter of January 21st. It is a pleasure to correspond with one who writes intelligently and in good temper. Those qualities are so often lacking in communications over the de-segregation issue.

You have my permission to print my letter of January 19 with the only condition that it be printed in full exactly as written without editing in any manner. You are, of course, at liberty to precede or follow it with any comments of your own. I may also give it some publicity. Such permission also applies to this letter.

Your letter indirectly invites my further comment. You state: "I note with interest that you consider as the law the decrees of the Courts rather than the Constitution of the U. S." This observation falls within the have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife category.

My impression is that no responsible person since the days of Chief Justice John Marshall has questioned that it is the duty and exclusive function of the Supreme Court of the United States to interpret the Constitution of the United States. Certainly, that authority must reside somewhere; and all states and litigants have concurred in Marshall's views as to the Supreme Court's power. The nation would have collapsed long ago if such rule had not been followed.

Now, after 150 years, for the first time, the view seems to be advanced that each of the rebellious states may do its own interpreting;

or that the Ku Klux Klan, or White Citizens Councils, or North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, Inc. (I bracket the organizations because of their philosophical and spiritual affinity) may decide questions of constitutional law to their own satisfaction.

That would be a dangerous rule. The NAACP, B'Nai Brith, and Knights of Columbus could show equally valid credentials. And then individuals would get it into their heads that they should decide. And thus we would have anarchy.

With such alternatives, I prefer to throw in my lot with those who hold the historic and traditional view that the Supreme Court is the ultimate repository of decision on Constitutional questions. It may not be a perfect instrument, as, indeed, no human agency is perfect; but no student of our government has proposed a better. The most dangerous doctrine I know of is that anyone may reject a decision which displeases him.

So I do consider the Constitution as the supreme law and the Court as the established agency to say what the Constitution means. When it has spoken it is the duty of states and citizens to obey.

I am quite familiar with the Washington report you enclosed. If you were as familiar with the dastardly nature of the inquisition which was conducted and the complete refutation of the charges by the responsible school officials, I can hardly believe you would stoop to giving it currency.

It may be enlightening to you to read the enclosed statement and editorial.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
TWIN CITY SENTINEL
JOURNAL SUNDAY AND SENTINEL
PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY, WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

31 January 1959

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending me Marion Wright's letter to Jimmy Dees. I have read it with tremendous interest and hope that the occasion will arise to make some use of it.

I, too, thought Maggie Hunter's piece on Dees quite good. Interestingly, it was one of those stories so objectively done that it pleased people on both sides of the controversy.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Editor

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

February 5, 1959

Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Alburn Avenue, North East,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I enclose three letters having to do with my recent letter to Mr. Dees.

I have acted on Mr. Prince's suggestion and re-cast the Dees letter into the form of a communication to the editor. Three of these have been signed and sent to Harry Jones for use as he sees fit.

No doubt you have received copy of press release of speech by Senator Douglas on January 29. It is encouraging to note that he made extensive use of my recent Pittsburgh speech.

It is regrettable that I could not join Dr. Clement's group this morning. If you get the chance I hope you will brief me on what transpired.

Please keep in mind also the idea of letting your former classmate know that Penn is prepared to submit a proposal upon receipt of any intimation that it would be welcome.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright.

enclosures: 3

MAW/jep

Return to
M.A.W.

ANATOMY OF THE RESISTANCE

Address by Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N. C.

~~February 5, 1959~~

Before the Community Relations Conference of Nashville, Tenn.

I appreciate the opportunity you have given me to come to Nashville and Tennessee. Of course I have been here before - as who hasn't? The architectural beauty of the Hermitage and the natural awe-inducing grandeur of the Smokies assure you of a perpetual flow of reverent visitors. For many decades now, because of those - and many other - points of compelling interest, the eyes and thoughts of the nation have turned to Tennessee.

And, though I venture timidly into the delicate area of politics, and do so for a limited purpose only, I feel compelled to say that your two able United States Senators have within recent years brought you added fame. Their refusal to sign the notorious Senate Manifesto and their uniformly correct position on civil rights have been enlightened and courageous actions. Senators help to create images of their states. The image of Tennessee has received new luster from the high and noble stand of Senators Kefauver and Gore. As the television commercials have it, no other Southern state can make that claim!

It is nothing but fair that I thus express our appreciation. There have been many occasions in other areas of the South when I have expressed chagrin and disappointment. No one wants to become known as a public scold, fit for the ducking stool. So he must seize upon such rare opportunities as come his way to utter praise where it is deserved.

Lest I imperil anyone's tax-exempt status, let me hasten to say that no member of this organization or of the Southern Regional Council has conspired or confederated with me in the preparation of these remarks - "an ill-favored thing, Sir, but mine own."

I am becoming tired of having to make that statement. I think the next time Senator Eastland says he is pursuing subversives I will tell him, "Go chase yourself."

It is quite natural that Tennessee, through its senators, other public officials and state policy, should cling more tightly to pure democracy than do some other states. Geographically it is not Deep South. It had no extensive acquaintance with slavery. It enjoys neighborly contact with border states. Industry came early to your great valley. Those factors have given it national, rather than regional, consciousness and identity. The tides of enlightened world opinion do not break here upon a stern and rock-bound shore.

But more important than all of these is the brooding presence of Andrew Jackson, one of the early and great champions of the common, the small and the weak individual. He left his stamp upon the entire nation, but surely that stamp is nowhere more deeply implanted than here where he lived and wrought and died.

He faced the threat of Nullification. Surely all would have felt that that threat had been drowned in blood in the 1860s. But after four score and ten years, as Lincoln would phrase it, the spectre rises from the tomb. Of course it is not called Nullification, as though it lost identity under an alias. It is called "massive resistance", "interposition", "evasion" and the like. But the wolf is discernible beneath the hide of the sheep.

Hear the voice of Old Hickory when, in 1832, South Carolina posed the issue:

> "Nullification was branded as an 'impractical absurdity'". "If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day the Union would have been dissolved in

its infancy...Admit this doctrine and...every law...may be annulled. I consider, then, the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded and destructive of the great object for which it was formed...The Constitution forms a government, not a league."

Virginia papers, please copy. Yes, Virginia, there is a government.

Jackson's ideas were recently put in homely vernacular by a kindred spirit, Carl Sanburg: "The United States is, not are. The Civil War was fought over a verb. Governor Faubus don't know this, but he goin' to learn."

As a sidelight upon the character of Andrew Jackson and as a model for any president disposed to be timid, we have Jackson's words to a South Carolina congressman:

"Tell (the Nullifiers) from me that they can talk and write resolutions and print threats to their hearts' content. But if one drop of blood be shed there in defiance of the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man of them I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find."

When doubt was expressed that the President would go that far, one who heard him told a South Carolina senator: "I tell you, Hayne, when Jackson begins to talk about hanging, they can begin to look for the ropes."

So much for a little excursion into history. My apology is that what happened in the 1830s so closely parallels what is happening in the 1950s that a refresher course may have some relevance to the present. Certainly the image of a strong man dealing with a Constitutional crisis should not be lost on these times.

Governor Faubus and Governor Almond and others of their type are subjecting us to the spectacle of rebellion without the dignity of formal secession.

Well, the Hermitage and anything associated with Andrew Jackson draws us to Tennessee. I am sure that such visitors are proudly received.

I hope that my concialatory and placatory remarks may entitle me now to proceed on a slightly less saccharine note.

Tennessee has recently had guests from all parts of the nation. Many of these were only mildly interested in Jackson. They were all interested in a school - a bombed-out school. Millions of your guests did not come here at all, but in their living rooms and before their television sets they visited Tennessee. For a brief moment the name of Clinton was in the world's headlines.

Clinton had a real significance because it was there that the idea of resistance to law had its perfect and ultimate expression. If you cannot win your legal victories in a fair forum, then destroy the institution that forum has sought to preserve. For all Southern segregationists this was their finest hour, for here their philosophy came to full fruition. If you cannot bend civilization to your will, then blast its finest achievement.

Let me say at once that this state's reaction to that act of barbarism was magnificent. The universal and profound revulsion which the state publicly exhibited eloquently spelled out the isolation of the deed's perpetrators. So, if I refer to the incident it is only in order that we may draw lessons from it, that we may at least speculate upon its genesis. That we shall now undertake to do.

Following the Supreme Court decision there came from certain governors, senators, congressmen and others highly placed, declarations that their states would not observe the law. One law. The law relating to integration of the public schools. A new phrase crept into our speech - "massive resistance" - and two old ideas were resurrected after 100 years of quiet repose - "nullification" and "interposition". I wish to emphasize that the proponents of such views had in mind a purely limited

objective, non-compliance with one single law, not public rebellion against all law. If we may liken their inflammatory utterances to a bomb, their pin-pointed target was integration of the public schools.

They employed all of their cunning to develop methods of preserving a segregated system - private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, re-districting and all the rest of a list of odorous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded as the transparent frauds they are.

Such was the pin-pointed objective and such were the methods of attaining it.

But, of course, basically, what they advocate is disrespect for law.

They choose to limit such advocacy to one law. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may, with as much right, choose to flout the law which protects the life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence.

The bomb is aimed at integration of the schools. But whither drifts the fall-out? It drifts in part into the mind and heart of the ignorant, the unlettered, the evilly disposed. When cunning and sly maneuvers have had their day, when all legal tactics are exhausted, when what passes for intelligence has failed - what is the untutored citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

So we have proceeded inevitably from the rolling phrases of governors, through the subleties of legislation, to repression, cross-burnings, assaults, bombings and murder. Through all these evil and sometimes bloody acts there runs the dark thread

of connection. The official policy of resistence to one law was the bomb. Foul and dastardly deeds are the inevitable fall-out.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the segregationist public officials who weep at violence! Actually, there is blood on their hands.

These leaders are careful to point out that they do not condone violence. Concededly, there are points of difference between violence and legislative or official maneuvering, as there is between highway robbery and embezzlement. Force is used in robbery and not in embezzlement. The motive in both instances is identical - to deprive a person of his property. So, in the Civil Rights field, with violence or legal duplicity, the motive is identical - to deprive a person of a right.

I am not at all sure that the points of difference are favorable to the officials. Acts of violence may often be dismissed as the impulsive and unthinking conduct of brutish men. But your legislative maneuverers - your private school men, your state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment, local control, gerrymandering men - have no such claim upon our consideration. They are trained and skilled and cunning men. They plot their schemes, mull over them, debate them for weeks on end. There is malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Bad as it may be, what is done by the poor devil who burns a cross or plants a bomb is his individual act, in no sense committing or involving his state. But what is done by men in Governors' mansions or legislative halls becomes State policy, carrying with it all the sanction and authority of a state. It seems almost blasphemous that men should use the sacred power of a state for such ignoble ends.

Certain public officials are appalled at the wrecking of a single school. Who wouldn't be? But what shall be said of governors, legislators and school officials who wreck the entire school system of a state? Which offense is the more despicable?

Yet in certain states to the south of you, constitutional and statutory provisions carefully designed through the years to perfect systems of public instruction, have

undergone mayhem and emasculation in order to thwart the Court's decrees. Happily, Tennessee has not stooped to this folly. If I refer to it here, it is only that you may enjoy the feeling of superiority and reflect upon the responsibilities which go with leadership.

Of course, in this violence to organic and statutory law, the statement is never directly made by the perpetrators that "We are destroying our schools", or even that "We are evading a Supreme Court decision". Their action is put upon grounds more acceptable, more palatable. "We are preserving States' Rights", or "We are preserving our Southern way of life".

I am sure you must have heard those phrases so often that they nauseate you as they do me. But perhaps it may be incumbent upon us to give them some clinical attention. We should like to see what lies behind their noble facades.

We have already observed that they are cloaks and shields for skullduggery, both official and private. Have you also observed that only when civil rights are involved does the issue of states rights rear its head? There is complete willingness - even eagerness - on the part of Southern statesmen to accept every form of federal aid to the states, except aid which might help the de-segregation process. They are present, hat in hand, when national funds are distributed. Their harsh strictures upon the federal government are strangely muted and stilled when Uncle Sam wears his Santa Claus costume. Have you ever heard of a Southern filibuster against federal aid to roads, waterways, ports, harbors, or post offices ?

How sincere are they, anyhow? Last year the Congress had before it a bill prescribing humane procedures for the packing industry. Was there a filibuster directed to the point that how Chicago butchered its hogs was a matter of only local concern for exclusive consideration by the sovereign state of Illinois and that Southerners should keep their cotton pickin' hands off Illinois affairs?

The nation, with full Southern approval, enacted that law because of proper national abhorence of cruelty. Even a hog has the right to die with a minimum of suffering. If a hog has the right, so to die, has not a child the right so to live?

If the national conscience is properly concerned with the rights of dying hogs, is it not equally concerned with the rights of living human beings?

Is there cruelty in the segregation system? Unfathonable, incalculable cruelty. In every waking moment the segregated black child has shouted at him with the somber eloquence of deeds "Unfit, unworthy, despised". The whole system tends to ~~xixx~~ grind him down, to reduce and abase him.

Toward the end of the war with Germany there was much discussion of what form of punishment would fit Hitler's monstrous crimes. A Negro girl answered in a few words: "Paint him black and make him live in the South." A procedure probably in conflict with the Constitutional prohibition of cruel and inhuman punishment.

When an ancient prophet sought to express the ultimate in human woe and misery he turned to the plight of one "despised and rejected of men". Such a one is "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief".

Segregation is a diabolical device to proclaim every hour on the hour that some millions of American citizens are despised and rejected by their fellows. They are no less citizens of the United States than they are citizens of Mississippi or South Carolina. Yet the States Rights advocates claim that, in the area of segregation, American citizenship counts for naught.

And what of "our Southern way of life?"

Certainly there are many features of Southern life worth preserving - the tradition of hospitality, good manners, urbainity, mastery of parliamentary procedure; sense of international obligation and responsibility; appreciation of the leisurely and the informal, and a scale of values which minimizes the sharp commercial instinct. For all of those things I am sure we would all like to stand. Some of us might like to add fried chicken and grits and red-eye gravy to the list.

But when the segregationist uses the expression "our Southern way of life", he never seems to mean any of those things. He seems to mean only a system of caste

legally enforced. Probably he doesn't intend to do it, but the image of the South he is fashioning and exhibiting to the rest of the world is of a region obsessed with the significance of pigment, with the preservation of a fixed and unchangeable status for some millions of Southerners, with holding on to a state of society in which he enjoys a secure and preferred position, with embalming a part of the dead 18th Century within the living body of the Twentieth.

I am sure that none of us here wish to stand for that kind of South.

So the Hermitage and Clinton have drawn visitors to Tennessee - compete for their attention. Is there not drama in the fact that within the borders of a single state these two symbols should exist? The one a symbol of a strong federal government; the other a symbol of anarchy? The Hermitage, where national concern for the rights of the humblest citizen received their finest expression, and Clinton, where a denial of such concern was spoken with dynamite?

No rational citizen of this state doubts for one moment that Jackson's was the authentic voice of the state and nation.

Stream of consciousness is, of course, a baffling thing. Somehow it has in my mind tied the Hermitage and Clinton to another of your focal points of interest. I refer to Oak Ridge, which always pops into consciousness when one thinks of Tennessee. There mankind took a long stride toward the development of the atomic bomb.

Who does not view that development with awe and fear? The reason for the bomb's creation was that it could obliterate a purely military objective as a fort or an arsenal. But we saw that with even a pint-sized bomb in Japan some thousands of civilians were also obliterated. And over the awesome shape of the hydrogen bomb there looms the dark and sinister shadow of fall-out, carrying devastation which renders relatively trivial and innocent the results of the searing and scalding flash.

Those thousands of miles away may be affected by the pollution. And, of greater and more tragic significance, we may be producing in future generations grotesque and

mis-shapen and bestial creatures having but faint resemblance to their human ancestors.

I hope it is no stretching of analogy beyond reasonable limits to liken such bombs and their somber consequences to resistance to a court's lawful decrees. With such resistance, too, the objective is immediate and specific. Defeat the application of one law, that directing de-segregation of the schools. But we have already observed, as President Jackson foresaw , that resistance to one law leads to resistance to all law - and anarchy. The road leads straight from legislative halls and governor's mansions to Clinton.

It is true, as has been proved in Tennessee's case, that fall-out drifts in from abroad. There is a geographical distribution which ignores state lines, or even national lines.

No doubt every governor and senator who champions the cause of rebellion feels that the effects of his action are limited to his own state. This is a naive faith in privacy. No longer is any official action taken in a dark corner. It is known and its effects felt throughout the world.

Those more philosophical than I have with alarm pointed out that the growth of scientific knowledge far exceeds man's spiritual development, that 20th century tools may be employed by 18th century mentalities. Especially is this true in the field of communication. So we have the phenomenon of a governor or a senator whose words may leap across oceans and continents but whose moral perceptions can't leap across his back yard fence.

Therein lies your peril, as Clinton has already proven. The Neanderthal gutterals of Governor Faubus and Senator Eastland stir the primitive in men not merely in Arkansas and Mississippi but in Tennessee as well. Don't for one moment think that a state line or a river is a rampart behind which you are secure. There is no guarantee quarantine against an idea. It enters the national blood stream and affects every living cell of the body politic. You are not safe in Tennessee until the entire

nation is safe from the virus of resistance to law.

The fall-out of such resistance, like the fall-out of the hydrogen bomb, is not only qualitative, proceeding from one crime to others; or geographic, proceeding from one state to others; but also genetic, proceeding from one generation to others.

The evil that men do does, indeed, live after them. What is now being said in the heat and rancor of the moment, what is being done in anger and spite - the bitter word, the evil deed - these, tragically, are assimilated by the very young, the babe in arms. They become a part of the mass of each child's experience, to be years later dredged up from the depths of the sub-conscious. They will enter into the attitudes and the conduct of the adult.

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

At the same time we are rearing a generation of Negro children who are being taught by what daily transpires about them that the states of which they are natives are cruel, repressive, vengeful, bent upon doling out to them second-class childhood? How will their loyalty to their respective states be later affected?

At the same time these Negro children are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and the raw tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights

issue and actually, in a ludicrous moment, ran Sen. Thurmond for the presidency.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that Nordic or Aryan supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of community or region.

The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the World Federation of churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach?

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it--certainly the last to see it--but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizesn. Thus does the sword of discrimination turn upon him who wields it.

We are being propelled, even hurtled, into an age when we shall have daily relationship and involvement with every human being on this now shrunken globe. Hurtled by cosmic forces which no senator or governor may deflect by a hair. We shall have identity and common interest with every Chinese catching fish from his sampan, every Lapplander herding reindeer on the tundra, every Egyptian tending his cotton fields on the mud flats of the Nile.

When the probing question comes "What preparation gave you for mem-

bership in the world community", what a dusty answer will be the reply that we taught white children that debasement came from learning that two times two equals four in company with colored children learning the same fact, that the Holy Grail of learning must be sought by separate routes, that the Pierian spring must be separately approached?

The policy of division of men into groups, orders and sub-orders could hardly commend itself to intelligent minds at any time. It seems particularly primitive in 1959. Man-made satellites hourly traverse the reaches of space above this continent. They send back their little beeps which men in laboratories record for the books. We may translate these beeps or we may not. It hardly seems important.

But these satellites say one thing in a language all may understand. Unite or perish. Not unite as Negro and white. But unite as human beings, bound together as equals by bonds of mutual respect. We must so unite, or

> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve;
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

2-16-59

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

What would you think of putting all members of State Advisory Committees to the Civil Rights Commission on free mailing list for New South and other SRC materials? Some may already receive such; others should.

We should establish a close working relationship with all these groups.

If we serve them well now, they may later serve us well. Philanthropy has its practical aspects.

My pen pal Paul overwhelms me. The enclosed tear sheets from The Congressional Record quote in full my Pittsburgh speech and my statement prepared for the House Committee. Please return it and his letter to me. You may keep or destroy the press release.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

FOR RELEASE
Thursday p.m.'s
January 29, 1959

From the office of
Senator Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.)

SPEECH OF SENATOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS
IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE
ON INTRODUCTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1959

Mr. President, on behalf of the Senior Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Humphrey), the Senior Senator from Missouri (Mr. Hennings), the Senior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Case), the Senior Senator from Oregon (Mr. Morse), the Senior Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Clark), the Senior Senator from Colorado (Mr. Allott), the Junior Senator from Oregon (Mr. Neuberger), the Senior Senator from Michigan (Mr. McNamara), the Senior Senator from New York (Mr. Javits), the Junior Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Proxmire), the Junior Senator from Maryland (Mr. Beall), the Junior Senator from Michigan (Mr. Hart), the Junior Senator from Minnesota (Mr. McCarthy), the Junior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Dodd),

and myself, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill entitled "Civil Rights Act of 1959."

This is a measure, Mr. President, to give effect to the Constitutional right of American children under the 14th Amendment to equal opportunity in desegregated schooling, and to provide for every American a greater assurance of the equal protection of the laws.

The Fourteenth Amendment and the Present Bill

We should never forget, although some would have us do so, that the 14th Amendment is an organic and integral part of the Constitution of the United States, which all public officials have sworn to uphold.[1/]

This amendment, of course, grew out of the Civil War and was designed to secure and make permanent those human rights for which millions of brave men and women had suffered and sacrificed and which had emerged victorious in the crucible of struggle. This amendment did at least three things.

1) It provided that everyone born or naturalized in the United States was a full-fledged citizen both of the United States and of the State in which he lived. There was no differentiation or distinction between these citizens. All had equal rights and were presumed to be of equal value. No categories of first and second classes of citizens were set up. Negroes, with others, were to have equal rights before the law.

2) The 14th Amendment then went on to say that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to

---

1/ For the doubters, may I mention the fact that Secretary of State Seward on July 28, 1868 certified without reservation that this amendment was part of the Constitution.

any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

3) In Section 5 of the Amendment, it is specifically provided that "Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." Therefore, there can be no question but that Congress has the specific power to implement the 14th Amendment.

Now the United States Supreme Court, in the Brown and other cases, has ruled that segregation on the basis of race in the public schools is ultimately a violation of the guarantee of the equal protection of the laws and hence is unconstitutional. While the methods and timing are made somewhat flexible, localities and States are expected to move toward desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

Finally, it is appropriate to call attention to Article VI of the Constitution which specifically states that, "This Constitution....shall be the supreme Law of the Land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." A similar obligation is placed upon all Members of Congress and State legislatures and on all executive and judicial officers on both the State and Federal levels.

In order to implement the 14th Amendment and to meet the grave crisis of our day in a reasonable, moderate, conciliatory yet firm fashion, we are sponsoring this bill.

It provides for technical, financial and administrative assistance through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in school desegregation cases. It also authorizes injunctive relief in suits brought by the Attorney General against denials of equal protection of the laws in school and other situations.

It thus seeks to marshal our resources of technical knowledge, financial assistance, legal representation and basic good will to meet the complex problems of desegregation in a positive, rather than a punitive, manner.

It aims to place the Congress and the executive branches of our government alongside the Supreme Court in carrying out the promises of the 14th Amendment, recognizing that we cannot expect the courts to be the sole protectors of those rights.

It seeks to encourage a maximum of cooperation and mutual assistance between Federal and local governments in ending denials of equal protection of the laws.

In short, as I have said on another occasion, it is a bill to put our moral house in order--for the benefit of citizens now denied their rights and for the benefit of the whole nation in its difficult position as a leader of the free world.

Earlier History of Measure

This is the same bill, Mr. President, which we prepared and introduced a year ago as S. 3257. Sixteen Senators joined as co-sponsors at that time, and 13 Members of the House of Representatives introduced companion measures.

Despite the urging of the Chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, the Senior Senator from Missouri, Mr. Hennings, a bipartisan majority of that committee decided that hearings should not be held on the bill in the Senate in 1958. In the House, the eminent Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Representative Celler, commenced hearings late in June but they had to be discontinued in the pressure of business at the end of the session before a full record could be made.

In recent weeks, I have appealed to the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to give consideration to the provisions of this bill in formulating the Administration's civil rights recommendations. I have received from each Department friendly assurances of such consideration.

We have also been encouraged by the widespread interest expressed in the bill by persons who are long-experienced in the problems of education and community relations. One such full-length statement was prepared for submission to the House Judiciary Committee last year by an able Southern leader, Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina, and I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that Mr. Wright's analysis be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

The Urgent Needs

While the Congress did not act on these proposals last year, Mr. President, the tragic history of continued nullification of the law of the land, of evasions of court decrees, of school closings in Arkansas and Virginia, of community bitterness, of new state legislative obstacles to compliance with the Constitution, of obstructive litigation and of bombings of schools and religious edifices, has unfolded.

The latest report I have seen from the responsible Southern Education Reporting Service of Nashville, Tennessee shows that in the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia only about 400,000 Negro children out of nearly three million in those areas are now in districts where some desegregation has been at least started--and almost three-quarters of this total are in Missouri, Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Nearly ten million children, Negro and white, are in the 2100 school districts in these states that have made no beginning of desegration.

Statistics are not available for the North, but we should not overlook the fact that in many areas there also segregation is carried out in practice. I want to emphasize that we of the North are in no sense self-righteous about the matter, and we recognize our own inadequacies and failures.

The problem is, therefore, a national one.

On December 1, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare issued a sobering statement on the losses we are suffering from school closings. They aggregated at that time more than one million student-days, and have increased since then. The full text of his statement outlining other effects of these developments deserves careful study, and I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

I inserted in the Congressional Record on February 10, 1958, a long list of the laws, resolutions, ordinances, and state administrative policies which are being used to thwart the Supreme Court's decisions. These have included nullification statutes, pupil placement schemes, provisions to close or withdraw all State funds from any school which is desegregated, support for a "private school" system if necessary, criminal penalties for spending tax monies on desegregated schools, loss of retirement benefits for failure by State officials to enforce State laws requiring segregation, power to suspend compulsory attendance laws, and interposition statutes.

On several occasions, I have also pointed out the so-called anti-barratry laws which are being passed in an increasing number of states to prevent Negroes from being adequately represented in the courts. As of the present moment, six Southern states have such laws.

With the full array of State power ranged against individuals who seek to assert their Constitutional rights, the contest is a most uneven one and now, nearly five years after the Court's decisions, the progress toward compliance with the Constitution is so slow as to turn hope to despair. The Southern School News in its January, 1959 issue headlines its state-by-state report as follows, "Segregation-Desegregation No Nearer Solution at Year's End."

In the face of these stark realities, I believe that Congress and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government can no longer shirk their Constitutional responsibilities.

The recent decisions of the highest court in Virginia and of the Federal Courts in that state ought to prove again that the road of massive resistance is a blind alley. I believe it is now time for Congress and the Executive Branch to

try massive assistance, massive cooperation, and massive good will which this bill seeks to mobilize to meet the situation.

We are also reminded from week to week of the untold damage which is done to the nation in the eyes of the colored peoples who make up two-thirds of the world's population by our failure to accord our own colored citizens equality of opportunity. Only last Saturday, an Assistant Secretary of State speaking at Biloxi, Mississippi stated again that our country is hampered in its relations with Africa by its racial troubles at home.

And a Fulbright lecturer in Education, recently returned from eight months' service in Africa, reported to the Chicago City Club on December 22:

> "'What is happening in Little Rock?' was the question asked at nearly every one of the 35 public addresses I gave during my stay," said Dr. Olsen. "American race incidents were front-page news in both the European and the African newspapers there. It became clear to me as never before that American democratic influence upon the non-whites of Africa is to a large degree proportional to what they hear of our race problems in this country."

We realize that the communist enemies of our country have used the unfortunate school closings in Virginia and Arkansas, the bombings in other parts of the country, and the incidents of racial discrimination and religious intolerance to sully our record and to discredit our devotion to freedom and equal opportunity in the eyes of other nations. Congress cannot safely ignore these grave international effects of our failure to deal constructively with the problems of human relations and Constitutional rights here at home.

Segregation on the Offensive

While Congress and the Executive have been inert in the face of the defiance of the Court and the disobedience of the law of the land relating to public school segregation, the protectors of segregation have not been content with purely defensive measures. There are disturbing evidences of a new wave of incitements of racial hatred, fear and religious bigotry. In addition, stemming largely from the Court's recent civil rights decisions, a whole series of measures to reverse and curb the Supreme Court have been presented in Congress and were only narrowly defeated in the closing days of our session last August. These efforts seem aimed at discrediting the Court, clipping its jurisdiction and threatening its very independence.

We are warned of these counter-measures by that wise Southern leader, Mr. Marion A. Wright, to whom I have previously referred and who in an address last fall before the National Association of Intergroup Relations officials stated the following:

"In their back-to-the-wall stand on integration of the public schools, the seven hard core states are now pursuing a new and significant strategy. The early effort of the segregationist leaders was to move and stir Southern opinion to the point of open opposition to the law. That was a thoroughly ignoble but fairly easy task. More recently, they have embarked upon a much more ambitious enterprise--and I think you who live out of the South should be quite aware of it. They now seek to subvert the public opinion of North, East and West to the segregationist view. Of course, they don't call it that. They refer to it as education in state's rights, limitation of judicial power, and other euphonious terms. But what they mean is the preservation of a caste system in the South. Under one name or another, your aid--you non-Southerners--your aid is now being actively sought. It's an old story--Confederates capturing Yankees.

"The movement to convert you is well financed and well organized. Certain states have their propaganda bureaus financed by public funds as well as by anti-labor money and reactionary subsidies. They pour out pamphlets by the hundreds of thousands. They send speakers on foreign missions. They flatter and fawn upon Northern papers or writers who abet their plan.

"This effort should not be taken lightly. Already certain Northern columnists, magazines and newspapers follow the segregationist line. The effort to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court failed by one vote in the Senate. And, most unkindest cut of all, the Chief Justices of the State Supreme Courts gave that effort their implied support.

"There is something quite persuasive in this new Southern approach to the rest of the nation. In the first place, the rest of the nation hasn't perfectly solved its own integration problem. Our sense of generosity finds expression in the twin ideas, 'Who am I to tell you how to run your affairs?' and, 'I can appreciate fully what you are up against in the South.' And, lamentably, there are many Americans in all sections of the country who are not democratic at heart. They listen with a sympathetic ear.

"This invasion of the North--a kind of second march on Gettysburg--presents one of the anomalies of the times. This is the age of the sputnik. Each day the range of our interests is extended. Each day we become more acutely aware of the inter-dependence of men upon each other. We become more conscious of involvement of our own destinies with the destinies of men in the world's remotest corners. There is daily borne in upon us the essential unity and indivisibility of mankind with the result that what affects one affects all.

"In such a context, how like a voice from the Dark Ages is the white supremacist's whimpering plea that you in the North have no concern with what happens to your Negro brothers of the South! That you have no license to be heard! That your endeavor to influence the Southern situation is impertinent meddling in a matter of only local interest and significance!

"Certainly you will not fall for that argument. Only one far gone in schizophrenia can embrace at the same time a sense of international civic responsibility and the provincialism of the segregation philosophy.

"You who share the world's revulsion at the Russian treatment of Boris Pasternak will hardly remain indifferent to the stern fate of hundreds of lesser Pasternaks in the South who think and write and teach and preach and speak at their peril.

"There is, then, this trend, this effort to sell the segregation cause to the non-Southerner. Beware of its soft seductions."

Helen Fuller, herself Southern-born and raised and an able analyst of current social and political developments, has cited chapter and verse to the same effect

in her article in the New Republic for January 26, 1959, "The Segregationists Go North," in which she concludes among other things:

> "At all costs the massive resisters must prevent reenforcements from reaching the Judiciary, which stands today as the lone leader in the New Reconstruction....Congress, in effect, has remained neutral. And it is imperative for those who defy the Court to keep it that way....
>
> "If the states which shout 'Never!' can prevent the 86th Congress from passing legislation supporting the Court, they will be free to attempt the next huge step in their plan for total escape from the toils of the New Reconstruction: persuade the reformers to give up...."

The protectors of nullification and those who defend the continuing denials of Constitutional rights are obviously on the offensive.

If Congress surrenders the field of action to those who oppose the orderly and reasonable transition to compliance with the law of the land, it will gravely damage the prospects for a solution to this crucial problem.

Congress Should Act on School Desegregation

To meet the urgent needs which I have outlined and to end the stalemate or possible retreat that is developing, it is therefore imperative that Congress act in the critical school situation.

The charter for this action, as I stated earlier, is found in Section 5 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution itself which specifically provides, "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this Article."

The Court itself, in a unanimous opinion handed down September 29, 1958, citing the leading case of Marbury vs. Madison, has again pointed out "that the interpretation of the 14th Amendment enunciated by this Court in the Brown case is the Supreme Law of the Land, and Article VI of the Constitution makes it of binding effect on the States 'any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.' Every state legislator and executive and judicial officer is solemnly committed by oath taken pursuant to Article VI, Paragraph 3 'to support this Constitution.'" I might add, though the Court did not, that Members of Congress take a similar oath.

And the Court went on to declare:

> "Chief Justice Taney, speaking for a unanimous Court in 1859, said that this requirement reflected the framers' 'anxiety to preserve it [the Constitution] in full force, in all its powers, and to guard against resistance to or evasion of its authority, on the part of a State... Ableman v. Booth, 21 How. 506, 524.
>
> "No state legislator or executive or judicial officer can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it. Chief Justice Marshall spoke for a unanimous Court in saying that: 'If the legislatures of the several states may, at will, annul the judgments

of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery....' United States v. Peters, 5 Cranch 115 136. A Governor who asserts a power to nullify a federal court order is similarly restrained. If he had such power, said Chief Justice Hughes, in 1932, also for a unanimous Court, 'it is manifest that the fiat of a state Governor, and not the Constitution of the United States, would be the supreme law of the land; that the restrictions of the Federal Constitution upon the exercise of state power would be but impotent phrases ....' Sterling v. Constantin, 287 U. S. 378, 397-398.

"It is, of course, quite true that the responsibility for public education is primarily the concern of the States, but it is equally true that such responsibilities, like all other state activity, must be exercised consistently with federal constitutional requirements as they apply to state action. The Constitution created a government dedicated to equal justice under the law. The Fourteenth Amendment embodied and emphasized that ideal. State support of segregated schools through any arrangement, management, funds, or property cannot be squared with the Amendment's command that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. The right of a student not to be segregated on racial grounds in schools so maintained is indeed so fundamental and pervasive that it is embraced in the concept of due process of law. Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U. S. 497. The basic decision in Brown was unanimously reached by this Court only after the case had been briefed and twice argued and the issues had been given the most serious consideration. Since the first Brown opinion three new Justices have come to the Court. They are at one with the Justices still on the Court who participated in that basic decision as to its correctness, and that decision is now unanimously reaffirmed. The principles announced in that decision and the obedience of the States to them, according to the command of the Constitution, are indispensable for the protection of the freedoms guaranteed by our fundamental charter for all of us. Our constitution ideal of equal justice under law is this made a living truth."

These legal principles are cited also in the preambles of the bill we are introducing today. The adoption of this measure would thus clearly range the legislative branch alongside the Court in the maintenance of these basic principles of American government.

A Constructive New Approach to Desegregation

It was a serious setback when the 1957 Civil Rights Bill under threat of filibuster in the Senate was stripped of Part III. This had been twice approved by the House. It would have given the Attorney General power to file suits for preventive relief against denials of equal educational opportunity. It might have forestalled some of the tragic events that have followed.

This authority which would be granted in a number of separate bills already introduced in this Congress is still needed. It is included in the measure we are introducing today. But the present bill has been drafted with many other more constructive provisions in it also.

The bill proposes: First, to declare and accept Federal legal and moral responsibility for implementing the Constitutional requirement of desegregation. Second, to provide vitally needed Federal technical and financial assistance and Federal leadership to states and local communities whose schools are still segregated. Third, to provide Federal legal assistance where private parties are unable to vindicate the Constitutional rights of our school children and others.

A summary of the bill's provisions reveals the positive aids which it would offer for securing compliance with the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

A. Federal Legal and Moral Responsibility

Title I.

In Title I there are specific findings to the effect that the Supreme Court decisions on racial segregation in public education "express the moral ideals of the nation and the world and point the way to a nation enhanced in strength and dignity at home and enhanced in honor and prestige throughout the world;" that the decisions are being resisted in many areas of the nation where there has been a failure to make a prompt and reasonable start towards compliance; and that legislative and executive action is necessary to safeguard the rights involved.

It is further specifically found that these rights will be more widely accepted and more fully enjoyed when it is generally recognized that the Constitution as interpreted by the Court is the law of the land, that all officials are bound by their oaths to support it, and that the Federal legislative and executive branches will act to protect those rights.

And finally after the other basic findings concerning the Federal responsibility, the Congress "declares its intention that the right to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution against deprivation by reason of race, color, religion or national origin and affirmed by the anti-segregation decisions of the Supreme Court, shall be protected by all due and reasonable means."

B. Constructive Steps For Equal Treatment in Public Schools

Through authority conferred upon the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the bill will furnish to the officials and private citizens of good will in all parts of the country the tools with which to accelerate in our public schools the growth of equal treatment for all of our citizens, without regard to race.

Title II

This title authorizes the Secretary to assist, through the compilation and distribution of data, the making of surveys, the arrangement of conferences, the appointment of advisory councils, the provision of specialists' services, and the development of community understanding for desegregation programs that are in harmony with the Constitution.

Appropriations up to $2.5 million a year for 5 years are authorized for these purposes.

Title III

This title authorizes the Secretary to make grants for school facilities in areas where the chief problem preventing or hindering effective compliance is the lack of adequate buildings or other physical equipment.

It also authorizes grants for employing additional teachers, in-service teacher training, employment of specialists, short-term training courses, and other additional educational measures undertaken to eliminate segregation, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered.

Funds would also be available to local communities that wish to comply with the Court's decisions, but where, as in Georgia and Virginia, the State threatens to cut off funds or close the schools.

Appropriations of not more than $40 million a year for 5 years are authorized to cover the costs of the grant programs.

Title IV

The bill further provides in title IV that when other methods fail, the executive branch of Government, acting through the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall assume responsibility for initiating the development of

desegregation plans to accomplish the objectives of the Court's decisions. In the development of both the tentative and approved plans, however, there are express provisions for the fullest possible local consultation and participation.

The responsibility to go forward in a situation in which officials are hostile is now almost entirely in the hands of private individuals and organizations. Experience has shown that this problem will not become any less troublesome if we countenance the resulting delay.

C. Federal Assistance in Legal Remedies

The bill also provides for Federal assistance in legal remedies under titles V and VI.

In the history of America's advance toward equal justice, court proceedings have been the means of making many of our greatest forward steps. They are still an indispensable part of our protections against racial discriminations.

A growing group of States, however, have passed so-called antibarratry laws which make it much more difficult for civil-rights groups or others to assist persons in bringing or maintaining lawsuits for the vindication of their civil rights. Other forms of pressure--such as organized boycotts, threats, and intimidation--have also been used to deter such legal actions.

Since the persons who are denied their rights to equal protection are more often than not poor persons, unable alone to sustain the heavy costs of litigation, and more subject than others to hostile pressures, these laws and pressures will increasingly padlock out of court the Negroes and also the Spanish-speaking Americans of the Southwest in their efforts to maintain suits to carry out the law of the land.

To meet this situation, the proposed legislation would authorize the Attorney General of the United States to start civil actions for preventive relief against those who deprive persons of their rights to equal protection of the laws, on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

This authority is much like that provided in part III of the 1957 bill H. R. 6127, and in the 1956 measure, H. R. 627. As I have said, on two occasions it was overwhelmingly approved by the House. The authority is more explicitly and clearly set forth here, however, in titles V and VI.

Title V

Title V confers the power to file compliance actions in school cases in connection with approved desegregation plans, when the Secretary certifies that all efforts to secure compliance by conciliation, assistance, and otherwise have failed.

Title VI

Title VI first authorizes preventive action against those State and local officials and others acting under color of State law in cases involving denial of equal protection generally, including school cases, by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin; but it provides that the Attorney General may sue only upon a signed complaint, and when, in his judgment, the person aggrieved is unable to seek effective legal protection for himself--section 601.

Suits are also authorized by the Attorney General against those who attempt to prevent local officials from according persons equal protection of the laws, or who act to hinder the execution of court orders for equal protection--section 602. Action to deprive persons of their rights under the 14th amendment because such persons are opposing denial of the rights of others, is also made a basis for legal action by the Attorney General--section 603. In addition, the Attorney General is explicitly authorized to intervene in cases brought by others for relief against the denial of equal protection of the laws, because of race, color, religion, or national origin--section 604.

Thus, in the field of legal remedies, also, this measure would extend a significant helping hand of the National Government to the safeguarding of constitutional rights.

The sponsors of this measure do not claim that it is perfect. They hope that it may be carefully studied, strengthened and improved in Committee.

But at least it is a frank effort to deal constructively with the most pressing issue in the field of civil rights, the problem of school desegregation.

It is a means of securing the cooperation of the various levels of government, of giving the aid and assistance of the Federal government in the maintenance of Constitutional rights, of assuring those who are denied these rights that Congress and the Executive, as well as the Courts, - that is to say, all the orderly processes of government, - will be active in the protection of their rights.

It is a practical means of avoiding the insults, the acts of violence, the frightened school children of whatever race or color, the fearful parents, the repressed persons of good will, and the breaches of law and order.

The emphasis is on assistance, persuasion, consultation, careful planning, maintenance of educational standards, full consideration of the time needed for orderly transition, and not on punishment or force.

Civil Rights Action Should Not Ignore School Segregation

News reports suggest that there is currently a controversy in Administration circles over whether to include any provisions dealing with school desegregation in the President's recommendations to Congress.

I believe I speak for the sponsors of this measure when I say that no so-called civil-rights program is worthy of that name if it does not face up to this most pressing of domestic problems. The people of the country are entitled to know whether the legislative and executive departments of the federal government are for the Constitution or for its nullification; whether we are for open public schools with equal opportunity for all, or for closed public schools; whether we are for backing up the Supreme Court in its historic decisions or for allowing the defiance backed by threats of violence to block the Court's decrees. And I believe they look to us for some effective action on this matter.

There are already some, and there will be more, thoughtful proposals before this Congress to deal with various phases of our human relations problems. Each of these, including our own bill, should be judged on its own merits. A number of them may contribute something of value in helping the nation to assure first class citizenship to all of its people, regardless of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Proposals Overlooking Segregation Problems Are Inadequate

The limited character of some of these proposals, however, should be frankly recognized. I would note in passing that: (1) the proposal to give subpoena powers to the Attorney General in voting rights cases under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 adds little more than a minor procedural convenience, which could be largely accomplished in other ways under existing laws and rules of procedure, and which unless carefully safeguarded may be subject to abuse.

(2) The extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission gives us nothing new, and while helpful in some respects, it will be of no influence in the school situation. That Commission is primarily devoted to action in the field of voting rights. If it were to spill over slightly into the schod controversy, which is unlikely, the Commission's even division (until the recent untimely death of my fellow Illinoisian, Mr. J. Ernest Wilkins) between those who believe in the Court's decisions and those who do not, is a fairly sure guarantee against any positive recommendations coming from that source for effecting the transition to desegregation.

(3) The anti-bombing legislation is undoubtedly desirable, and I have joined in sponsoring it. But it is, once more, merely punitive in nature and does not get at the root causes of the tension, conflict, and disrespect for law that lead to these outbreaks.

(4) Conciliation that has no stated purpose to bring compliance with the Constitution and the law of the land or a cessation of the denials of Constitutional rights will have a very limited utility, if any, in the school situation. And it is there that we find such pressing challenges to law and order, and to national leadership.

"Peaceful relations among citizens," mentioned as the purpose of one conciliation suggestion, are obviously desirable in every community. But the Supreme Court has properly pointed out that this is not the only essential objective or indeed the primary one.

> The constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature. As this Court said some 41 years ago in a unanimous opinion in a case involving another aspect of racial segregation: 'It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the Federal Constitution.' Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U. S. 60, 81. Thus law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights." (Aaron v. Cooper, 358 U. S. 1, 16

The questions which vague conciliation proposals leave unanswered are: "Shall the Federal government enter in only when breaches of the peace are threatened?" and in such cases, "On what general terms shall peaceful relations be restored? With recognition of all citizens' Constitutional rights? In compliance with Court orders? With school doors open to all on an equal basis?" Without some clear indications of the Congressional purpose that the restoration of peace be in line with the law of the land in the field of public education, that is, on a desegregated basis, we shall again leave the victims without hope of relief and leave law-abiding but hard-pressed local officials without hope of assistance.

Indeed, if the conciliation is free to try to maintain "peaceful relations" which in fact violate the constitutional principles, it may set back the progress of desegregation.

In all kindliness, then,but with all sincerity, we must ask whether Congress can buy its peace of mind so easily? Can it serve the nation's welfare by any measures that do not even try to bring the influence and leadership of the federal government to bear on the side of law and order - on the side of equal educational opportunity - and on the side of assisting those who would comply with the law to do so.

We must be careful not to take the form of civil rights for its substance and once more disappoint those who turn to us with hope.

The bill which we are today introducing is a meaningful bill. It is a constructive bill. The results of our recent efforts to curb the filibuster have undoubtedly dimmed the outlook for the passage of such a measure. But the results of that vote in no way diminished the need for it.

Only a Meaningful Civil Rights Bill Will Give New Filibuster Rule A True Test

Because of our failure to change the Senate Rules in an effective manner, it is still possible that the threat of filibuster can be brandished to try to persuade some to take, in legislation, much less than the country needs on pain of getting nothing. This tactic was successfully used to weaken the 1957 Civil Rights Bill. The high requirements for cloture still leave it available now. I fear it will be used again.

Efforts may be made to press for the adoption of neutral measures as a proof that the change in the filibuster rule was an effective one.

I can see the pattern of psychological, parliamentary warfare developing now. Any plan that seeks to deal - however reasonably and constructively - with the school segregation problem will probably be labeled "extreme". The positive aids, the persuasive approaches, the cooperative efforts provided in this measure will be minimized or ignored. The injunctive provisions of Part III sections will be termed a "force" bill, with implications that they are some wild-eyed, new scheme, although similar injunctive provisions are such a commonplace feature of law enforcement as to be a part of 39 other Federal laws, including the voting rights law of 1957.

Then some ostrich-like proposal, burying its head in the sand so that it cannot see the school problem, offending - and helping - almost no one, will probably be served up as a "reasonable compromise," "a step in the right direction," a means of "avoiding controversy" and of preserving party unity.

I hope the Senate and the country will not be misled by these maneuvers. The test of the filibuster rule will not be whether some non-controversial, ineffective measure - dressed up as a civil rights bill, but ignoring the primary problems of desegregation - may be passed. The real test of Senate Rule 22 will be whether some meaningful bill like a carefully drafted Part III, or this more constructive measure we are introducing today, can get past the obstacle of prolonged debate aimed at preventing a vote - or the threat of such debate.

The leadership has given assurances that civil rights legislation can be passed. I hope the Senate will act affirmatively on these assurances and hammer out a bill with some meaning. I hope the leadership on both sides of the aisle will assist in securing early hearings and prompt action on this and other like measures and will support this or some other bill that will help to solve our most pressing problem at home. Let us look at our national situation frankly and wisely, marshal our best resources for the solution of this problem and give to our own citizens and to the world a renewed assurance that we can redeem our pledges of equality of opportunity and accord the privileges of first class citizenship to all of our people. We who sponsor this bill believe it will be a long step in that important direction.

Some Southern writers have referred proudly to the Senate and its rules and procedures as the "South's never-ending revenge for Gettysburg."

We have no desire to refight the Civil War. But we do not believe that the function of the Senate is to serve as an instrument for sectional revenge. We believe instead that the Senate should represent the best interests and the enlightened conscience of our entire country.

Let us go forward in the 20th Century together without malice or revenge in our hearts and with the sincere desire to further human brotherhood and thus make good the high promises of the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln's Gettysburg address and the teachings of all true religion.

RETURN TO: THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
3502 PIEDMONT ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

The Living Church

Second Sunday in Lent
February 22, 1959

A Weekly Record of the News, the Work, and the Thought of the Episcopal Church.

MISSIONS

Search for Understanding

Efforts to establish better understanding and liaison between the overseas department of National Council and the Overseas Mission Society were made at a meeting in the presiding bishop's office early in February [see also L.C., January 25]. Participants were Presiding Bishop Lichtenberger, Bishop Bentley, director of the overseas department, and these representatives of O.M.S.: the Rev. Theodore O. Wedel, the Rev. William F. Creighton, the Rev. A. Theodore Eastman, the Rev. George F. Tittmann, and Dr. Francis B. Sayre, Sr.

The meeting was closed, but an O.M.S. spokesman told THE LIVING CHURCH that the session began with a statement by O.M.S. representatives of the problem as they saw it. Bishop Bentley responded with a statement about the reasons for poor liaison and misunderstanding between the department and the society. The meeting continued to a full discussion of the points raised. Agreement was reached to continue to try to work out the problems. The O.M.S. spokesmen said he was "generally encouraged" by the meeting and that he felt that the group "reached a better understanding of the problems involved and declared a willingness to work together in our common cause."

In response to a request for comment, Presiding Bishop Lichtenberger told THE LIVING CHURCH, "The meeting was held at the request of the then president of O.M.S., Canon Wedel, for the purpose of having a clear understanding of the relationship of the O.M.S. and the director of the overseas department. It had nothing to do with the National Council. It was a friendly meeting."

The presiding bishop's reference to the lack of a National Council tie-in was probably made to distinguish between this conference with O.M.S. leaders and the meeting a few days earlier of a committee appointed by National Council to study overseas mission work [see L.C., last week].

Next week:
Report on National Council's February meeting

Practical Christianity

Receipts of $119,830 and disbursements of $120,221 for the year 1958 were reported to the annual meeting of the American Committee for KEEP, held in Chicago.

KEEP (Kivosato Educational Experiment Project) is a missionary effort under the leadership of Paul Rusch. Its four-point program includes developing upland farming methods for Japan's underfed rural population; medical and health services; educational projects, including a free library, a nursery school, conferences, and an annual county fair; and a rural church with a fast-growing chain of outreach missions.

The majority of the 1958 appropriations went to special projects and capital items. KEEP'S farm required a subsidy of only $215, although an intensified trainee and outreach program in 1959 will require a larger subsidy of $3,300. Of the hospital's $15,855 expenditures in 1958, only $1,728 came from the American Committee. The rural church was entirely self-supporting in 1958, except for a $300 discretionary fund given to the rector.

Camp Seisen Ryo, the conference center for the Japanese Brotherhood of St. Andrew, received $15,894 in 1958. This year, it is expected to be self-supporting.

Budget Emphasis: Outreach

"Outreach" is the main budget emphasis in 1959. This involves spreading the techniques and resources developed at KEEP to new areas in the semi-mountainous countryside. Until KEEP appeared on the scene the main cash crop of the rural people was charcoal made from sticks gathered in the scrubby woodlands. Beef and dairy products, supported by forage crops on reclaimed land, have been shown to be economically feasible for small one-family farms.

KEEP'S 1959 budget for operating and outreach items is $30,000. The capital budget is open-ended, including $69,675 in high priority items. Two of the 10 chapels, which will also serve as community centers for their villages, were provided in 1958. The cost of each chapel is $3,000. Funds for several others were already on hand or promised, and it appeared likely that all 10 would be provided by the end of 1959.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Defended Neighbor

Fifteen Sewanee clergy and laymen have told the governor of Tennessee that a "subversive" charge against Highlander Folk School, near Monteagle, Tenn., is "unjustified and unfair."

The Tennessee legislature has just passed a resolution calling for an investigation (with $5,000 appropriation) of activities at Highlander, in an attempt to link discussions at the school on the subject of integrated education with such integration crises as those in Little Rock, Atlanta, and Birmingham.

All but one of the signers of the letter of protest to the governor are on the faculty of the University of the South:

Rev. Dr. C. F. Allison, assistant professor of Church history;

Dr. Scott Bates, professor of French;

Dr. Ben F. Cameron Jr., director of admissions;

Dr. James M. Grimes, head of the department of history;

Dr. William B. Guenther, assistant professor of chemistry;

Dr. Charles Harrison, former dean at Sewanee and head of the department of English;

Rev. Dr. Wilford O. Cross, professor of Church ethics and philosophy of religion;

Dr. Robert A. Degen, associate professor of economics;

Marvin E. Goodstein, assistant professor of economics;

Dr. H. Malcolm Owen, head of the department of biology;

Rev. Dr. Vesper O. Ward, professor of homiletics and Christian education;

Eugene M. Kayden, retired professor of economics;

David E. Underdown, assistant professor of history, and Dr. Stratton Buck, head of department of modern languages.

The Rev. Donald E. Chapman, member of the faculty of St. Andrew's School for Boys near Sewanee, also signed the statement.

The letter said:

"We have found the spirit of Highlander to be wholeheartedly dedicated to the free institutions of democracy, and we believe that Myles Horton (school director) and his director of education are devoted to American ideals. . . ."

The writers said they have visited Highlander on numerous occasions for "some years" for seminars, addresses, and in-

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formal "chats," the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* reported.

"We trust no official body of the State of Tennessee would countenance the naive and pernicious notion that persons who do not accept racial segregation as an ideal are therefore Communists."

The statement added it would be a "tragic irony" if efforts to combat communism should suppress freedom and democracy.

Mr. Horton, who founded the school in 1932, has denied the charges. Highlander is racially integrated.

Censure in North Carolina

The Rev. James Dees has been censured by the Statesville (N. C.) Area Ministerial Association for his pro-segregation activities. He has resigned from the association, which he was serving as president.

Mr. Dees is also president of the North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, Inc., which fights for "racial integrity" in that state.

The censuring resolution of the Ministerial Association, which is an interdenominational group, read:

"We assert that the statements of the principles of the Defenders of States' Rights and those of the president of that organization relevant thereto do not reflect the thinking of the members of the Statesville Area Ministerial Association relative to human relationships and the oneness in Christ that should characterize us as ministers of the Gospel."

Immediately after the motion was passed by a vote of 16 to 2, Mr. Dees resigned from the group. He stated that integration "seems to me to be contrary to the natural primal creation of God and to natural law, and to enlightened common sense."

Since coming to Statesville in 1955, Mr Dees has championed absolute segregation and white supremacy in conventions of the diocese and in the press.

Asked why the Episcopal Church had taken no action, the Rev. Martin Caldwell, LIVING CHURCH correspondent for North Carolina, said that "just now there seems to be an inarticulate fear of making Mr. Dees a martyr and creating a worse breach between clergy and a few of the laity than now exists. The Church is caught. The unexpected censure by the Statesville Association may now force the Church to take similar action."

Mr. Caldwell, who also serves as chairman of publicity for the diocese, continued, "It has been hoped by many that some day Mr. Dees' activities and pronouncements would be restrained by his own congregation inasmuch as they have been the greatest sufferers." Trinity Church, located in a rapidly growing town in North Carolina's piedmont, had 163 communicants when Mr. Dees became rector about four years ago but has now dropped to 119.

BRIEFS

A TRIP FROM SEATTLE: In 1950 the Rev. John P. Craine travelled across the country from Seattle, where he had been rector of Trinity Church, to become rector of Christ Church, Indianapolis. After three years he was named dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Indianapolis, and a few years later Churchpeople of the diocese of Indianapolis chose him as the man who would eventually become their bishop. He was consecrated coadjutor in 1957. On February 8, 1959, upon the retirement of Bishop Kirchhoffer, who had shepherded the diocese for 20 years, the Rt. Rev. John P. Craine was installed as the new bishop.

▽

BISHOPS AT GLIMMERGLASS: Cooperstown, N. Y., at the foot of J. Fenimore Cooper's "Glimmerglass" (Otsego Lake), and home of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, is the site of the interim meeting of the House of Bishops, October 17 to 22, 1959.

The encyclopedia *Britannica* observes: Cooperstown "is served by the Delaware and Hudson (freight only) and one bus. The population in 1950 was 2,727. . . . The charming village, with many quaint old houses," also boasts a reproduction of an early New York state village. Christ Church (488 communicants) is the Episcopal parish.

Albany is the host diocese for this meeting. Host diocese for the next meeting, November 12 to 17, 1960, is the diocese of Dallas, which has not yet named a site.

The next scheduled meeting of the bishops will be at General Convention in Detroit. Dates have been set for September 17 to 29, 1961.

▽

THE GRIM PATH: The tornado which struck St. Louis, Mo., suddenly in the early morning hours of February 10 did no damage to Episcopal churches, and so far as is known no Churchpeople were injured.

The storm spared the four parish churches and one settlement house that are in or near its grim, narrow path. Diocesan authorities immediately called the rectors of All Saints' Church, St. Augustine's Church, the Church of the Ascension, Trinity Church, and Grace Church Grace Hill House, but were told no help would be needed as no damage had been done. Church authorities were also ready with offers of assistance to others. Another type of razing, man-made and more cheerful, was being planned in downtown St. Louis [see below].

▽

CATHEDRAL'S CLAUSTROPHOBIA: Over the years, since 1867, when Christ Church Cathedral moved to the corner of 13th and Locust streets in downtown St. Louis, buildings have been going up around it, and hemming it in until it has become, in the words of L.C. Missouri correspondent, the Ven. C. F. Rehkopf, "somewhat hard to find." The cathedral has now found an escape from claustrophobia by buying an old hotel next door. The building will be razed in spring and the site landscaped for a parking lot, opening up the view of and to the cathedral. Archdeacon Rehkopf says this participation in the redevelopment of downtown St. Louis indicates the cathedral's "faith in downtown St. Louis."

▽

NEW AFRICAN PROVINCE: A new Anglican province in east Africa is planned as a result of consultations at Dodoma, in Tanganyika. The new province will have its own archbishop and will include the dioceses in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. Present at the conference were the bishops of Mombasa, Zanzibar, Masasi, Central Tanganyika, and South-West Tanganyika. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to those bishops, said "it is no longer possible for adequate jurisdiction and control to be exercised from England. The responsibility must be in the hands of the local Church."

▽

NEW AFRICAN DIOCESE: Shortly after the Dodoma conference [see above] laid the groundwork for a new Anglican province in east Africa, the new diocese of Owerri was inaugurated in the province of west Africa. Church Missionary Society observes that "in spite of the fact that it has asked for a European [the Rt. Rev. G. E. I. Cockin] as its first bishop . . . , Owerri will be an overwhelmingly African diocese. There are only a hundred or two Europeans living within its boundaries; at present all its 25 clergy are Africans, and the only white missionary is the principal of a girls' secondary boarding school."

▽

PAVING THE WAY: The Rev. Alexander Jurisson, assistant secretary of National Council's Committee on World Relief and Church Coöperation, has completed a month's tour of duty in the Netherlands, helping prepare some 6,000 Dutch nationals for resettlement in the United States. Most of these refugees lost their homes and possessions in recent Indonesian civil strife.

▽

TO A SATISFYING ADVENTURE: Interdenominational "Institute on Overseas Churchmanship" recently called on American businessmen and technicians going overseas to bear lay witness to their faith. Such a traveler "should consider his main objective not in terms of dividends for his shareholders, or power for America, or

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

2-23-59

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

You understand the difficulties under which I labor with my stenography. So—

Will you be good enough to have the enclosed speech prepared for delivery at Charlotte typewritten for me, as many copies as the operator may conveniently make at one time.

Before she does so I hope you and Fred may give it critical inspection and editing. By way of explanation I may say that much of the enclosed was delivered at Charlotte in Sept., 58. People from Johnson C. Smith who were present asked me to make the same speech at the University on April 6. I never like to make precisely the same speech twice, so I have deviated from script — I hope to the improvement of the original. They chose the subject.

I hope you will approve of my animadversions upon "token compliance".

Thanks and best regards.

M. A. W.

March 4, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear M. A. W.:

Enclosed are four copies of your speech to be delivered at John C. Smith University. It was typed by my good secretary, Miss Leen Sandefur. And if I may say so - modesty would prevent her from doing so - it is a superior job.

I hope the number is sufficient for your requirements. We have kept one copy for our files.

I hope that the members of the Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding get as much from the speech as we here at the office did.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosures

LEGAL AND MORAL ASPECTS OF SEGREGATION

Address by
Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

April 6, 1959
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina
Before the
Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding

Schwab
Glearcopy Onion Skin
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About the subject - Legal and Moral Aspects of Segregation - is the implied view that there is a clear line of demarcation between the legal and the moral, that they occupy well defined areas, permitting of specialized and individual consideration and treatment. The facts, of course, do not support that view. The origin of the law is custom. Habit and usage, continued over a period of indefinite duration, finally evolve into legislative acts or court decrees. At that point they cease to be mere custom and become law.

It must be freely conceded that not all custom rests upon a secure moral base. Indeed, some may be a-moral or positively immoral. But what men strive for is a rule of conduct that will work, that will adjust and accomodate the sometimes conflicting interests of individual and community. This means in many instances the subordination of personal desires to the common good. A custom which thus places the welfare of the community above the welfare of the individual is developed pursuant to moral imperatives. Its touchstone is not power but right.

So the aim of the law, which is congealed custom, is to achieve the right. As the ideal is approached, the distinction between what is law and what is morals becomes blurred and indistinct. Perfect law is perfect morals.

Perhaps no more significant illustration of the relationship between law and custom may be found than in the area of segregation. It rests upon twin supporting pillars. The less notable of these is law. The more imposing is custom. It is more imposing because it affects many more relationships than does law and because its eradication is a much more difficult task than that of accomplishing legal change. Law may be changed by the exertion of governmental power; custom may be changed only by a revolution in the minds of men. Legal emancipation was achieved by a single proclamation signed by one man in an instant of time. But emancipation in the sense of a freeing of mind and spirit from the myth of racial superiority and inferiority still lies in the future.

The difficulty seems to be that so many people feel that there is something

sacred about custom. The most potent of all arguments against change is that it distrubs "our way of life." Alexander Pope put it in few words - "Whatever is, is right." It is the argument of the laisses faire school. And a very pleasant belief to entertain. Its great virtue is that it supports a policy of masterly inactivity or disciplined inaction. (Who wants to be active, anyhow?) Further, it relieves one of the ordeal of thinking, of facing the basic questions of whether or not a way of life is worth preserving.

But that question and the tortured effort men make to find the answer lie at the root of all human progress. The assumption that nothing should be disturbed, or that man's sacred mission is to defend the status quo, chill the germ of life and growth, inhibit the development of society. Only as men cease to live in the past, or even the present, only as they turn from ancestor worship, do they march forward. Hence, the world is a cemetary for customs abandoned, institutions outgrown.

When we come right down to it, the question which confronts men is: what shall be abandoned, what preserved? It is very seldom all or nothing. It is in the area of choice that the hard thinking must be done. So, when one merely stubbornly proclaims that he is going to save "a way of life," it means that he has not properly evaluated the elements of that way.

Certainly, for example, there is much in the Southern way of life that is worth preserving - the tradition of hospitality; neighborliness, urbanity, good manners, mastery of parliamentary procedure; sense of international obligation and responsibility evidenced by support of the old League of Nations, United Nations and foreign aid; appreciation of the leisurely and the informal; and a scale of values which minimizes the importance of the sharply commercial. All of us I am sure, would like to preserve those features of Southern life.

But when the segregationist talks about preserving "our way of life" he never seems to mean any of those things. He seems to mean only a system of

caste legally enforced. Probably he doesn't intend to do this, but the image of the South which he is fashioning and exhibiting to the rest of the world is of a region obsessed with the significance of pigment, with the preservation of a fixed status for some millions of Southerners, and with maintenance of a state of society in which the segregationist enjoys a secure and preferred position.

I am sure that the rest of the world is less concerned and disturbed by the objectives of the resistance effort, as archaic as they are, than by its methods. Since those efforts involve both law and morals they are grist for our mill.

(Let me state parenthetically and at once that what I shall have to say on this point is not directed specifically at North Carolina. The methods of the several resistant states have been so varied and involved that they must be dealt with in general and summary terms. Time would not permit an individual analysis.)

Let me apparently, though not actually, digress for a moment to discuss two badges of tyranny.

The first of these badges is that tyranny establishes or maintains itself by suspension of legal or constitutional guaranties. It does so for the basic reason of self-preservation. It cannot exist where such guaranties are in full vigor. As William Pitt remarked, "Where law ends, tyranny begins." The tyrant or dictator wishes to impose his own will upon mankind but there stands the Law, shining and undissuadable, between him and the citizen. So the Law must first be struck down.

For example, in the year 1819, under the leadership of Chancellor Metternich, a confederation of Germanic States adopted what are known as the Carlsbad Decrees. These were aimed at professors and students of colleges and universities. The confederated governments pledged themselves to remove professors who "deviated from their duty". . ."exceeded the limits of their functions". . . "abused their influence over youthful minds". . ."propagated harmful doctrines. . .subversive of existing governmental institutions". . .and "Proved their unfitness for the

important office entrusted to them." Secret societies upon campuses were outlawed and certain types of publications forbidden to go to press without governmental approval.

Tyranny moved into high gear in Germany in 1933 under Hitler. On Feb. 4 of that year there was issued an emergency decree banning political meetings without prior police permission. If at such meetings government officials were abused, the police were authorized to intervene. Newspapers could be suppressed for similar reason.

On February 28, there was a further decree suspending seven constitutional guaranties, relating to freedom of speech and press; freedom of association and assembly; secrecy of postal, telegraph and telephone service; confiscation of property and search without a warrant. And on March 23, the Reichstag adopted measures which transferred almost unlimited power to Hitler.

The same story is told in Italy under Mussolini. Labor unions were placed under police surveillance with power of dissolution. Later all associations were required to reveal names of members and officers to the police and to give any other information required. The result was that all organizations opposed to the regime were throttled. Mussolini was able to announce on November 11, 1926, "All political parties, all anti-Fascist political organizations and others of a suspected character have been dissolved." Opposition to dictatorship had evaporated.

Under Russia's Fundamental Law (corresponding to our Constitution) there are broad guaranties of freedom of speech, press, assembly and holding of demonstrations. But such guaranties are whittled away by later enactments limiting such privileges and membership in the all-powerful Communist Party to "toilers." The party and government have exercised rigid control over non-party members.

And, finally, the hot news of the moment from Cuba is that the most recent recruit to the ranks of despots, Fidel Castro, is clawing the vitals from the Cuban constitution.

There might be infinite multiplication of instances of dictatorships created or maintained by suspension or revocation of rights guaranteed by constitutions. Illustrations leap out from every one of history's more unsavory and grisly chapters. Indeed, the generalization might be ventured that no dictatorship or tyranny is ever created except by first striking down the constitutional safeguards which surrond the citizen. For the suppression of individual rights is of the essence of tyranny. It is impossible to imagine tyranny without suppression; conversely, it is impossible to imagine suppression without tyranny.

There is a second badge of tyranny which is, in fact, but another facet of the one we have just considered. It is the hostility which tyranny feels for established and respected courts and judicial process. (We must keep in mind that tyranny may mark the conduct of an individual, a group or government itself.)

What stands between the tyrant and the citizen, as we have noted, is Law, usually the Constitution. The instrument through which Law or Constitution speaks is the Court. The Law impinges upon mankind, not more because it exists, than because the Court has given it voice. The will of the dictator is thwarted, if at all, because of what the Court has declared the Law to be. In its final analysis, the inevitable clash is not between two abstractions, Dictatorship and Law, but between Dictatorship personified in an individual or group and Law personified in the Court.

So, the character, composition and powers of courts are matters of profound and unholy concern to dictators. An independent judiciary, able, learned and incorruptible, is anathema to the dictator. To him the Court alone may say, "Thus far and no farther shall you go." In his hot quest of power, in his trampling upon human rights, the sole agency to challenge the dictator's will is these interpreters of the Law. So upon them war is declared.

May we for a moment turn the light of history upon this issue.

In a Reichstag speech on March 23, 1933, Hitler asserted "Equality before the law will be conceded to all who assist the national cause and do not refuse to support the government" - a bleak prospect for those who did not give him support. Dissatisfied with decrees of existing courts, he created the notorious People's Courts, for membership on which no legal training was required, to try cases of "high trason and treason against the Reich," and special courts to try offenses of the military and its civilian employees. The Gestapo was placed above all law.

In Russia it was declared that "Religion and law form part of the creed of oppressors," and "for us the Workers' and Peasants' State, no form of court is acceptable except one which always and under all conditions will guarantee the defense of the interests of the workers" - leaving those not defined as workers in sorry plight indeed. There, too, People's Courts were created, being composed exclusively of workers and peasants.

Italy under Mussolini set up its special Tribunals, composed of five military officers, to try offenses against the state.

But we need not go abroad for our illustrations. When the established tribunals of Salem at last began to acquit some of those charged with withhcraft, Massachusetts' Governor William Phips created a special court to deal with such cases, thereby prolonging the butchery of the innocent.

So the tyrant or dictator, or demagogue has always declared war upon the courts. The tactics have been varied and nefarious. In earlier times there was direct action, such as chopping off the head of the judge or sending him into exile, as was done with Aristides, the Just. In modern times we have become more squeamish. Creation of new and special courts, as we have seen, was favored by the recent European dictators. But, of course, to make certain decisions unappealable and, generally, to reduce judicial authority would accomplish the same result. I can't remember where, but it seems to me I have heard those ideas advanced.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

But perhaps the most dastardly of all tactics is the sapping and undermining of public confidence in the court. This is a form of judicial character assassination which hardly attains to the dignity of slander. To be effective, properly to discharge his function, the judge must enjoy public confidence and respect. Whatever tends to deprive him of either tends to render him impotent and to make his labors futile. To the extent that the righteous judge is lowered from the pedestal upon which mankind has placed him he becomes valueless to society. Since, more than any other, he personifies the law, the creation of disrespect for him and for the judicial office creates disrespect for law.

The public, taught such disrespect by its leaders, is ripe for rebellion against law. Hence, the demagogue, aggrieved by a judicial decision asserting the rights of a minority, for example, first, attacks the court which rendered the decision, inflames the people against the court, and then leads them in resistance to the decision. Thus, personal abuse is the prelude to anarchy. Thus, rights guaranteed by a constitution are nullified.

Such, then, historically, are the methods of tyrants or demagogues. (The terms may be used interchangeably.) The formula is simple: by decree or legislative act strike down constitutional guaranties; and undermine confidence in courts to the point that their decrees have no public acceptance. Either alone would probably be effective. Taken together they inevitably insure the temporary success of tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of an individual, a clique or a majority. Under such a regime the rights of a minority are doomed. Uses of those methods are the badges of tyranny or dictatorship.

We have been concerned thus far only with <u>affirmative</u> action to destroy constitutional rights, best typified by the decree, the edict or the legislative act. But such rights may also be <u>negatively</u> destroyed. Here the procedure is relatively simple: Merely fail to support or uphold the rights. The results are identical in either case; individuals have been denied rights which the

Clearcopy Onion Skin

Constitution and courts have said are theirs. There is no difference in morals or in practical effect between suspension of a constitutional right by formal decree, on the one hand, and by non-enforcement, on the other. The individual whose home has been searched without a warrant, whose printing presses have been stopped, or who has been kept out of a school, is hardly concerned with the precise method used to deprive him of a right the Constitution and Court have said is his. All that concerns him is that he has been the victim of despotic power.

One struck by lightning is only academically interested in whether the bolt which hit him is positive or negative electricity.

Nor does the number of persons who exercised the power make any appreciable difference. It may be one man -- a Hitler, a Mussolini or a Stalin -- or it may be a few or many acting in concert -- a governor and a legislature, or a school board -- who have thus made a mockery of the constitution they were sworn to uphold. Tyranny is tyranny, whether of one or many.

Surely, it is not necessary to labor an obvious point. The denial of the right of school attendance is a bald suspension of a constitutional right. But, as the dark and bloody record of tyranny reveals, one suspension is not enough. The attack upon the right of school attendance was merely the beginning. It has been followed by other gross invasions of personal liberty. Teachers' oaths; laws requiring that organizations bare their memberships; laws designed to forbid aid to litigants in Civil Rights cases; congressional and state inquisitions into groups favoring observance of law; discharge of professors; legal harassment of liberal or even moderate newspapers -- there has been a a host of repressive actions designed to stifle dissent. Non-official action everywhere has been blown into flame. We in North Carolina have not stooped to much of this folly.

But I think we might be timidly running away from an issue if we did not for a moment address ourselves to the core of the North Carolina policy on the segregation issue. Let us not take the time to discuss the legislative machinery involved but come at once to the objective. That objective plainly involves both law and morals, and with both we are concerned.

The key words of the North Carolina policy are "token compliance."

Should we not be entirely candid and admit that what we are trying to do is to convey the illusion of acceptance of the Court's mandate without actually accepting? Are we not trying to secure credit for obeying the law while, in any practical sense, defying the law? In other words, are we not obtaining credit by false pretense? Is that a high moral position for a sovereign state to take? Are ethics which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade proper guides for the conduct of a great state?

What North Carolina seems to be saying is, "We will move only when we are compelled to move and move not an inch farther than we have to." But persons of high moral sensitivity always recognize the duty of obedience to the unenforceable. The policy of grudging and reluctant compliance may hardly be reconciled with the injunction, "If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain."

Surely there is nothing in the history and tradition of North Carolina to support the policy of token compliance. Surely none of us is happy to see our state seek the name of honor rather than honor itself. And surely the steady pressure of reason and religion will move us from the sham to the actual and bona fide.

Let us turn now from North Carolina to other less shining and less favored states and peer so far as we are able into the future. The role of the prophet is a hazardous one. But some things seem reasonably certain. Some results of

present policies seem reasonably assured. The evil that men do does, indeed, live after them. What is now being said in the heat and rancor of the moment, what is being done in anger and spite - the bitter word, the evil deed - these, tragically, are assimilated by the very young, the babe in arms. They become a part of the mass of each child's experience, to be years later dredged up from the depths of the sub-conscious. They will enter into the attitudes and the conduct of the adult.

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

At the same time we are rearing a generation of Negro children who are being taught by what daily transpires about them that the states of which they are natives are cruel, repressive, vengeful, bent upon doling out to them second-class childhood. How will their loyalty to their respective states be later affected?

At the same time these Negro children are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and the raw tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue and actually, in a moment of sheer lunacy, ran Sen. Thurmond for the presidency.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations;

the white finds that Nordic or Aryan supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of a community or region.

The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the World Federation of Churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundry lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach!

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it--certainly the last to see it--but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens. Thus does the sword of discrimination turn upon him who wields it.

We ar being propelled, even hurtled, into an age when we shall have daily relationship and involvement with every human being on this now shrunken globe. Hurtled by cosmic forces which no senator or governor may deflect by a hair. We shall have identity and common interest with every Chinese catching fish from his sampan, every Lapplander herding reindeer on the tundra, every Egyptian tending his cotton fields on the mud flats of the Nile.

When the probing question comes, "What preparation gave you for membership in the world community?" what a dusty answer will be the reply that we taught white children that debasement came from learning that two times two equals four in company with colored children learning the same fact, that the Holy Grail of learning must be sought by separate routes, that the Pierian spring must be separately approached?

The policy of division of men into groups, orders and sub-orders could hardly commend itself to intelligent minds at any time. It seems particularly primitive in 1959. Man-made satellites hourly traverse the reaches of space above this continent. They send back their little beeps which men in laboratories record for the books. We may translate these beeps or we may not. It hardly seems important.

But these satellites say one thing in a language all may understand. Unite or perish. Not unite as Negro and white. But unite as human beings, bound together as equals by bonds of mutual respect. We must so unite, or

> The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve;
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.

- : -

~~LWD~~
MF

March 5, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I hope you will accept my fervent apologies for my delinquencies as a correspondent. The exigencies of getting out our annual report, preparing the seemingly endless financial requests we must submit at this season, and countering the McCarthyist attacks on SRC have just about removed me from the field of program.

On the most urgent matter -- the question you raised about the Look article concerning government contracts -- I have been bogged down by the failure of the writer in question to respond to my inquiries. The article has not appeared, and we do not have the information on which it is based. I can tell you, however, that this particular part of the article drew heavily from the documentation of the NAACP -- more specifically that furnished by Herbert Hill, the NAACP's labor secretary. I assume your Committee has that well-publicized data, as well as material from the AFSC and the Urban League. I also assume you have been in touch with Harry Jones or John Wheeler about the N. C. Council's merit employment activities.

We have followed your good suggestion that all members of Southern state advisory committees be placed on our complimentary mailing list.

Enclosed are the various items which you wished returned. I have read all of them with great interest and with admiration for the public impact which you are having. Your exchange with Mr. Dees is masterly; I expect to hear any day that he has recanted in the most abject fashion.

Now that I am emerging, at least partly, from my bureaucratic entanglements, I will hope to resume a brisk and proper correspondence on the many matters with which we are mutually concerned.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

Clear Copy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

March 6, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knott
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I believe that Harold replied yesterday to your letter of February 10th. We might add that we do have here certain basic documents that you probably also have or are familiar with. If not, we would be glad to send them to you on loan for as long as you might need them.

These include:

"Equal Job Opportunity Program, as set forth in executive orders 10479 and 10557"
"Report of Discussions, Minority Community Resources Conference, January 15, 1958" - Sponsored by The President's Committee on Government Contracts
"Nondiscrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing, Private Housing and Urban Redevelopment Undertakings" Housing and Home Finance Agency, October 1957, revised
"Executive Order 10590"

I am sorry that we cannot be more helpful. I think your letter is a warning to us that we should be better prepared in this field.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 9, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

My attempts to connect the historical instances of deprivations of liberties, "six Acts of the English Parliament and the French Press Decrees of March 29, 1793", to a specific tyrant or dictator have not been as successful as I could have wished. (Actual texts and formal names of the many edicts which would more nearly support your thesis were not located in my research.) However, I am listing certain background information on these two decrees; possibly you will at least be able to use the French Press decree.

Six Acts, England, 1819

Although George IV was only Prince Regent at the time these acts were passed by Parliament, he evidently enjoyed all powers normally accorded to the monarch, beginning in 1811. His father, George III (the monarch of the American Revolutionary period) was still alive in 1819, but insane (from 1811 to the time of his death in 1820). The Encyclopaedia Britannica says of George IV'S reign:

> "George IV was a bad king, and his reign did much to disgust the country with the Georgian type of monarchy..."

However, criticisms of George IV seem to have been not due to tyranny, but rather because of weakness and moral laxity, so the Six Acts can only be said to have been a manifestation of a threatened monarchy and a weakling monarch.

Decree to the Convention, France, March 29, 1793 (Press Decree)

At the time of this decree, two factions in the Revolutionary Convention, the Girondists (conservative) and the Mountain (radical)

warred for power. Although I do not find evidence that he introduced the above mentioned decree, Robespierre was leader of the Mountain, the faction which was responsible for its passage, and Robespierre is called by one source a "symbol of the violence of the French Revolution". Furthermore, the "Reign of Terror" is called by the Encyclopaedia Britannica "synonymous with the name of Robespierre". The period of history known as the Reign of Terror is said to have begun with the appointment of a Committee of Public Safety on April 6, 1793, only 8 days after the decree with which we are concerned. I believe you would be safe in assuming a connection of this sort: terrorist forces, led by Robespierre, were ascending in power at the time of the March 29th press decree; a few days later they reached their ascendancy as the Reign of Terror was inaugurated - the revolutionary period of wholesale violence and despotic abuse of authority with which the name of the arch-terrorist Robespierre is synonymous.

I hope you will be able to use some of this material and I would like very much, of course, to have a copy of the completed speech for our files.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

March 24, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have read very carefully your latest draft of the forthcoming Charlotte speech. Not only can I find no fault with it, but I believe it is one of the best speeches -- if not the best -- that you have written to date.

I have passed on the manuscript to Marge Manderson and will return it to you in due course.

At Fred's request, I am reluctantly enclosing his light-hearted response to your last letter. So far as I know, Fred has an exclusive claim on solicitude for Fidel Castro's good name (if any).

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

3/27/59

Please send my
who's who to
Mary Alice Ballinger
Natl. Civil Liberties
Clearing House,
1637 Mass. Ave. N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.
Thanks

M.A.W.

Sent 3/30/59

Encls. JH2 ltr. to Henry Shine - dtd. Mar. 31, 1959

March 30, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter written by John Hope to Henry Shine of the Civil Rights Commission. The letter is self-explanatory. It occurred to John Hope and me in a recent conversation that you might want to propose that the North Carolina Advisory Committee follow a similar course.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

April 2, 1959

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed for your and staff's gimlet eyes is copy of Washington speech.

Feel at liberty to revise and edit.

In view of my stenographic limitations will you be good enough to have this re-written, making such copies as can conveniently run through the machine.

I am requested to have a copy in Washington by April 8 - so time is important.

Will see you in Charlotte April 6.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

April 9, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Sorry to be so far behind your deadline on this, but I saw your letter for the first time after my return from Charlotte -- that is, yesterday morning. I was interested to see the splash your Charlotte speech made; this one is equally good.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Speech)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED AP

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 9, 1959 RECEIVED APR 1 3 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of March 30 enclosing copy of John Hope's letter to Mr. Shine. I think Hope's idea is excellent and I will pass it on to my associates on the North Carolina Advisory Committee.

Best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 9, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N E

Dear Paul:

Please send copy of my Who's Who to Mr. Arthur L. Edmunds Executive Secretary, The Urban League, 200 East Kearsley Street, Flint 2, Michigan.

Thanks.

Sent 4/13/59

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

S E G R E G A T I O N T O D A Y - N O R T H A N D S O U T H

Address by
Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina
April 16, 1959
Hotel Sheraton Carlton
Washington, D. C.
Before the
National Civil Liberties Clearing House

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

In a Scottish village a few weeks ago a sixteen year old boy was roughly handled by two policemen. His injuries were minor and superficial. From the viewpoints of force employed and damage inflicted, the incident was not one of gravity.

But, in the British view, the facts that <u>any</u> unnecessary force was employed and <u>any</u> damage was inflicted in themselves made the incident one of extreme public concern. The local Scottish authorities seemed to move slowly in imposing discipline upon the officers. Throughout the British Isles there developed a tide of public sentiment demanding that action be taken. Summit conferences, the cold war, the conquest of space, of course received a share of British attention. But they were secondary to one case of official mistreatment of a lone youth.

Debate erupted in the House of Commons. Prime Minister McMillan turned his attention from cosmic matters long enough to make a statement on the floor. Government created a board of inquiry to learn the facts and recommend appropriate action. Traditional British justice found full expression.

Mr. Churchill upon another occasion, when the Empire stood in mortal peril from searing and scalding bombs, referred to that as being Britain's "finest hour." Time will tell. But surely a profound national concern with the invasion of rights of a single Scottish boy reflects a quality in Englishmen no less praiseworthy than the physical courage with which they bore the ordeal from the skies.

What American did not receive a momentary lift of spirit from the incident! Who among us was not proud to have a relationship by blood, by tradition, or by nurture upon the same common law, with the people who employed the full resources of government to redress a trivial wrong!

But surely ours is a chastened pride. Surely to the least perseptive of American minds comparisons must have occurred. And surely, when we reflect upon the British national concern with the rights of a single Scottish youth, we may be tempted to exclaim in sorrow, "It can never happen here."

No disloyalty to government is implicit in such an exclamation. Indeed, the highest degree of loyalty is expressed in the inclination to examine policy with a view to its correction. The disloyal are those complacent in the presence of injustice. For the first duty of government is to deal justly with all of its citizens.

It is, of course, much easier to react emotionally to wrongs that result in physical than in mental or psychic injury. The bloody nose, the broken rib -- these we may comprehend. We are still so closely linked to our brutish ancestry that we may be more deeply moved by the scalp laid open than by the trauma which lies beneath the scalp.

One illustration immediately occurs. At the last session of the congress a law was enacted prescribing humane procedures for the packing industry. Of course, there was debate. But the American public had its face set against cruelty even to dying hogs. That determination found expression in law.

There was a noteworthy feature of the debate. At no time was there a filibuster or threat of filibuster on the point that how Chicago butchered its hogs was a matter of local concern; that regulation of butchering was a state right of Illinois, and that the rest of the country should keep its hands off Illinois affairs. (Seeing from what quarter that cry usually arises, perhaps we should say "cotton pickin' hands.")

Now, if a hog has the right to die with a minimum of cruelty, has not a child the right so to live? If the national conscience is properly concerned with the rights of dying hogs, is it not equally concerned with the rights of living human beings?

Is there cruelty in the segregation system? Unfathomable, incalculable cruelty. In every waking moment the segregated Negro child has shouted at him in words and in more eloquent deeds "unfit, unworthy, despised." The whole system tends to grind him down, to reduce and abase him.

When an ancient prophet sought to express the ultimate in human woe and misery he turned to the plight of one "despised and rejected of men." Such a one is "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

Segregation is a diabolical device to proclaim every hour on the hour that millions of Americans are despised and rejected by their fellows. The Supreme Court found that psychic injury was inflicted upon the child. The finding was based upon competent psychological testimony. But it is a fact of which judicial notice might have been taken even without testimony.

So the court spoke upon the principal issue -- spoke some five years ago. No one of us is entirely pleased with the acceptance of the decision. But certainly the news is not all bad. Since that fateful May 17, 1954, there has occurred token or bona fide desegregation in the Southern states of Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia; in the border states of West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Missouri and Oklahoma and in the District of Columbia.

A beginning is planned in Florida for the next school term.

This year 59 Negro undergraduates were for the first time admitted into a white Louisiana state college.

And in Virginia, the bastion of massive resistance has begun to crumble.

Only four states of the original 17 - Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina - still have segregation at all educational levels.

It is in the subsequent and collateral decisions that the Court has struck its stoutest blows for decency and public ethics. One after another

all sorts of evasive schemes have emerged. The court has pierced the legal fictions - pierced to the core and found there the ugly spectre of fraud and deceit.

The legal qualities upon which the South has relied have been cunning, slickness, shrewdness. They are the qualities which we have magnified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and politicians. We now know that they are no substitutes for character and intelligence. It is more important to be profound than shrewd and more important to be right than to be either. We might almost say that in the Court's decisions we have been witnessing the taming of the shrewd.

So, the segregationists have met defeat upon most legal fronts. They must now pitch their battles upon other terrain. What is left to them? Where shall they turn?

Surprisingly enough, they turn to the forum of public opinion. Not, of course, Southern public opinion which presented no special difficulties. But to public opinion of North, East and West. You, who live out of the South, should be quite aware of this development. They now seek to subvert the public opinion of the rest of the nation to the segregationist view. Of course, they don't call it that. They refer to it as education in states' rights, limitation of judicial power, and other euphonious terms. But what they mean is preservation of a caste system in the South. It's an old story -- Confederates trying to capture Yankees.

The movement to subvert you should not be taken lightly. It is well organized and well financed. Certain states have their propaganda bureaus into which tax money of all citizens -- Negro and white -- is being poured. Georgia, for example, has spent thousands -- no one knows how much -- on a

slick and glossy illustrated publication shipped and mailed to states outside the South. Its central thesis is that integration is a Communist plot and that the NAACP and other groups which urge compliance with the law take direction from Moscow.

State funds are supplemented by subsidies from anti-labor and other reactionary sources. There is a Southern columnist whose drivel is widely carried by the Southern press. Recently, in one of his repeated appeals for contributions, he reported that $250,000 had already been spent by the notorious White Citizens Councils on spreading written propaganda in the North. This consists in large part of a letter which relies upon Scripture to establish Negro inferiority, although making the customary nauseating avowal of the author's affection for members of that race.

The segregationists send speakers on foreign missions to North, East and West. They flatter and fawn upon Northern papers or writers who abet their plan. Their apostles and philosophers have spread their doctrine in certain Northern publications. A magazine of national circulation and influence and a columnist whose writings appear coast-to-coast are skilled and effective advocates of bigotry. Recently a television news commentator presented on a national hook-up a program which has given aid and comfort to the white supremacy cause.

So, we have the anomaly that a handful of Southern states, in defense of a cause condemned by world opinion, seek national support.

So the movement to convert you should not be taken lightly.

The argument, dinned into Southern ears day in and day out, is that you who live outside the South should leave us alone to solve <u>our</u> problems. Not that you should not sweep abroad until you have cleaned your own door step, but that you shouldn't sweep at all.

It is awkward to tell you, but I may whisper that you are known as meddlers in our affairs.

And I must confess that there are voices in the North which seem to echo that point of view. There is a certain persuasion in the argument that the rebellious states should be allowed to solve a problem which has its physical roots there. But this pre-supposes that the nation as a whole has no stake in the solution.

That major premise I stoutly deny. What is involved is a challenge to the national authority, to the Constitution itself. The rights of every one of us in this room, of every citizen of the nation, ride upon the resolution of this conflict. Those who knock upon barred school doors are no more citizens of South Carolina or of Georgia than they are citizens of the United States. The hand that slips the bar in place tears vitals from the Constitution which protects us all.

No doubt every governor and senator who champions the cause of rebellion feels thatthe effects of his action are limited to his own state. That is a naive faith in privacy. No longer is any official action taken in a dark corner. It is known and its effects felt throughout the world.

Those more philosophical than I have with alarm pointed out that the growth of scientific knowledge far exceeds man's spiritual development, that 20th Century tools may be employed by 18th Century mentalities. Especially is this true in the field of communication. So we have the phenomenon of a governor or a Senator whose words may leap across oceans or continents but whose moral perceptions can't leap across his back yard fence.

Therein lies the peril to the rest of the nation. The Neanderthal gutterals of Gov. Faubus and Senator Eastland stir the primitive in men not merely in Arkansas and in Mississippi but in Illinois and Massachusetts as

well. Don't for a moment think that the Mason and Dixon Line is a rampart behind which you are secure. There is no quarantine against an idea. It enters the national blood stream and affects every living cell of the body politic. If little fires are not quickly trodden out, they may become conflagrations which rivers cannot quench.

So, in any proper or realistic view, the question of desegregation of the Southern schools is a national, not merely a local, issue.

Resistance is a national concern, not merely at its core, but also at its periphery; not merly as a central sun, but also because of the satellites it has hurled into space. Indeed, in Woodrow Wilson's phrase, the side show sometimes is more important than the main circus.

Resistance on the legalistic or parliamentary level has begotten violence on lower levels. It was inevitable that it should have done so. Men in governor's offices or legislative halls announce that segregation must be preserved. In effect, they proclaim a holy war for its preservation.

No one wants to be neutral in a holy war. The governors and legislators are suave and sophisticated. They wield the weapons of guile and duplicity. But many of their followers and henchmen are not suave and sophisticated. They know nothing of such weapons. But they have fists and they can easily learn the gentle art of dynamiting. So they use the only tools they know.

So resistance proceeds from the rolling phrase and legislative jockeying--proceeds from these to cross burnings, assaults, bombings, murder. The road runs straight from the inciting official phrase to a shattered school in Clinton, to a wrecked synagogue in Atlanta.

The breakdown of law and order anywhere in the United States is a concern to the entire nation.

Perhaps more distressing than the breakdown of law has been the deterioration

of public ethics. This, too, is a collateral result of the resistance principle.

The resisting states employed all of their official brain, skill, cunning, to amend their Constitutions, to repeal certain statutes and enact others. For what purpose? In some instances, obviously to thwart the Supreme Court decree. These amounted to rebellion without the dignity of formal secession. Most of these were patently unconstitutional and have been so declared by the Court.

But in other instances there have been more subtle maneuvers. These have sought to convey the illusion of acceptance of the Court's mandate without actually accepting. These have sought credit for obeying the law, while the concealed intent, in any practical sense, is to evade the law. In at least two instances, involving Alabama and North Carolina, the Supreme Court has held that the statues were not unconstitutional on their face.

The decisions were officially hailed in the two states as insuring the maintenance of segregation except in the most limited degree. What do the statutes provide? They give school boards authority to assign pupils to schools. Certain factors may be taken into consideration. But the word "race" is studiedly omitted from these factors. Yet every citizen who ranks above the moronic level knows that race is the controlling factor. Certainly it is know by the officials who publicly boast of their skill in devising so clever a scheme.

Is there not some decay of public morals involved in such sinister procedures? Are ethics which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade proper guides for the conduct of a soverèign state? Any citizen, however remote from the South, will be insensitive to such practices only at his peril. They are procedures affected with a national interest.

A more sinister move is afoot. It is the calculated character assassination of advocates of obedience to law. Just as the nation begins to breathe easily following its orgy of McCarthyism, that pestilence now erupts in the states.

In South Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and perhaps other resisting states they have created their own state committees on subversive activities. Already the pattern emerges.

The men and women and organizations crucified at such hearings -- preachers, professors, social workers -- have committed only one offence. They have expressed their belief in observing the law. For that they are place in the dock.

The same thoroughly discredited professional witnesses relied upon by Senator McCarthy now play the Southern circuit. One of these twenty years ago accused the then juvenile Shirley Temple of taking orders from Moscow and in 1953 labeled "at least 7,000 Protestant Clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, party line adherents and unwilling dupes."

These witnesses, repudiated and cut off the federal payroll, now are paid by the rebellious states. Oh, well, they must find some way to earn their little Red livelihood.

Here is a deliberate and callous effort to stifle dissent, to throttle opposition, to penalize the exercise of thought and speech. No American in Wisconsin or New York or anywhere else may regard such raw tyranny with indifference. These practices present a national peril.

There is undistilled irony in these investigations. They ostensibly hunt subversives. A subversive, by definition, is one who seeks to undermine the foundation of his government. The foundation of our government is the Constitution. Hence, one would naively suppose that the committees would attempt to ferret out those who deny rights guaranteed by the Constitution or who use unconstitutional means to attain their ends. But, by a complete inversion of logic, the people whom they brand subversive are those who seek to assert or protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution and use constitutional means to attain their ends.

The next time these committees tell me they are pursuing subversives I think I shall tell the, "Go chase yourselves."

But there is a more pervasive and more somber irony in the situation. The very men who sponsor and conduct these inquisitions - counterparts of Senator Eastland and Congressman James C. Davis— the lesser Ceasars of the rebellion -- are helping to rear in the South a generation of white children taught that the federal government is something foreigh, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to their government be later affected. And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

Can any citizen of this country, wherever he may live, feel for a moment that he is unconcerned with practices so grossly in conflict with the national interest? Can he afford towash his hands of the South?

A lone Scottish boy mishandled by a local constable -- and the British Isles aflame. Dare we be less concerned with the fate of some millions who endure the remorseless pressure of a state?

The contention of the white supremacist that the South be left alone with its problem presents on of the anomalies of the times. This is the age of the sputnik. Each day the range of our interests is extended. Each day we become more acutely aware of the inter-dependence of men upon each other. We become more conscious of involvement of our own destinies with the destinies of men in the world's remotest corners. There is daily borne in upon us the essential unity and indivisibility of mankind with the result that what affects one affects all.

In such a context how like a voice from the Dark Ages is the white supremacist's whimpering plea that you in the North have no concern with what happens to your Negro brothers of the South! That you have no license to be heard! That your endeavor to influence the Southern situation is impertinent meddling in a matter of only local interest and significance!

Certainly you will not fall for that argument. Only one far gone in schizophrenia can embrace at the same time a sense of international civic

responsibility and the provincialism of the segregation philosophy.

You who share the world's revulsion at the Russian treatment of Boris Pasternak will hardly remain indifferent to the stern fate of hundreds of lesser Pasternaks in the South who think and write and teach and preach and speak at their peril.

Those in the South who support law and order and decency fight your battle as well as theirs. Give them at all times the consciousness that, in those sections of the country not so stirred by the moment's passions, there are understanding and sympathy.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED APR 27 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

4-24-59

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

I enclose draft of speech I propose to make in Flint May 13 and in Pontiac May 14. Fearless comment is invited.

After editing in any way you think wise will you be good enough to have made for me as many copies as may be conveniently run through the machine.

Thanks.

M. A. W.

I am delighted that you have given me this opportunity to visit your city and am especially pleased that we meet under the auspices of the Urban League. No doubt I would have known something of the League if I had never had connection with the Southern Regional Council. But my work with the Council has given me unusual opportunity to have some knowledge and appreciation of your accomplishments. Those who seek to establish a better social order in the South have long recognized the superb contribution you are making to realization of that goal.

Having bracketed the names of our two organizations, I am reminded that both enjoy a tax-exempt status. That happy condition must not be imperilled by any word of mine. If I should touch delicately upon any political matter, let me hasten now to say that no member of the Urban League or the Southern Regional Council has conspired or confederated with me in the preparation of these remarks. "An ill-favored thing, Sir, but mine own."

I am getting a little tired of making that explanation. The next time Sen. Eastland tells me he is pursuing subversives, I think I shall tell him "Go chase yourself."

Well, here I am, a man from the deep and rural South, before a city audience in the industrial North. I am tempted to dilate upon the contrasts in our situations. But surely no good can come from accentuating differences. They tend to set us apart from each other, whereas we are drawn together by things we hold in common. As Mr. Attlee remarked in his graceful birthday tribute to Mr. Churchill, "The things which unite us are vastly more important than those which divide." Under the enveloping mantle of American citizenship, my interests and yours are identical.

If I may paraphrase the blunt and forthright language of a former head of General Motors--sometimes called "Bird dog Charlie"--what is good for the South is good for the country.

And, of course, one of the startlingly obvious facts of the times is that the contrasts between our regions are rapidly disappearing.

Certain factors are inexorably at work. The most important of these is the movement of industry to the South. I shall not burden you with the figures. The pained cries you hear from New England mark the departure of textile mills to warmer climes. Steel, petroleum, pulp--the story is the same everywhere--Southward, ho, is the cry. Birmingham, Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston and hosts of lesser cities and towns are new hives of industry. A citizen of Flint or Pontiac or Detroit could move there and fill his lungs with the old familiar smog.

Of course, the important fact is that what goes South is not machines but ideas. The plantation economy, with its semi-feudal system of share-croppers and tenants in thralldom to the owners, has gone forever. Under such a system segregation developed as a natural child of slavery. It has no place and will not long survive in an industrial society.

Therein lies one of the ironies of the present situation. Certain states are officially committed to preservation of their caste systems. Yet their governors and other state officials lead their safaris into the North stalking the mills, trying to bring them back alive. With every success they have they speed the doom of their segregated society. They must choose between segregation and industrialization. Thus far they have found no way to eat their Southern biscuits and have them too.

Recent developments must have given them some concern. The Southward march of industry has ground to a halt in Arkansas and begun to stumble in Virginia--two states most noted for their insistence upon segregation.

the conservative class

The conservative Wall Street Journal presents an imposing array of instances of plants abandoning intention to move South because of the local segregation practices.

There has been, too, for two decades a pouring of Southern labor into your Northern cities. Farming has become increasingly precarious at a time when Northern wages were rapidly advancing. So the tenant farmer and share cropper of the South has moved in with you here in Flint and Pontiac and Detroit and is now a full fledged citizen of Michigan. In every industry of this region there are strong personal bonds between substantial numbers of employees and families in towns, villages and the countryside of the South.

These are facts of great significance for the nation. They mark the removal of sectional differentials. A nation in a strictly technical sense may be created by ratification of a constitution. But this is far removed from the organic entity of a people. That depends upon the existence of forces more unifying than a paper compact. First the steel rails, then the telephone and telegraph wires, then the long strips of macadam, and finally the air waves themselves--means of moving people and goods and ideas--these are the forces which create the essential unity and indivisibility of a people. Because we have these instrumentalities and employ them liberally we are at that state where every section of this nation--the great city, the cross roads, the farm--has an abiding concern with the problems and the fate of every other section.

Not everyone knows that. Carl ~~Senburg~~ Sandburg recently put it in homely vernacular: "The United States is not are. The Civil War was fought over a verb. Governor Faubus don't know that. But he gonna learn, he gonna learn."

If I take the time to remind you of our common concern in each other's affairs, it is only because that fairly elementary truth seems recently to have come under violent attack. You should be aware of the attack and on guard against it.

The segregationists, as you no doubt know, have lost nearly all of their legal battles. It is quite evident that, on the legal front, all that they may now do is to fight rear guard actions. So they pitch their battles on new terrain. That terrain physically is here in the North. Intellectually and spiritually it is in the minds and hearts of Northerners. The present stategy of the white supremacists, at a minimum, to neutralize Northern opinion; at a maximum, to enroll you under their banner.

You here in the North may not be aware of it, but you are being wooed by Sen. Eastland and Sen. Thurmond. We hope there shall be no betrothal, certainly no union, and, as to issue, God forbid!

I may only indicate to you the extent to which your benevolent neutrality or active partisanship is being sought.

Several Southern states maintain their propaganda bureaus out of tax funds--contributed in part by Negro taxpayers--which flood the North with slick and glossy literature proclaiming that de-segregation is a Communist device and that the Supreme Court is a tool of Moscow.

The notorious White Citizens Councils take full page ads in such respectable Northern papers as the New York ~~Times~~ Herald Tribune to present a letter developing the thesis that Negro inferiority is scriptually established. Over a quarter million dollars has been spent in such advertising and distribution.

Extensive radio net works present what is called the Southern story.

Skilled and effective advocates of bigotry invade the North eschewing the term "white supremacy" but nevertheless seeking your help in maintaining a social system of which a preferred status for whites is the core.

If thus far your city has been spared this pestilence from the South, don't congratulate yourselves pre-maturely. They have just not gotten around to you. Your time will come.

Now, when a pestilence may strike, wise medical practice is to publicize the symptoms. Thus may the endangered population be on guard, and hence, inoculated. Surely those of us in the human relations field may take a lesson from the doctors. This may be a rare chance to get free medical service.

Of course, if the white supremacist were quite frank with you, this medical exercise would be unnecessary. The segregationist would say to you openly and boldy "We want your help in maintaining in our region a system by which people with white skins enjoy certain advantages over people with colored skins." That approach would, of course, not be recommended by Dale Carnegie. Whatever else the segregationist may be, he is a master of diplomacy. So he adopts finesse in his approach. He is oblique and indirect.

Since, according to his view, the Supreme Court is the author of all his misfortunes, it is the object of his malevolent attentions. All of its decisions upholding the right of an accused to confront the witnesses against him, the right to freedom of travel, the right to ~~retain~~ privacy of association, the right to retain governmental employment unless removed for valid cause, the right of freedom from tapped telephone wires--all of those stern judgments will be paraded before you. Little, if anything, will be said about the school decisions. The impression will be subtly conveyed that here are nine men drunk with power and bent upon destroying the republic; hence,

their authority must be curbed.

Historically, one of the conspicuous badges of tyranny is its antagonism for courts and established judical process. From the banishment of Aristides, the Just, from Greece, through establishment of People's Courts by Hitler and Stalin to the creation of a special tribunal by Fidel Castro, that antagonism has found expression.

When limitation of judicial authority is now urged upon the rest of the nation by the segregationist, it is not unreasonable to infer that he seeks to throttle the one agency which protects the Negro citizen from the raw tyranny of the state.

Speaking of badges of tyranny, we must not overlook the fact that every tyrant rises to power or retains power by suspending constitutional guaranties. You may examine every one of history's more grisly chapters and there emerges a man or clique who have ruthlessly ignored or struck down constitutional provisions asserting rights of the citizen. A tyrant may be one or many acting in concert--a Hitler or a Stalin or a governor or a school board. The right involved may be freedom of the press or attendance upon a school. When any right is denied by official action, there is tyranny.

I remind you of these disagreeable facts, not, I hope, because I am morbid, but because you should know for what cause the segregationist seeks your aid. The cause is nothing less than the denial of a constitutional right. That is nothing less than tyranny.

Now, those of us on our side of this issue are by no means disinterested spectators in this struggle for the minds of Northerners. We, too, seek your support. I am not above doing a little proselyting of my own.

You will recall that Mr. Adlai Stevenson remarked that when a Republican turned Democratic, wisdom had been granted him, but when a Democrat turned Republican, he had succumbed to treason.

Similarly, when the segregationist seeks your support, he is guilty of vile propagandizing; when we seek it, we are merely being reasonably persuasive.

First of all, let me get you to consider for a moment the plight of the Southern integrationist. (I must qualify that statement by conceding that conditions vary greatly in the South and that I intend no blanket indictment.)

What forces are against him?

There are against him his state and local governments. These have at their disposal tax funds, prestige, unrestricted and free access to television, radio and press. Time and space which would cost thousands of dollars are his for the asking, whereas the wisdom of men like Sanburg and Faulkner receives greatly curtailed presentation.

Usually, though with increasing exceptions, the press is strongly pro-segregation. The exceptions are occurring as it becomes evident that the hard choice is between integration and no public schools.

Adult public opinion, if given free choice, would overwhelmingly favor segregation. Hopefully, the youngsters are breaking with their parents on the issue.

Churches (on the local level), lodges, professional societies and private clubs are segregated--always with notable exceptions.

The Southern integrationist then, must pit his puny strength against these impressive forces. Sometimes he must break with friends and family.

You can, I hope, begin to comprehend how vastly important to him are the favorable opinion, good will and moral support of those who live beyond the region. When every man's hand seems to be against him at home, there is balm in the thought that beyond an imaginary line bisecting the nation there are sympathy and understanding. If you should begin to weaken, his desolation would be complete.

The point which I should like to drive home is that your own destiny is bound up with the destiny of the Southern liberal. You may not weaken on him without weakening on yourselves. Liberalism cannot be divided into neat compartments labelled "Northern" and "Southern" with freedom to choose one and reject the other. Because this is one nation, indivisible, the fate of every citizen rides with the fate of every other. Thus, the liberal cause may not flourish in one section while it languishes in another.

I think that statement may be susceptible of proof.

You will recall that in the 1920s the Kukluxklan recieved a new birth in the South. It was ignored by the rest of the country as being a purely local phenomenon. With what result? It rose to be a great power in Indiana. It was a force to be reckoned with in many Northern states, and its sinister shadow fell across the Democratic convention which nominated Al Smith for president.

So, even now the anthropoid utterances of men like Sen. Eastland and Gov. Faubus have the power to stir the primitive in men, not only in Mississippi and in Arkansas, but in Michigan as well. Outcroppings of racial violence, in New York, Chicago, even remote London, have been nurtured by the irresponsible mouthings of bigots in high places. Prejudices lie so close to the surface in even the most civilized and urbane of men that they may easily emerge from the sub-conscious into the conscious.

Hence, let no one deceive himself into believing that the Mason and Dixon line is a rampart behind which he is secure or a kind of Curtain which will inevitably deflect ideas and sentiments having Southern origin. Ideas nowadays are all-pervasive.

But, rather than have you think negatively and defensively about the pervasive quality of ideas, we much prefer that you think positively--if Dr. Norman Vincent Peale will pardon us; not so much about guarding against the bad idea as about wise and full use of the good. Surely every American city is under the moral compulsion, not merely to insulate itself against evil, but to aid right to triumph everywhere else.

You will see that we in the South don't want to settle for your neutrality. We want you actively on our side. We don't quite go along with Daniel Boone's prayer "God help me, but, if you can't help me, don't help the bear."

To invite you to remain neutral does but little credit to your intelligence or your principles. It is to assume that you fail to percieve your self-interest in the integration issue, or that, percieving such, you lack the spiritual urge to threw your weight into the struggle. When, therefore, the segregationist, flaunting the banner of State's Rights, accuses you of "outside interference" in a local matter--" meddling," I believe, is the exact term--you may with complete propriety inform him that you have a stake in all that transpires anywhere in this nation, and that repression or denial of right is one infant industry you do not propose to protect. Or, if you prefer, you may tell him bluntly where he may go.

Neutrality assumes large proportions in segregationist thinking. He not only wants you, the Northern public, to remain neutral. He wants the government of the United States to remain neutral. Neutral in what conflict and between what parties?

To answer that we have to go back a bit. The court has held that a Negro child has a constitutional right to attend an integrated school. He presents himself. He is denied admission. So a suit must be brought. In several states they have so-called anti-barratry statutes designed to inflict severe penalties on the NAACP if it should intervene.

Several senators and congressmen propose that the Attorney General be authorized to initiate a suit for the child, merely translating a paper right into an actuality, putting living flesh upon the bare bones of the court's decision. But the Southern bloc fought and continues to fight such a provision.

Their position is that the child, usually without funds or friends in high places, shall be left to ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ match his feeble strength against the awesome power of his state; that the federal government shall remain a neutral and callous spectator of so unequal a conflict; that government, like Nero at the gladiatorial games, shall observe with indifference the outcome of a fateful issue.

I cannot believe that such is the sentiment of this nation. I am sure that all of us here wish the government we all support to interpose its majesty and power between the child and the raw tyranny of the state.

Insert

So, I am here in your city seeking your help. You do not need my help and there is little I could give you if you did. But those who fight for justice, for simple law observance, in the South desperately need your help.

What may you do?

First, and negatively, don't succumb to the argument that you are outsiders meddling in other peoples affairs. We must never overlook the dual nature of citizenship in this country. The Negro children knocking upon school doors may be citizens of South Carolina or Louisiana.

Stars. Cont no paragraph

They are no less citizens of the United States of America. It is rights under the American constitution they seek to assert. They do so as your fellow-citizens. In that view, your concern is fully as acute as the concern of a native-born white citizen of South Carolina or Louisiana.

Keep always in mind that what is happening in certain areas of the South is a suspension of guaranties of the American constitution. That suspension is as real as if proclaimed by a formal edict of a dictator. Such a suspension, whether formally proclaimed or not, is an act of tyranny. No American citizen has the right to acquiesce in tyranny.

All rights guaranteed by the constitution are of equal sanctity. The right of school attendance is as sacred as freedom of the press. There is no moral difference between closing school doors and closing printing presses. One will lead to the other.

Finally, the White Southern liberal is acutely vulnerable. He bucks the truly formidable power of his state; quite often he bucks community, friends, family. He is apt to be lonely. Don't wash your hands of him. Let him at all times be sustained by the consciousness that, in those areas of his land where men are not so stirred by the passions of the moment, there are understanding and sympathy.

You take a just pride in your commercial primacy, in the long procession of automobiles that roll from your assembly lines, in the material products with which you flood the world. No one would detract for a moment from the significance of such achievements.

But it may not be amiss to remind ourselves occasionally that no one recalls the economic exports of Athens or Judea or Alexandria. But the world still is moved by ideas and ideals which there found expression.

A secure place in history, a kind of urban immortality, is reserved for cities which fashion and show complete devotion to the highest principles of civic virture.

Insert

More is involved than denial of the rights of a child. Consider, if you will, the by-products of such denial.

As the dark and bloody history of tyranny has revealed, one denial is not enough. The original felony must be compounded.

Governors, senators and others highly placed proclaim a holy war to preserve segregation. They are suave and sophisticated men. ~~But what~~ They propose to use legalistic and parliamentary stratagems. But essentially what they advocate is disobedience to law. Some of their henchmen are not suave and sophisticated. They know nothing of such tools. But they have fists. They can easily learn the gentle art of dynamiting. So they use the only tools they know.

The road runs straight from the inciting official phrases to a wrecked school in Clinton, Tennessee, to a ~~wrecked~~ bombed synagogue in Atlanta.

The officials deplore the wrecking of a single school. But they themselves wreck the entire school systems of states, destroying in a vindictive moment procedures developed through decades.

The segregationist asks you here in Michigan to regard with equanimity the condemning of millions of Southern

children to relative or total ignorance and to turn your faces from lawlessness officially propagated.

The official weapons, as we have noted, are guile and duplicity. They involve enactment of statutes and constitutional provisions which pretend to follow the court's mandate but actually ~~do so~~ are designed to thwart that mandate. This is a species of fraudulent misrepresentation which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade.

The qualities magnified in the public mind are slickness, shrewdness, cunning. They are ideals held up before young lawyers and politicians. The hard truth is that they are no substitutes for intelligence and character. The great lawyer or statesman is not shrewd; he is profound.

We say that a state maintains ~~st~~ schools. Vastly more important than the school it maintains is the school the state is. Example is more powerful than precept. The example of a state resorting to subterfuge, evasion and misrepresentation will not be lost upon young minds. That example will effectively negate the noble maxims of the class room.

Can you here in Michigan view with indifference a decay of public morals anywhere in the nation?

4/27/59

Elizabeth Brantley writes me she received copy of the letter to Dees in a batch of material sent to Gammon from Office of Asst. Sec. of Defense, Washington. How they get around! Do you know how this was done?

M.A.W.

NEWSLETTER

of
School Desegregation Program
of
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

RECEIVED APR 28 1959

1818 S. Main St. April 1959 High Point, N. C.

LEGAL AND MORAL ASPECTS OF SEGREGATION

Marion A. Wright*
Linville Falls, North Carolina

.....For too long the problems of our public schools have been left for solution to our political leaders. Without to any degree disparaging their qualifications, it is to be doubted that one dependent for office upon his voter appeal may be entirely objective and analytical in approaching an emotionally charged issue.

What is involved is a change of law and custom. These concern government and conscience. In the field of government we may concede the superior capacity of experienced officials; in the field of conscience each one of us carries his credentials in his heart.

Law and custom are closely related. Perhaps no more significant illustration of the relationship may be found than in the area of segregation. It rests upon twin supporting pillars. The less notable of these is law. The more imposing is custom. It is more imposing because it affects many more relationships than does law and because its eradication is a much more difficult task than that of accomplishing legal change. Law may be changed by the exertion of governmental power; custom may be changed only by a revolution in the minds of men. Legal emancipation was achieved by a single proclamation signed by one man in an instant of time. But emancipation in the sense of a freeing of mind and spirit from the myth of racial superiority and inferiority still lies in the future.

The difficulty seems to be that so many people feel that there is something sacred about custom. The most potent of all arguments against change is that it disturbs "our way of life.".....

.....The assumption that nothing should be disturbed, or that man's sacred mission is to defend the status quo, chills the germ of life and growth, inhibits the development of society. Only as men cease to live in the past, or even the present, only as they turn from ancestor worship, do they march forward.....

.....When we come right down to it, the questiom which confronts men is: what shall be abandoned, what preserved? It is very seldom all or nothing.....

.....Certainly, for example, there is much in the Southern way of life that is worth preserving--the tradition of hospitality; neighborliness, urbanity, good manners, mastery of parliamentary procedure; sense of international obligation and responsibility; appreciation of the leisurely and the informal; and a scale of values which minimizes the importance of the sharply commercial. All of us, I am sure, would like to preserve these features of Southern life.

But when the segregationist talks about preserving "our way of life" he never seems to mean any of these things. He seems to mean only a system of caste legally enforced. Probably he doesn't intend to do this, but the image of the South which he is fashioning and exhibiting to the rest of the world is of a region obsessed with the significance of pigment, with the preservation of a

fixed status for some millions of Southerners, and with maintenance of a state of society in which the segregationist enjoys a secure and preferred position.....

.....The denial of the right of school attendance is a bold suspension of a constitutional right. But, as the dark and bloody record of tyranny reveals, one suspension is not enough. The attack upon the right of school attendance was merely the beginning. It has been followed by other gross invasions of personal liberty. Teachers' oaths; laws requiring that organizations bare their memberships; laws designed to forbid aid in Civil Rights cases; congressional and state inquisitions into groups favoring observance of law; discharge of professors; legal harassment of liberal or even moderate newspapers--there has been a host of repressive actions designed to stifle dissent.....

.....But let us address ourselves to the core of the North Carolina policy on the segregation issue.....

.....The key words of the North Carolina Policy are "token compliance."

Should we not be entirely candid and admit that what we are trying to do is to convey the illusion of acceptance of the Court's mandate without actually accepting? Are we not trying to secure credit for obeying the law while, in any practical sense, defying the law? In other words, are we not obtaining credit by false pretense? Is that a high moral position for a sovereign state to take? Are ethics which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade proper guides for the conduct of a great state?

What North Carolina seems to be saying is, "We will move only when we are compelled to move and move not an inch farther than we have to.".....

.....Is there not something essentially dishonest in hastily devising a scheme governing assignment of pupils--a scheme which lists various factors a school board may take into consideration, but studiedly omits mention of race, when anyone of us above the moronic level knows that race is the all-controlling factor? Our public officials pat their backs until they are raw upon their cunning in fabricating such a system, while solemnly asserting in court that race is never considered by the defending school board.

Certainly, there is a moral aspect to such procedures. The legal qualities upon which the resisting states have relied have been cunning, slickness, shrewdness. Such have been the qualities magnified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and politicians. They are no substitutes for brain, intelligence and character. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick or shrewd, he is profound.

We say that a state maintains schools. But vastly more important than the schools it <u>maintains</u> is the school which the state itself <u>is</u>. The fine precepts of the classroom mean but little when contrasted with the effect of a state's official policy. If the policy be tinctured and tainted with deviousness, chicanery and misrepresentation of its true intent, the lesson will not be lost upon the youthful citizen.....

.....Surely there is nothing in the history and tradition of North Carolina to support the policy of token compliance. Surely none of us is happy to see our state seek the name of honor rather than honor itself. Surely a state whose motto is <u>Esse quam videre</u> -- to be, rather than to see -- will not long endure a reversal of that high principle.....

.....Segregation leaders are careful to point out that they do not condone violence. Concededly, there are points of difference between violence and legislative or official maneuvering, as there is between highway robbery and embezzlement. Force is used in robbery and not in embezzlement. The motive in both instances is identical--to deprive a person of a right.....

.....Acts of violence may often be dismissed as the impulsive and unthinking conduct of brutish men. But your legislative maneuverers--your private school men, your state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment, local control, gerrymandering men--have no such claim upon our consideration. They are trained and skilled and cunning men. They plot their schemes, mull over them, debate them for weeks on end. There is malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Bad as it may be, what is done by the poor devil who burns a cross or plants a bomb is his individual act, in no sense committing or involving his state. But what is done by men in Governors' mansions or legislative halls become State policy, carrying with it all the sanction and authority of a state. It seems almost blasphemous that men should use the sacred power of a state for such ignoble ends.

Certain public officials are appalled at the wrecking of a single school. Who wouldn't be? But what shall be said of governors, legislators and school officials who wreck the entire school system of a state? Which offense is the more despicable?

Yet in certain states constitutional and statutory provisions, carefully designed through the years to perfect systems of public instruction, have undergone mayhem and emasculation in order to thwart the Court's decrees.

Let us peer so far as we are able into the future. The role of the prophet is a hazardous one. But some things seem reasonably certain.....

.....The evil that men do lives after them. What is now being said in the heat and rancor of the moment, what is being done in anger and spite--the bitter word, the evil deed--these, tragically, are assimilated by the very young. They become a part of the mass of each child's experience, to be years later dredged up from the depths of the sub-conscious. They will enter into the attitudes and the conduct of the adult.

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

At the same time we are rearing a generation of Negro children who are being taught by what daily transpires about them that the states of which they are natives are cruel, repressive, vengeful, bent upon doling out to them second-class childhood. How will their loyalty to their respective states be later affected?

At the same time these Negro children are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and raw tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that Nordic or Aryan supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of a community or region. The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the World Council of Churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach!

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it -- certainly the last to see it -- but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens.....

.....North Carolinians take proper satisfaction in the fact that the Voice of America will soon begin broadcasting from our own coastal plain. The Voice will penetrate the world's remote corners. In some of these areas are millions of persons of color. They will hear our message. What shall we say? What dare we say?.....

.....How moving and uplifting everywhere would be the message, spoken with truth:

"The tower from which this broadcast comes has its base in the soil of the old South where men once were slaves. They have long since been set free. They enjoy freedom, not merely in the sense of physical liberty, but freedom also in the larger sense that the society in which they move is rid of all embarrasing and humiliating reminders of serfdom.

"The state of which they are citizens has pride that nowhere within its borders is there discrimination in employment, in housing, in education, in enjoyment of any of its institutions or facilities, or in right of association.

"Here in North Carolina no doors, including school doors, are shut in the faces of the aspiring and deserving. The only conditions for advancement are such as inhere in merit and worth, to which race and color are unrelated."

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*Marion Wright, noted Southern lawyer and civil rights leader, delivered this talk at the Institute on Human Relations, Charlotte, N. C., April 6, 1959. A resident of Linville Falls, N. C., he is a member of the North Carolina Civil Rights Commission, past president of the Southern Regional Council, a graduate and former president of the Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina.

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Lincoln Falls, N.C. 5/4/59

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Harold:

I enclose copy of speech I propose to make May 15 before a National Jewish organization, I hope it may have gimlet-eyed inspection.

They want advance copies for the press. So—my usual request for your expert stenographic aid, in which field I am here stymied. As many copies as may be conveniently run through the machine, and as soon as convenient—with all deliberate speed.

Thanks.

M. A. W.

Once more into the breach, dear Leon,

once more into the breach, shooting

God!

A F T E R M A T H O F T H E D E C I S I O N

Address by

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.
Delivered May 15, 1959
before the

National Community Relations Council
in
Detroit, Michigan

We are here today to discuss trends. But before we get into our subject let me point out that this meeting itself is part of a trend - a very wholesome trend. This is a national organization. It has its headquarters in the North, in which presumably it has most of its personnel and from which it draws most of its support. It is a fact of great significance that it and other similar national organizations are becoming increasingly concerned with the problem of the Southern schools.

A few years ago, I am sure, most of us would have felt that this was exclusively a Southern problem to be solved by the unaided South. There is no teacher like events. Certainly events of the past five years have taught the most dull among us, as Daniel Webster proclaimed over a century ago, that this is one nation, indivisible. Certainly the enlightened are now aware of our essential unity with the result that right and justice may not languish in one area and flourish in another.

The enlightened know it, but not everyone. Carl Sandburg recently put it in the vernacular: "The United States is, not are. The Civil War was fought over a verb. Governor Faubus don't know that. But he gonna learn, he gonna learn."

This is May 15. We are within two days of the fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court's historic decision in the school desegregation cases. Looking out at this group of mature - I will not say middle-aged or elderly - people, I imagine most of us take some liberty with birthdays. If Jack Benny can do it, why not we? So what are a mere two days? For our purposes, this is the Fifth Anniversary.

There is an obvious comment to be made about the decision. It should have surprised no one. Many of our politicians assail the decision as though it were a bolt from the blue, taking by surprise a completely unforewarned South. The facts are quite to the contrary. Beginning with the court headed

by Justice Hughes through the court headed by Justice Vinson -- those were no left-wingers -- there was a series of decisions which should have prepared the South. They foretold as clearly as words could that, upon a proper case, the court would strike a mortal blow at legalized segregation.

"The Warren Court" is a phrase much employed by segregationist politicians, being especially favored by Senator Byrd. They might, with equal justification and equally bad taste, refer to the "Hughes court" or the "Vinson court." They fully share with the Warren court responsibility for the ultimate result. Thereby they have assured for themselves a degree of judicial immortality.

Let us go back in our thinking to May 17, 1954.

There was a pendulous moment when the issue was in flux. It could have turned either way. Southern opinion was malleable. It could have been hammered into any shape. This was the precious period when a few men -- men like Byrd of Virginia, Byrnes of South Carolina and Talmadge of Georgia -- could have set the South upon an honorable course. Seldom in our history have so few men had so golden an opportunity. Never have they so callously cast it aside.

Whether they felt, as some philosophically do, that a politician's duty is to express and represent the sentiment of his constituency, or yielded to the influence of long habit of appealing to racial prejudice is immaterial. The point is that they could have nobly won, but instead meanly lost, one of mankind's great hopes.

So the die was cast.

Then came the period of bombast and fustian. Certain key words may serve as ticklers to our memories. Sealed up in these words and their connotations is the history of a sordid era. They are such words as "interposition," "nullification," "Southern manifesto," "massive resistance," "evasive measures," and "token compliance."

They are parlimentary terms as becomes their high official origin. Their

authors, alas, are among the world's best parliamentarians. Some of them are oily and unctuous, some of them are crude and raucous. But, in common, they are masters in two fields -- the psychology of the frustrated Southern white and legalistic procedure. That mastery has been sharpened and perfected, as all art is, by diligent practice and competition.

So there was, then, this period of chest-thumping and oratory. Each one paraded his own pet system for keeping the submerged and voteless man of color in his place. Those among you who are lawyers will share with me pride in the fact that, as these schemes emerged and before they crystallized into law, Southern law professors at the Universities of North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama and at Washington and Lee -- men whose jobs were endangered -- analyzed these legislative devices and denounced them as unconstitutional. But the mild and scholarly and profound utterances of these professors were drowned in the period's crescendo of oratory. Who were they to pit their sober scholarship against the intuitions of the rabble rousers?

So the tragedy had to be played out to the very end.

You know the result. Practically all of these exercises in duplicity have been before the courts. Beneath the sheep's clothing the lurking wolf was found. So they have withered in the court's and the nation's scorn.

Meanwhile, consider with me for a moment something of the price paid for the experience. We may only begin to suggest the appalling consequences of this official defiance of law.

Let us be quite charitable and concede that what the politicians had in mind was the use of <u>only</u> legalistic means. But it is a maxim that one is presumed to have intended the natural consequences of his act. Certainly, in this case they could have been foreseen.

What was advocated was resistance to one law -- that relating to school attendance. But when you enter upon a policy of resistance there is never a

good stopping place. The original felony must be indefinitely compounded. In the field of resistance there is no such thing as a limited infection. The monster's appetite is insatiable. It is cancerous.

So professors must be fired; ministers must be removed from their pulpits; teachers must take oaths; government employees must be screened by a kind of litmus test; credit must be withheld from certain Negro leaders and their sympathizers; blood in the Red Cross bank must be labelled white and Negro; subscriptions and advertising must be withdrawn from certain newspapers. So through the entire gamut of official and non-official repression.

(I must, in all fairness point out that the South is not a unit; that methods vary and that the record is much better in some states than in others. Time doesn't permit of individual discussion.)

I have reserved for separate consideration the policies of several states toward the NAACP. Since that organization has spear-headed the drive for Negro rights, using only legal means and relying only upon the Constitution, it has borne the brunt of Southern attack. The clear, even announced, purpose of the attack is to put the organization out of business.

There are two prongs to the attack. The first is to require a full disclosure of names of members and contributors. You may imagine the effect upon those peculiarly subject to reprisal. By the enactment of a similar law in Italy, Mussolini was able to announce on November 11, 1926, "All political parties, all Anti-Fascist political organizations and others of a suspected character have been dissolved."

The other prong is the so-called anti-barratry laws. These would make it impossible for a penniless Negro child ever to get his case before a court. A perfectly valid legal right would perish for want of an advocate.

All states furnish counsel to impoverished accused in capital cases. The office of public defender exists in many states. Legal aid societies perform

honorable free services in many jurisdictions. These services are performed, not so much for the benefit of the accused as for the benefit of society. The truly enlightened state realizes that what is involved is much more than the right of one man; it is the right of all men to fair and impartial trial.

In such a context, then, how ignoble appears the effort to require the lone Negro child to match his puny strength against the massed power of his native state!

Have we no concern with such practices? Should we for a moment delude ourselves into thinking that the attack on the NAACP will stop with that objective? If the spirit behind such attack is not now stifled, what security is there for B'nai B'rith, for the Catholic or labor organizations, for any group which doesn't have the reins of government firmly in its hands?

Surely we have identity of interest with those who suffer such persecution. Unrebuked tyranny has a way of claiming other victims.

So, then, has the original idea of resistance borne evil fruit.

Some other results have not been so demonstrable, but I ask you to speculate with me about them for a moment.

The official leaders of resistance, governors, senators and the like, as we have conceeded, proposed to use only legislative and legalistic procedures. They are sophisticated men. But some of their henchmen and followers are not sophisticated. They know nothing of such procedures, They don't want to remain neutral in a holy war to preserve "our way of life." They do have fists and they can easily learn the gentle art of dynamitting. So they use the only tools they know how to use.

The road runs straight from the official inciting phrase -- straight to a wrecked school building in Clinton, Tennessee, straight to a bombed synagogue in Atlanta.

It is more than symbolic that the mob which snatched a cowed and cringing man from a Poplarville, Mississippi, jail a few weeks ago passed close to the grave of Senator Bilbo; that the murderers of Emmit Till operated in Eastland territory, and that the white youths in Richmond who fired from a passing car upon six Negro boys were in the shadow of a capital once housing Senator Byrd.

No one, of course, may claim direct connection between these public figures and the specific acts of violence. But one may say with assurance that the predictable end result of advocacy of mass resistance to law, of proclaiming the myth of white superiority, is dark and bloody deeds.

The officials profess to look with horror upon such acts. But this may be said: The bombings, assaults, murders, which have darkened Southern annals have usually been the impulsive acts of brutish and illiterate men. The legislative and official chicanery has been the work of trained and skilled and cunning men, who have plotted and mulled over their schemes weeks on end. In the official conduct there has been malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Officials are shocked at the wrecking of a single school. Who wouldn't be? But what shall be said of officials -- governors and legislators -- who have wrecked the entire school systems of states? Yet in certain states statutes and constitutional provisions, carefully designed over decades to perfect systems of public instruction, have undergone mayhem and emasculation in order to deny to certain people a right the court has said is theirs. Whose conduct is the more reprehensible -- that of the vandal who wrecks a building or that of officials who wreck a system?

So then, following the decision of five years ago, there came the period of decision, the period of bombast, the period of evasion and the period of violence.

More ominous than any of these has been the period of decay of public ethics. It is more ominous because ethics occupies the supreme place in the human scale of values; more ominous because standards now set bear fruit in unborn generations.

The qualities upon which the resisting states have relied have been guile, duplicity, shrewdness. These are the ideals which we have magnified in the public mind and held up before our young lawyers and politicians. They have failed us, as they should have failed. We now know that they are no substitutes for intelligence and character. The great lawyer is not shrewd or cunning; he is profound.

We say that a state maintains schools. Vastly more important than the school the state maintains is the school the state itself is. The fine precepts of the class room mean but little when contrasted with the effect of a state's official policy. Any policy amounts to a daily affirmation by a state that "Here is our best expression of wisdom and morality." If the policy be tainted with deviousness and misrepresentation of its true intent, the lesson will not be lost upon the youthful citizen. By example from so high a source, class room maxims are negated and contradicted.

So there has inevitably been a deterioration in standards of public ethics.

All of these by-products of resistance have occurred in a handful of Southern states. They have occurred in the effort to deprive Negroes, and Negroes only, of their rights.

Do these circumstances suggest that the rest of the country would be justified in drawing its cost about it and saying proudly "This is none of our affair?"

Do they suggest that other racial or religious groups would be justified in saying "After all, only Negroes are involved. Why should we worry our pretty heads about them?"

I, of course, do not seriously propound these queries to this group. They would insult your intelligence and your sense of identity with human misery wherever found.

But I must point out that, in the colossal effort now being made by the segregationists to neutralize Northern opinion, those considerations are seriously advanced.

Those who advance them are deeply uninformed about the transmissibility of ideas, are completely un-attuned to the spirit of this age.

Governor Faubus and Senator Eastland may utter their anthropoid sentiments in Arkansas and Mississippi. But they are heard round the world. They may stir the primitive in men in Michigan or New York or even London. Prejudices lie so close to the surface in even the most civilized and urbane of men that inciting words may move them from the sub-conscious into the conscious. And the habit of persecution of the Negro, if unchecked, will surely find victims in other minority groups.

Venom spreads by osmosis. There is no quarantine against it. No state line, no group solidarity, offers sanctuary.

A fairly bleak picture which I have painted. But the total picture is far from bleak.

Five years ago there were 17 states having legalized segregation in their public schools. Today there are but four -- South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama -- which have it at all educational levels. Massive resistance has crumbled in Virginia, spelling the ultimate doom of resistance everywhere. The end is in sight. The steady pressure of law and conscience cannot be denied.

You who live outside of the South are not invited to bear the full burden of the liberal cause in that region. Our politicians speak so loudly and with such apparent authority that the still, small voice of the liberal often doesn't get through. With all of the official and private forces operating against them, you may assume that they have been driven from the field.

On the contrary the forces favoring compliance with law are stronger and more militant than ever. We may perhaps thank Governor Faubus and Senator Byrd for that.

When those two sainted figures made it apparent that the public schools may be closed, the silent became vocal, the hesitant became bold. Teachers, risking their careers, have challenged the prevailing lunacy. Ministers in the

eye and vortex of the storm have confronted evil with the zeal of the ancient prophets. Editors risking circulation and income have denounced the destructive tendencies of the times.

The forces of sanity and conscience are astir in the South. They hold bridge-heads which you in the North may help to expand.

So much for the past and the present.

A glance into the future.

The evil men do lives after them. What is now being said in the heat and rancor of the moment, what is being done in anger and spite -- the bitter word and the evil deed -- these, tragically, are assimilated by the very young, the babe in arms. They become a part of the mass of each child's experience, to be years later dredged up from the depths of the sub-conscious. They will enter into the attitudes and conduct of the adult.

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it is not one who spreads disloyal doctrine?

We are rearing a generation of Negro children who are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and the raw tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue and which actually, in a moment of sheer lunacy, ran Senator Thurmond for the presidency.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions,

giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that the white supremacy idea is advocated only by his local organs of opinion.

The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the National Council of Churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and local boundary lines melt and dwindle, we are conditioning Southern white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial conception of public affairs, and our Negro youth to the ampler, vaster, broader conception!

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens. Thus does the sword of discrimination turn upon him who wields it.

Surely, as Americans, we wish all to be equally prepared for the great adventure which lies ahead.

We must then, rescue the Negro child from his misguided enemy. We must rescue the white child from his misguided friend. It is the irony of life that injuries intended for others fall most heavily upon the doer. Thus operates the law of retributive justice.

What I wish to drive deep into the consciousness of us all is that, in the social struggle now raging between the Potomac and the Gulf, the antagonists are only superficially Negro children and school boards. They merely symbolize the issue. The issue is between those ancient antagonists, Good and Evil.

In an issue so fateful to the life of this republic, there is no role for the neutral. And there is good fighting all along the line.

W H O I S A S U B V E R S I V E?

Address by

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Before

Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

May 23, 1959

I am grateful to Mrs. Clark and Mr. Horton for the invitation to come to Highlander. This is my first visit here. I hope it will not be the last.

Of course, I have heard of you. Southern newspapers are quite generous in giving you space -- the less said about what they put in the space perhaps the better. But, anyhow, they don't ignore you. Nowadays in some areas the only Southern institution which is ignored is one which is colorless and characterless, which conceives of its mission as doing nothing to disturb or revise the local customs and folkways. I am glad you have not purchased immunity by selling your soul.

My information is that you are a well visited institution. It is not unknown for certain people with cameras and notebooks to crash the party, as it were; to snap what they call "compromising" pictures and to make furtive notes of things that are said -- all of which golden material is rushed white hot to waiting presses for distribution by Klaverns and Councils.

It is inconceivable to me that either my words or my rugged likeness should be grist for their mill. But to guard against the bare possibility that we are tonight entertaining these angels unawares, it is probably well for me to state at the outset that no person here present, or connected with Highlander or any other organization, confederated or conspired or connived with me in any way in the preparation of these remarks. I do so for the reason that, if anything I might say should be

distasteful to any person in authority, such person in all fairness should absolve you from guilt. It is not unfamiliar practice in recent years in some areas to note who were present and what was said at meetings such as this and draw the inference that somehow the speaker was mouthpiece for the group. (I wish I could feel my words had such solid support.)

The practice, I must say, does not apply to all public meetings. Take churches, for example. I have not heard the claim made that one, by the mere act of listening, must be considered as endorsing all that was said in the sermon. Or that one's presence at a political meeting implied his assent to the doctrines there expounded.

Conversely, the inference is sometimes drawn that, by appearing as guest of an institution, a speaker underwrites and adopts as his own all the views, attitudes and policies of the host. Moreover, if the speaker is a member of some other organization, <u>that</u> organization has made the same adoption. So I am prompted solemnly to proclaim that Highlander has not brain-washed me. My opinions -- take them or leave them -- are mine and mine alone.

Meetings dealing with the touchy issue of race seem in a class apart. Perhaps because some men feel so deeply and think so shallowly on that subject, they do not apply normal standards in judging such meetings. They seem to feel that it is somehow immoral or disloyal even to assume that there are two sides to the question; that both should be heard before judgment is

rendered, and that it is somehow subversive or un-American to dissent from the prevailing orthodoxy. I could give you names and places, but I have reason to believe that you will know from experience that what I say is true.

We must live in a crazy, mixed-up world. Definitions must be completely twisted from their original meanings. For example, I had always thought that the country had waxed great upon dissent and non-conformity. The Puritans and the Pilgrims fled to these shores because they were non-conformists. The nation received its birth in revolution, which is nothing but dissent carried to the ultimate. The fundamental law of the nation and of all the states encourage expression of opinion by guaranteeing freedom of thought, speech and the press. So one would have assumed that he was engaged in the practice of purest Americanism when he thought and spoke and wrote his real convictions upon any issue of public moment; in fact, that he was thereby discharging a solemn civic duty.

Now, however, we are told by the highest state authority, that, on the issue of civil rights -- guaranteed, incidentally, by those same constitutions -- if he expresses his honest convictions and if those convictions do not agree with the views of that authority, then he is subversive.

Let's examine that for just a moment. I have done a little research upon the point. I find that good old Webster defines subversion as "the overthrow of the foundation, as the

subversion of a government or state." The overthrow of the foundation.

Now, if our government may be said to have any foundation at all, that foundation is its Constitution. Is one who exercises rights of free speech guaranteed by that Constitution and who exerts himself to the end that other rights of other people guaranteed by the same Constitution shall be respected trying to overthrow that Constitution? Is he seeking the overthrow of the foundation of his government?

We are reminded of Alice in Wonderland. You recall that she used a word which did not at all convey the idea she had in mind. The Mad Hatter -- I think it was -- gave her the proper meaning, whereupon Alice replied, "Words mean what I intend they shall mean. It's just a question of who is master."

Our segregationist friends, in branding all others as subversive, demonstrate Alice's mastery over words.

After all, who are the real subversives? Is it we who seek by constitutional means to uphold constitutional rights? Or is it those who seek by unconstitutional means to deny those rights? Who is destroying the Constitution -- we who recognize it as the supreme law of the land or they who openly flout the law?

I wish I knew much more about psychology than I do. But some things ought to be evident to the merest dabbler in that field. All of us are aware that one who carries a burden

of guilt, or a guilt complex, is apt to seek release from that burden by accusation of others. He accomplishes two results; first, his own guilt does not appear so obnoxious if he can make it appear that others share it with him; and, second, he diverts attention from himself by directing it to others. Louder than anyone else, the fleeing pickpocket shouts, "Stop, thief!"

So we may perhaps understand, if we cannot condone, the unmitigated gall of men dressed in a little brief authority who thus malign their adversaries.

We may understand them also for reasons far less subtle. In fact, these gentlemen are quite transparent. When they engage in character assassination, they are playing their last card.

How bravely they talked a few short years ago! They used all of their cunning to devise legal ways and means of circumventing the school decisions and assured their people these strategems could not fail. Well, you know what happened. One by one these devices have been branded by the courts for the frauds they are. One by one their authors have had their stupidity and duplicity exposed.

Not merely have they lost before the courts. There was a time when they claimed the endorsement and support of organized religion -- surely the limit of audacity. Here again they have been repudiated -- the last blow being the recent profound and scholarly statement by the ministers of Atlanta. They appealed to pseudo-science to support claims of

racial superiority -- and have been overwhelmed by the conclusions of biologists, geneticists, anthropologists and students of human behavior. So it has been in every forum where prejudice was not a factor and there were established ground rules. Under such circumstances an honorable opponent would admit himself vanquished and congratulate the victor, But not so with the leaders of the nullificationists. They turn to the only field of combat left to them -- raw slander. In that arena there are no ground rules, no penalities for fouls, no disqualification for gouging or hitting below the belt.

Whom do they -- of all people -- accuse of being Communists or "left-wingers?" The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; most non-Southern magazines and newspapers; the radio and television networks; the organized trade union movement; the organized student movement; the Attorney General of the United States; the Supreme Court, and even the president of the United States! Rather distinguished company you and I keep. I don't know how you feel about it, but I would be a little ashamed not to be included.

I know of nothing more ironic than that such a charge should emanate from such a source. If there is any group in this country which has given aid and comfort to the Communist cause, it is the segregationists. Their activities

have been grist for the Communist mill. Pravda, the Tass news agency, and every other Communist periodical and radio have blazoned their words and deeds from the Siberian steppes to East Berlin and from the banks of the Ganges to the headwaters of the Nile. The words of segregationist leaders, whether suave and oily, as some of them are, or harsh and raucous, as others are, are known and quoted in all that vast domain.

Why? Because those words belie everything America has always claimed for itself. Equality of all men before the law, equality of opportunity, freedom from burdens or penalties because of race, the zeal of the law to protect rights of the humblest citizen, freedom of speech and all the other freedoms -- these are contradicted and negated by words and deeds of the leaders of resistance to law. And yet they -- the greatest allies of the Communist cause -- have the unspeakable effrontery to accuse those who dare disagree with them of being subversive!

The front page space given by the Communist press to the poisonous words of the leaders is shared by the space given to the deeds of their underlings and satellites -- perhaps I should say their sputniks. It would be an exercise in morbidity to chronicle those deeds. They are as well known to you as to me -- the cross burnings, the bombings, the assaults, the murders, all the ghastly reprisals wrought upon those whose only offense is that they seek to exercise

rights declared by Thomas Jefferson to be inalienable.

Now, our political leaders without exception deplore violence such as this. They have no truck with the Ku Klux Klan. But my contention is that they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condemn. What they advocate, in essence, is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law - that relating to the public schools. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which protects life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence.

The road runs straight from the official inciting phrase -- straight to a wrecked school building in Clinton, Tennessee, straight to a bombed synagogue in Atlanta.

It is more than symbolic that the mob which snatched a cowed and cringing man from a Poplarville, Mississippi jail a few weeks ago passed close to the grave of Senator Bilbo; that the murderers of Emmit Till operated in Eastland territory, and that the white youths in Richmond who fired from a passing car upon six Negro boys were in the shadow of a capital once housing Sanator Byrd.

No one, of course, may claim direct connection between these public figures and the specific acts of violence. But one may say with assurance that the predictable end result of advocacy of mass resistance to law, of proclaiming the myth of white superiority, is dark and bloody deeds.

The officials profess to look with horrow upon such acts. But this may be said: The bombings, assaults, murders, which have darkened Southern annals have usually been the impulsive acts of brutish and illiterate men. The legislative and official chicanery has been the work of trained and skilled and cunning men, who have plotted and mulled over their schemes weeks on end. In the official conduct there has been malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

Officials are shocked at the wrecking of a single school. Who wouldn't be? But what shall be said of officials -- governors and legislators -- who have wrecked the entire school systems of states? Yet in certain states statutes and constitutional provisions, carefully designed over decades to perfect systems of public instruction, have undergone mayhem and emasculation in order to deny to certain people a right the court has said is theirs. Whose conduct is the more reprehensible -- that of the vandal who wrecks a building or that of officials who wreck a system?

I am sure that these politicans could not have forseen that their advocacy should have led to a state of public

mind which would in certain parts of the South result in substantial curtailment of the right of free speech and opinion. Teachers' oaths, requirement that they list their organizations, the proscribing of the NAACP, boycott of advocates of law observance, withdrawal of advertising from certain newspapers -- all flow directly from the germinal idea of evading the law of the land.

There is no more alarming phenomenon of this age than this mass effort to control what men shall publicly say or print. Opinion is the life blood of democracy. Upon its free expression democracy thrives and grows. You will not have sound opinion unless men may freely express and exchange views -- test them in the market place. Thought itself is actually inhibited where it cannot be freely expressed. For, where all <u>seem</u> to be thinking alike no one is <u>actually</u> thinking at all.

But to return for a moment to the Communist idea. It is, I submit, too generous to some of our political leaders to attempt a distinction between their words and the deeds of the rank-and-file. The very deeds of such leaders themselves, no less than their words, follow patterns devised in Moscow and used to bolster dictatorships everywhere.

What is rule No. 1 of Communism, or Nazism or Fascism? It is give your people something to fear and then rescue them from the peril you have created. In Russia it was first the Czarist element and then the large landowners,

or Kulaks. In Germany it was a handful of Jews. In Italy it was the capitalist class. In the South it is the Negro. Plant fear of the Negro in people's minds and they turn to you as their saviour.

Another rule is strangle or throttle the opposition so that it cannot be heard. Never give it the chance to present its views in fair and open debate. In your campaigns never discuss issues but smear the opposition. Hitler called them Jew-lovers. You know what our boys call them.

Another rule is harrass and persecute the opposition. In Germany the Jews had to wear the Star of David; they had to register and carry passports. Their leaders were arrested and thrown into jail. Secret police spied upon them. Their phones were tapped. Their synagogues and homes were bombed while the authorities looked the other way. Does this sound to you a little like Georgia and the NAACP? Have I pushed the parallel an inch further than the facts justify?

If I have not -- and I leave it to you to say -- then certainly some of the resistance leaders are following the Moscow line. The tactics of such leaders do not seem to be repudiated by others more unctuous who wear an aura of respectability. And these are the fellows who say the Supreme Court of the United States is Communist-inspired!

They say they detest Communism. But they imitate it. And, of course, you know what is the sincerest flattery.

A more sinister move is afoot. It is the calculated character assassination of advocates of obedience to law. Just as the nation begins to breathe easily following its orgy of McCarthyism, that pestilence now erupts in the states. In South Carolina, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and perhaps other resisting states they have created their own state committees on subversive activities. Already the pattern emerges.

The men and women and organizations crucified at such hearings -- preachers, professors, social workers -- have committed only one affense. They have expressed their belief in observing the law. For that they are placed in the dock.

The same thoroughly discredited professional witnesses relied upon by Senator McCarthy now play the Southern circuit. One of these twenty years ago accused the then juvenile Shirley Temple of taking orders from Moscow and in 1953 labeled "at least 7,000 Protestant Clergymen" as "party members, fellow travelers, espionage agents, party line adherents and unwilling dupes."

These witnesses, repudiated and cut off the federal payroll, now are paid by the rebellious states. Oh, well, they must find some way to earn their little Red livelihood.

Here is a deliberate and callous effort to stifle dissent, to throttle opposition to penalize the exercise of thought and speech. No American in Wisconsin or New York or

anywhere else may regard such raw tyranny with indifference. These practices present a national peril.

There is distilled irony in these investigations. They ostensibly hunt subversives. A subversive, by definition, as we have observed, is one who seeks to undermine the foundation of his government. The foundation of our government is the Constitution. Hence, one would naively suppose that the Committees would attempt to ferret out those who deny rights guaranteed by the Constitution or who use unconstitutional means to attain their ends.

The next time these committees tell me they are pursuing subversives, I think I shall tell them, "Go chace yourselves."

But there is a more pervasive and more somber ironey in the situation. The very men who sponsor and conduct these inquisitions-counterparts of Senator Eastland and Congressman James C. Davis -- the lesser Caesars of the rebellion -- are helping to rear in the South a generation of white children taught that the federal government is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to their government be later affected. And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

We are rearing a generation of Negro children who are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and the

raw tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue and which actually, in a moment of sheer lunacy, ran Senator Thurmond for the presidency.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expressions to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that the white supremacy idea is advocated only by his local organs of opinion.

The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the National Council of Churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and local boundary lines melt and dwindle, we are conditioning Southern white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial conception of public affairs, and our Negro youth to the ampler, vaster, broader conception!

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world from tomorrow's white citizens,

while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens. Thus does the sword of discrimination turn upon him who wields it.

Surely, as Americans, we wish all to be equally prepared for the great adventure which lies ahead.

We must then, rescue the Negro child from his misguided enemy. We must rescue the white child from his misguided friend. It is the irony of life that injuries intended for others fall most heavily upon the doer. Thus operates the law of retributive justice.

What I wish to drive deep into the consciousness of us all is that, in the social struggle now raging between the Potomac and the Gulf, the antagonists are only superficially Negro children and school boards. They merely symbolize the issue. The issue is between those ancient antagonists, Good and Evil.

In an issue so fateful to the life of this republic, there is no role for the neutral. And there is good fighting all along the line.

-END-

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 13, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The last issue of New South, as you know, has an excellent article on the segregationist effort to win the North. It seems to me that this is a matter which should be constantly pressed upon Northern attention. So, if you have a fairly good supply of the recent issue, might it not be a good idea to see that these reach the hands of editors of a considerable number of influantial Northern papers? If the idea has merit, I would think copies should go by first class mail with a covering letter from you.

Since the opposition is apparently flooding the North with propaganda, I should like to see many Northern editors added to our free mailing list.

-0000-

I have signed up with the NAACP to speak at its 50th Anniversary Convention in New York. I believe the date is July 16. If you have any ideas which you think should be developed at such a meeting I hope you will give me the benefit of them.

Don't forget that I left with you for criticism copy of the speech prepared for, but not delivered to, the Louisiana Chapter of ACLU.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

N.Y. Times 6-9-59

but also to negotiate. The foreign ministers work in any case under direction from the "summit," and so would their deputies. And if the Soviets then prefer to break off the conference, let them take the responsibility for such a step.

Mr. McNeill's 'Crime'

On the surface, racial bigotry in our country gained another triumph in the removal of the Rev. Robert B. McNeill from his Southern Presbyterian pastoral post in Columbus, Ga. Mr. McNeill's "crime" was that he had spoken out for human contacts and communication between whites and Negroes. He had urged the "representation of both groups on city councils, grand juries, school boards, medical societies, ministerial associations and other public agencies." He had denounced "segregation on the basis of color alone" because it implies the inferiority of Negro to white and therefore tends to justify anti-Negro discrimination. In short, Mr. McNeill believes in the brotherhood of man.

But was this really a victory for the bigots? We think not. The punishment of courageous men who dare speak out against the fanatical segregationists' party line exposes the moral bankruptcy of those who fear free speech on this issue. The patent injustice of the treatment accorded Mr. McNeill will disgust many in the South and win his views more sympathetic attention. And Mr. McNeill himself, we may suspect, will soon be hearing from congregations that appreciate courage and devotion to principle in a pastor.

The most interesting facet of this incident, however, is provided by Mr. McNeill himself. He is no Northern carpetbagger come South to spread subversion. He was born in Birmingham, Ala. When he studied at the seminary, he was himself so bigoted that he refused to play basketball against a Negro team. But then he met some Negroes on an equal plane and, in his own words, "I discovered that these men weren't so bad, after all," a discovery from which a personal abandonment of prejudice was only a matter of time. Mr. McNeill gives hope and confidence that time is on the side of the brotherhood of man.

The Sicilian Electio

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June 17, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your timely suggestion that we send the last issue of New South to influential Northern editors, and that such editors be placed on our complimentary mailing list. The suggestion is an excellent one; we will follow through.

I am to confer with the "mass media" staff members of our sister agencies on Friday and will raise with them the question of compiling a suitable list. They know the non-Southern press far better than we, and I believe we should be guided by their selection.

I have by no means forgotten the speech you left with me. In fact, I read it shortly after the Executive Committee meeting and have simply failed to write you. My reaction, as usual, is entirely favorable, especially since it indicates that this vein is still rich in unmined ore. Since you may want to make some changes before using it for a forthcoming occasion, I am returning the copy to you.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1.

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

July 2, 1959

MF - For your files, I think

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
SRC
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You will be interested to learn that the JOURNAL OF HUMAN RELATIONS at Wilberforce, Ohio has asked permission to reprint the speech I made at Johnson C. Smith University. This has, of course, been cheerfully granted.

I am to speak at a Unitarian meeting at Blue Ridge on July 8th or 9th and at the NAACP in New York on the 16th. The NAACP requested that I devote my time to the Southern invasion of the North. This is an easy assignment.

Best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

Linville Falls
North Carolina

July 2, 1959

Miss Marge Manderson
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

You did a magnificent job in furnishing me in your letter of June 26 material relating to the Negro status about the beginning of this century.

The NAACP has written me asking that I devote my forthcoming speech to the Southern effort to win the North. Hence, for the moment, this carefully developed material can not be used. But I am sure there will other occasions upon which I shall avail myself to the utmost of these results of your labor.

Many thanks.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

CC: Harold Fleming

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RECEIVED JUL 6 1959

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ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

7/3/59

Dear Harold:

I enclose draft of my NAACP speech for your gimlet eyes.

Remember: I am limited to 20 minutes; they wanted me to devote the time to Southern efforts to win the vote. This means virtual repetition of what I have said before.

You will note I incline more and more to ridicule. I have been influenced by Harry Truman's dictum that such is the best way to defeat the demagogue.

Please return the copy promptly with your comments.

Thanks.

M.A.L.

VIA AIR MAIL July 9, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your letter and enclosed draft of your NAACP speech were unaccountably slow reaching here -- no doubt one of the many destructive effects of the July 4th holiday.

I hasten to return it to you, with warm approbation. Harry Truman's use of ridicule was never so finely pointed or razor-edged.

Only one comment, which I advance with some timidity. On page 6, you use, slightly varied, the familiar phrase, "The jig is up." The phrase has taken on slightly invidious overtones Since the Montgomery Advertiser used it as an ill-tempered pun in titling its lead editorial on the advent of bus desegregation there. A minor point, indeed, but it might jar on a sensitive ear.

All the best to you in this suspicious foray into the North.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

Remarks by Mr. Marion A. Wright,
Vice President, Southern Regional
Council, at 50th Annual NAACP Convention
New York Coliseum, New York City
Thursday, July 16, 1959 - 9:30 A.M.

NEW INVASION OF THE NORTH

We meet upon a date of historic significance not merely in the life of this organization, but in the life of the nation as well. The creation of the NAACP marked the beginning of an epoch. Until that time no doubt individual Negroes had hopes and aspirations. A few geniuses emerged from the mass. But only the boldest and bravest and most inspired dared to pit his unaided powers against the mighty forces which hedged him about and ground him down.

From the formation of this organization to the present, not merely the genius but the man or woman or child of average capacity, has had a powerful friend and supporter. In every forum and under all circumstances where his rights as an American citizen were at issue, he has drawn strength from the solidarity of this group.

It would be pleasant and diplomatic on this anniversary occasion to reflect upon how far we have come in fifty years, to savor again the brilliant legal victories of Mr. Thurgood Marshall and his associates. We must, alas, admit to two recent stunning defeats. I refer, of course, to segregationist victories over two little bunny rabbits and three little pigs. They have driven the little pigs and little rabbits out of the nurseries. Now, at last, one Southern Attorney General may claim to have brought home the bacon and another to have gotten a little rabbit skin to wrap his baby bunting in.

But, if I have correctly guaged the sentiment of this group and correctly understood the urgencies of this hour, we are not here to survey the past. The vivid present impinges upon us. The future beckons. It is to those we must address ourselves.

One of the startlingly obvious facts of the present is that the contrasts between sections of the country are rapidly disappearing.

Certain factors are inexorably at work. The most important of these is the movement of industry to the South. A citizen of Flint or Pontiac or Pittsburgh may now move there and fill his lungs with the old familiar smog. The significant fact is that what moves South with the machine is ideas. Segregation is a natural child of the plantation economy. It will not long survive in an industrial society.

At the same time Southern labor has been pouring into the North, acquiring some acquaintance -- admittedly imperfect -- with life under democratic conditions. In every industry of the North there are strong personal bonds between employees and families in towns, villages and countryside of the South.

These are facts of great significance for the nation. They mark the removal of sectional differentials. A nation in a strictly technical sense may be created by ratification of a constitution. But this is far removed from the organic entity of a people. That depends upon the existence of forces more unifying than a paper compact. First the steel rails, then the telephone and telegraph wires, then the long strips of macadam, and finally the air waves themselves -- means of moving people and goods and ideas -- these are the forces which create the essential unity and indivisibility of a people. Because we have these instrumentalities and employ them liberally we are at the state where every section of this nation -- the great city, the crossroads, the farm -- has an abiding concern with the problems and the fate of every other section.

Not everyone knows that. Carl Sandburg recently put it in homely vernacular: "The United States <u>is</u>, not <u>are</u>. The Civil War was fought over a verb. Governor Faubus don't know that. But he gonna learn, he gonna learn."

If I take the time to remind you of our common concern in each other's affairs, it is only because that fairly elementary truth seems recently to have come under violent attack. You should be aware of the attack and on guard against it.

The segregationists, as you no doubt know, have lost nearly all of their legal battles. It is quite evident that, on the legal front, all that they may now do is to fight rear guard actions. So they pitch their battles on new terrain. That terrain physically is in the North. Intellectually and spiritually, it is in the minds and hearts of Northerners. The present strategy of the white supremacists is, at a minimum, to neutralize Northern opinion; at a maximum, to enroll the North under their banner.

You here in the North may not be aware of it, but you are being wooed by Senator Eastland and Senator Thurmond. We hope there shall be no betrothal, certainly no union, and, as to issue, God forbid!

I may only indicate to you the extent to which Northern benevolent neutrality or active partisanship is being sought.

Several Southern states maintain their propaganda bureaus out of tax funds -- contributed in part by Negro taxpayers -- which flood the North with slick and glossy literature proclaiming that desegregation is a Communist device and that the Supreme Court is a tool of Moscow.

The notorious White Citizens Councils take full-page ads in such respectable Northern papers as the New York Herald Tribune to present a letter developing the thesis that Negro inferiority is scripturally established. Over a quarter million dollars has been spent in such advertising and distribution.

Extensive radio networks present what is called the Southern story.

Skilled and effective advocates of bigotry invade the North, eschewing the term "white supremacy," but nevertheless seeking Northern help in maintaining a social system of which a preferred status for white is the core.

If, thus far, your city has been spared this pestilence from the South, don't congratulate yourselves prematurely. They have just not gotten around to you. Your time will come.

Now, when a pestilence may strike, wise medical practice is to publicize the symptons. Thus may the endangered population be on guard, and hence, innoculated. Surely those of us in the human relations field may take a lesson from the doctors. This may be a rare chance to get free medical service.

Of course, if the white supremacist were quite frank, this medical exercise would be unnecessary. The segregationist would say openly and boldly, "We want your help in maintaining in our region a system by which people with white skins enjoy certain advantages over people with colored skins." That approach would, of course, not be recommended by Dale Carnegie. Whatever else the segregationist may be, he is a master of diplomacy. So he adopts finesse in his approach. He is oblique and indirect.

Since, according to his view, the Supreme Court is the author of all his misfortunes, it is the object of his malevolent attentions. All of its decisions upholding the right of an accused to confront the witnesses against him, the right to freedom of travel, the right of privacy of association, the right to retain governmental employment unless removed for valid cause, the right of freedom from tapped telephone wires -- all of those stern judgments will be paraded before you. Little, if anything, will be said about the school decisions. The impression will be subtly conveyed that here are nine men drunk with power and bent upon destroying the republic; hence, their authority must be curbed.

Historically, one of the conspicuous badges of tyranny is its antagonism for courts and established judicial process. From the banishment of Aristides, the Just, from Greece, through establishment of People's Courts by Hitler and Stalin to the creation of a special tribunal by Fidel Castro, that antagonism has found expression.

When limitation of judicial authority is now urged upon the rest of the nation by the segregationist, it is not unreasonable to infer that he seeks to throttle the one agency which protects the Negro citizen from the raw tyranny of the states.

Speaking of badges of tyranny, we must not overlook the fact that every tyrant rises to power or retains power by suspending constitutional guaranties. You may examine every one of history's more grisly chapters and there emerges a man or clique who have ruthlessly ignored or struck down constitutional provisions asserting rights of the citizen. A tyrant may be one or many acting in concert -- a Hitler or a Stalin, or a governor or a school board. The right involved may be freedom of the press or attendance upon a school. When any right is denied by official action, there is tyranny.

I remind you of these disagreeable facts, not, I hope, because I am morbid, but because you should know for what cause the segregationist seeks Northern aid. The cause is nothing less than the denial of a constitutional right. That is nothing less than tyranny.

This bid to the North to lend aid and comfort to the white supremacy cause comes at a time when the fortunes of that cause are at a very low ebb. In all areas excepting integration of the public schools, the jig is just about up. As to education, there remain only four states -- South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama -- where there is complete segregation at all levels. Even such imperceptive characters as Governor Almond and Senator Talmadge have seen the handwriting on the wall.

One is reminded of Mr. Churchill's remark about a member of his Conservatives who defected to the Labor party when that party was steadily weakening -- "This is the only time in recorded history when a rat has been seen swimming toward a sinking ship."

To win any Northern support whatsoever, the segregationist must use the subtlest form of guile. That guile appears not only in the oblique attack upon the Supreme Court, but also in the constant stressing of the states' rights idea. All states presumably are jealous of their prerogatives. Hence, the appeal may fall upon receptive ears.

Have you observed that only when civil rights are involved does the phony issue of states rights rear its head? There is complete willingness -- even eagerness -- on the part of Southern statesmen to accept every form of federal aid to the states, excepting aid to the public schools which might help the desegregation process. They are present, hat in hand, when national funds are distributed. Their harsh strictures upon the federal government are muted and stilled when Uncle Sam wears his Santa Claus costume.

How sincere are they, anyhow? Last year the Congress had before it a bill prescribing humane procedures for the packing industry. Did any Southern statesman arise and proclaim that how Chicago butchered its hogs was a matter of only local concern, that it was a matter for consideration only by the sovereign States of Illinois, and that Southerners should not interfere, but, on the contrary, should keep their hands -- cotton pickin' hands, suh -- out of Illinois affairs?

The nation, with full Southern approval, enacted that law because of proper national abhorrence of cruelty. Even a hog has a right to die with a minimum of suffering. If a hog has a right so to die, has not a child the right so to live? If the national conscience is properly concerned with rights of dying hogs, is it not equally concerned with the rights of living human beings?

Is there cruelty in the segregation system? Unfathomable, incalculable cruelty. In every waking moment the segregated black child has shouted at him by deeds more eloquent than words "unfit, unworthy, despised." The whole system tends to grind him down, to reduce and abase him.

Toward the end of the war with Germany there was much discussion of what form of punishment would fit Hitler's monstrous crimes. A Negro girl answered in few words: "Paint him black and make him live in the South." A procedure probably in conflict with the Constitutional prohibition of cruel and inhuman punishment.

When an ancient prophet sought to express the ultimate in human woe and misery he turned to the plight of one "despised and rejected of men." Such a one is "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief."

Segregation is a diabolical device to proclaim every hour on the hour that millions of American citizens are despised and rejected by their fellows.

What lies behind the glittering facade of states' rights?

People in the North must realize that they are asked to associate themselves with much more than a school of thought. They are asked to endorse a course of action. And what a course!

The effort to "keep the Negro in his place" has produced in the South an orgy of cross-burnings, threats, intimidations, reprisals, assaults, bombings and murders. Three highly respected organizations have listed 530 instances of racial violence occurring since the Supreme Court decision. These were of sufficient importance to reach the press. No one may guess at the uncounted thousands of instances which remain undisclosed.

Public officials deplore t iolence such as this. But, by advocacy of resistance to law, they set in motion forces which bred the violence they now condemn.

In substantial areas of the South one takes a public stand for law enforcement -- in the pulpit, in the editorial office, in the classroom -- at the very real risk of loss of position or injury to property and person.

No one in the North, philosophically attracted to the states' rights doctrine, may divorce that doctrine from the foul deeds which have been committed in its name.

The Northerner may give the segregationist cause the benediction of his blessing or neutrality only at the risk of imperiling this republic.

We are helping to rear in the South a generation of white children taught that the federal government is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to their government be later affected? And who is a subversive if he be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

We are also rearing in the South a generation of Negro children who are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and the tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue and which actually, in a moment of sheer lunacy, ran Senator Thurmond for the presidency.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that the white supremacy idea is advocated only by his local organs of opinion.

The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the National Council of Churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and local boundary lines melt and dwindle, we are conditioning Southern white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial conception of public affairs, and our Negro youth to the ampler, vaster, broader conception.

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens. Thus does the sword of discrimination turn upon him who wields it.

Surely, as Americans, we wish all to be equally prepared for the great adventure which lies ahead.

We must, then, rescue the Negro child from his misguided enemy. We must rescue the white child from his misguided friend. It is the irony of life that injuries intended for others fall most heavily upon the doer. Thus operates the law of retributive justice.

What I wish to drive deep into the consciousness of us all is that, in the social struggle now raging between the Potomac and the Gulf, the antagonists are only superficially Negro children and school boards. They merely symbolize the issue. The issue is between those ancient rivals, Good and Evil.

In an issue so fateful to the life of this republic, there is no role for the neutral. And there is good fighting all along the line.

July 17, 1959

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

We have an urgent request from the Houston Texas Council on Human Relations that you come to Houston for an important dinner meeting as early as possible in September if you possibly can. They asked me to contact you and find out what dates might be possible in September. They indicate that they will arrange the meeting around the convenience of your schedule but they also suggest that if possible you plan to spend as many as two days in Houston so that you might be able to make a television appearance and perhaps address one other group. The Houston people feel that they can involve some of the leading opinion makers of the city in such a dinner meeting if you might be available.

Let me hear from you as soon as possible. I will be going to Houston July 23rd to consider program activities of the local group during the coming year.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL *of Metropolitan Houston*
2020 HERMANN DRIVE • HOUSTON, TEXAS • PHONE JAckson 2-5127

MEMORANDUM

MO 5-6620

TO: Paul Rilling

FROM: Irwin Glatstein

SUBJ: Date for Wright dinner

Will you please check with Mr. Wright and see if he would be available for a dinner meeting here in Houston on Tuesday evening, September 22nd. If not, would he be so good as to suggest an alternative date.

29th

Ira

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JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 21, 1959

Mr. Paul R. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

This confirms telephone conversation with John Constable this morning in which I told him I would be available to go to Houston before September 6 or after Spetember 10. I phoned because your letter of July 17 came during my absence of a week.

Reluctantly injecting a crude commerical note, I presume that the Texas Council would be prepared to absorb the wear and tear of travel, maintenance, etc.

Please let me hear from you as soon as a date is confirmed.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

via air mail

August 5, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for letting us see your exchange of correspondence with Branch Rickey and the manuscript as you sent it to him. Les Dunbar and I have read it carefully, and have almost no modification to suggest. It would, indeed, be a boon if one of the leading magazines consented to publish it.

On page 1 you refer to the House and Senate committees on un-American activities. Les has jotted in the margin the correct names of the two committees. For myself, I would as soon see you substitute the phrase "manifested by various Federal agencies and Congressional committees." The two committees you mention were by no means the most important offenders during the McCarthy era (as compared to the State Department, loyalty-security boards, etc.), and I have seen no real evidence that either the Eastland or the Walter Committee has had any change of heart.

At the bottom of page 12, you draw a parallel with the treatment of the NAACP in Georgia. Alabama would be a much more logical choice, since there the NAACP has in fact been outlawed, after being

subjected to the various types of persecution you mention.

We were a bit surprised at the blank check you gave Mr. Rickey. I should hate to see anything less than joint authorship and joint sharing in the booty. Presumably you are relying on his sense of fair play, which no doubt will manifest itself.

Good luck and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3.

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August 6, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 10 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Critisms offered by you and Dr. Dunbar of my Branch Rickey manuscript were entirely valid and have been relayed to Mr. Rickey. Many thanks for these suggestions.

You may be sure that I gave much thought to the degree of authority given Mr. Rickey in handling the manuscript. My conclusion was that I should go all out. I want to get the thing published and I am willing to give him a free hand.

Surely, Surely, old Branch will not let me down.

Will keep you posted.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M.A. Wright

August 7, 1959

Mr. Branch Rickey
Forbes Field
Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Dear Branch Rickey:

I have thought of one sentence for the manuscript sent you which, I hope, may add to its effectiveness. Anyhow, I pass it along to you.

I would propose to add a sentence to the third paragraph on page 4 so that the paragraph will read as follows:

> The nation has been treated to the spectacle of Sen. Eastland addressing meetings of such Councils, spewing his particular type of venom, and proceeding thence to preside over meetings of a congressional committee whose declared purpose is to detect disloyalty. Doesn't it seem a little foolish to leave Newcastle in search of coals?

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Marion Wright

Marion Wright

MAW/[illegible]

BC: Harold Fleming

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August 11, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 12 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have received two bound volumes one entitled "Hearings Before The United States Commission On Civil Rights -- Voting" and the other entitled "Conference Before The United States Commission On Civil Rights -- Education."

I have also received four volumes entitled "Hearings Before The SubCommittee On Constitutional Rights Of The Committee On The Judiciary, United States Senate, Eithty-Sixth Congress."

It occurs to me that SRC's library would find these volumes of great value. You may already have them.

In connection with the last named volumes, I modestly draw attention to the fact that beginning on page 1415 my statement appears. I hope this will not dissuade you from stocking the volumes.

Best regards.

Yours truly,

M.A.W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

August 14, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for calling our attention to the several volumes of hearings by the Civil Rights Commission and the Senate Sub-Committee. We have ordered the Commission transcripts and -- courtesy of Mrs. Tilly, whose testimony is also included -- we have the Senate subcommittee volumes.

Needless to say, the inclusion of your statement and Mrs. Tilly's testimony makes the latter a highly prized acquisition. I was depressed, however, to note that Senator Eastland and his cohorts also managed to get included reams of smear material from the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Circuit Riders, and other such groups. Several of our people -- including Mrs. Tilly and Dr. Mays -- are besmirched; to be sure, they are in very good company. But it is lamentable that the official record of a Senate committee with so noble a purpose should serve as an outlet for such poisonous stuff.

One of the prices, I suppose, we must be willing to pay for free speech.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

8-21-59

Of course, you saw Time, Aug. 24, at Page 45. Excellent. Any way to get Southern papers to copy?

M.A. Lee

August 24, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for your card regarding the Time treatment of our private school pamphlet. We were pleased with the treatment, which, by Time's standards, was a remarkably long one. Also, this article was one of three cited in a promotion broadcast for Time on a national TV network. Doubtless you also saw the lengthy article in the New York Times. The Reader's Digest called asking for a copy post-haste, though to what end we don't know.

Otherwise, the pamphlet got a fair press through the wire services, but not as good as some of our other recent publicity. In any case, both the Associated Press and United Press International sent the story to Southern and non-Southern papers.

The publicity has been supplemented by pur own distribution. We have mailed the pamphlet to school superintendents, as well as others, throughout the South and have had some requests for additional copies. A briefer special report summarizing the pamphlet will be sent to a Southwide list of chambers of commerce and probably to several thousand ministers.

On the whole, we are pleased with the attention the pamphlet is getting and hope it may grow into a continuing "best seller."

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 28, 1959

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your visit to Houston is set for September 29th. I have informed the Houston Council that you will probably be arriving on the evening of the 28th.

I have asked Mr. Irwin Glatstein, who apparently will be handling the arrangements, to write you directly.

I understand that your major speech will be to a limited group of key persons who will be present by special invitation at an evening dinner meeting.

Irwin will let you know of any other involvements that may be arranged.

We will handle your air transportation. The Houston Council on Human Relations will be responsible for local hospitality in Houston.

We seem to be calling on you increasingly frequently but I do think that your visits to both Virginia and Houston will be particularly useful and well timed in September.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Rilling

PR:ba

MF - for filing

RECEIVED SEP 2 1959

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Wright file

PR ✓
LD ✓
JC ✓
Return to HF

Linville Falls
North Carolina
September 1, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you probably know, I am scheduled to do a little barn storming in Virginia and Texas this month. I think there will be some three or four appearances in Virginia and one or two in Texas. My aversion to labor being what it is, I have no idea of preparing more than one speech for all of these occasions.

My view is that the point now to be stressed in the North is the national stake in the Southern school problem, and the point to be stressed in the South is actual, rather than token, compliance. Do you agree? I am enclosing a copy of substantially what I plan to say upon all of the forth coming occasions. The enclosed, as you will observe, is slanted toward a Virginia audience. I will hope in Texas to slant it more to a Texas audience.

I realize that the light touch is distinctly missing in what I have written. I was primarily concerned with making as strong an argument as possible on the bona fides and, hence, was not diverted from the main theme. However, I will hope to enlighten the gloom by some cafefully rehearsed extemporaneous asides.

Once MRW has made his tour, this properly condensed would make a good New South piece. What do you-all think? HCF

This is good. especially the latter part. Would like a condensation for US. JC

Please give me the benefit of yourand staff critisms. When you have wrought your will upon the manuscript, will you be good enought to have your secretary make me four or five copies of the end result.

Thanks and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

Enclosure:

P.S. I have to write the stenographic service, as you may note.

M.A.W.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

9/23/59

JC--

MAW's speech herewith for your condensation and later use in New South.

Les's comments attached came to me too late to be sent to MAW in advance of delivery.

HCF

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

Good piece – little labored in the first few pages

page 1 – Teller is undeniably a brain, but he "certainly is an alarmist" – as a matter of fact, his outlook is so different from Wright (e.g. ~~the~~ his role in Oppenheimer case) I hate to see Wright "salute" him

page 8 – Little Rock a deep South city?

page 10-12 – Wright might want to cite Norfolk as an illustration of his point, viz.

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Linville Falls
North Carolina
September 1, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

In accordance with your letter of August 28 I will reach Houston by air on the evening of September 28.

You may arrange air transportation from Greenville, South Carolina to Houston and return, leaving Greenville at any convenient time on the 28th and leaving open the return flight from Houston.

Will you be good enough to have the Houston people make hotel reservations for me for the night of the 28th, advising me of the name of the hotel. I much prefer to stay in a hotel than in a private home.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

Hi Pat — AFSC

Bronson —

memo following

Doug

September 2, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed is your airline ticket for Houston and return. The schedule down seems good. You will note that you leave Greenville at 4:38 p.m. on the 28th, have about an hour-and-a-half in Atlanta and reach Houston at 8:43 p.m.

The return is open as you requested.

We will make a reservation at the Piedmont for the night of October 4th and will look forward to getting in touch with you then.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

September 3, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In order not to delay your receipt of the enclosed copies of your Virginia-Texas speech, I am sending them to you prior to a reading by other members of the staff. My own opinion is that this is in your finest vein, and that any major criticisms by the others is unlikely. In fact, it suggests to me that the time is ripe to publish you again in New South, if you are willing. Since the speech is long for New South purposes, perhaps you would let us condense it somewhat.

I'll write or talk with you further about this after John Constable and others have read the manuscript. I'm looking forward to seeing you in connection with the Executive Committee meeting.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 5.

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.

RECEIVED SEP 10 1959

9-7-59

Dear Harold:

My stenographer has gone to college & I haven't gotten a new one.

The editor of the Citizen prevailed on me to allow publication of the private letter I had mailed him. The clipping was sent you today. It will probably provoke a spate of replies.

Am glad the new speech has your approval. You may edit any way you like and use in New South if you care to do so. The enclosed copy caught one or two typographical errors. Please exchange for the one you have and forward that one to me.

I know nothing of the devices used in Texas to delay integration. Please advise me promptly of the Texas equivalent of the pupil assignment gimmick & or do they use that also? What point particularly would be applicable there?

Ret.

2

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

Highlander did an excellent printing job on my speech there. Copy is enclosed. It goes to their mailing list of 5,000.

The voting study by Mrs. Price is superb.

Best regards.

M. A. W.

P. S. What is Fred Routh's address?

September 9, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Two relatively minor points of fact for your most recent article: (1) In criticizing North Carolina's token integration, you use the pre-September figure for Negroes in formerly all-white schools -- 13, I believe; as you know, the number is now approximately 50. (2) The lady in Florida who was penalized for lunching with a Negro staff-member was a woman doctor and public health officer for three counties.

Thanks for your fine letter to the Asheville Citizen defending the good name of Mr. Dabbs and SRC.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Wright

BC: Enclosing letter referred to.

Linville Falls,
North Carolina
August 31, 1959

Editor
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
Asheville
North Carolina

Dear Sir:

This letter is not for publication.

In your issue of Sunday, August 30, you print a letter from Eva L. Sanders which contains some fairly damaging reflections upon Dr. J. M. Dabbs and the Southern Regional Council.

Neither needs any defense at my hands.

The reflections, by implications, involve Dr. Howard Odum, generally regarded as the founder of the Council and its first president, and upon Dr. Guy B. Johnson, for many years its executive director, as well as upon Dr. Paul Green, Mr. Ervin Carlyle and Mr. John Wheeler, who are at present directors.

Your own attitude toward the Council has been so uniformly fair and generous as to merit and receive a reprint of your editorial commendation upon the cover of NEW SOUTH, the Council's official publication. So we are quite sure that the views expressed by your correspondent are not your own.

The publication of such a letter, which is, of course, your prerogative is detrimental to the Council and its wise program. We have no right to make any request of you, but you might deem it fair in some editorial to take note of the fact that the Council, with no reward to any of its members, speaks for sanity and tolerance at a time when such spokesmen are sorely needed.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Wright

Reader Looks At SRC With Some Doubts

Southerners should not be deceived by statements quoted in The Citizen on Thursday by Dr. James McBride Dabbs, author of the "Southern Heritage," and President of the Southern Regional Council. It is claimed that the Southern Regional Council is an organization of Southerners working for improvement of interracial relations and the general economic level of the South.

The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is spreading racial propaganda among the churches and other groups. (Dr. Dabbs spoke at Montreat Presbyterian Assembly.) The S. R. Council recently received a grant of $240,000 from the "Fund of the Republic (Ford Foundation) for educational purposes in twelve Southern States. In 1951 the S. R. C. received $2500.00 from the Sidney Hillman Foundation (C. I. O) for improvement of racial relations and social justice in the South. In articles based on reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General, at least thirty eight of the members of the S. R. Council's officials and members of its board of directors have association with groups and activities which have been branded Communist fronts by responsible Federal Officials and Congressional Committees.

These and other organizations are part of the overall plot in our Nation to create racial unrest, confusion and tension rather than promote better conditions for the Negro. Why pick the South only for "improvements?" Is it because they feel they have succeeded so well with their program in all other sections that the South alone is all that is needed to complete the pattern?

To Dr. Dabbs' question, "What is God doing in the South today?" one might well ask what is Dr. Dabbs doing in the South? This is not a God created problem, but the work of the devil and his cohorts, and we should denounce and recognize it as such. Americans must awaken before it is too late. This is no pipe dream. It's for real.

Eva L. Sanders
297 Hillside St.
Asheville

File

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C. 10-28-59

Dear Harold:

Two errors in the Meredith College speech:

1. Line 10 Page 6b "enabled"
2. Line 17 Page 9a should read
   .... Marcellus and Horatio....

Please correct your copy.

The gimlet eyes of your associates may detect others.

M.a.w.

P.S.! Line 21 Page 4

A comma should appear after "Human nature being what it is"

2. Second line from bottom on Page 9a strike out "from" before "Shenke"

Over.

Since we may some day tangle with the House un-American Activities Committee, I am forwarding some material which came to me from California. We might save this for future reference. It is well done.

M.A.W.

November 30, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your letter to the Attorney General is admirably done. I will look forward with great interest to word of his reaction. If he responds meaningfully, I should suppose one of the first questions raised will pertain to attendance. Who may be expected to come to an integrated institute of the sort described? Certainly not those most in need of persuasion. If I infer correctly, you are saying that the public relations effect of the institute would carry the thrust to the unpersuaded. Is this an accurate assumption? If so, I think it will have to be spelled out more explicitly for the Attorney General.

But such elaborations can await the initial response.

On another subject, I have not yet succeeded in arousing much interest in the proposal for a "hard core" conference of specialists at Penn. I am still trying, however, and will hope to have some encouraging word for you and Courtney sometime soon. If I don't, the proposal can still be submitted through normal channels to appropriate foundations -- which would be my recommendation.

I am returning herewith the various commendatory letters you sent recently. They are both heart-warming and entirely justified.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm
Enc.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your letter to the Attorney General is admirably done. I will look forward with great interest to word of his reaction. If he responds meaningfully, I should suppose one of the first questions raised will ~~be~~ pertain to attendance. Who may be expected to come to an integrated ~~meeting~~ institute of the sort described? Certainly not those most in need of persuasion. If I infer correctly, you are saying that the public relations effect of the institute would ~~constitute the~~ carry the thrust to the unpersuaded. Is this an accurate assumption? If so, I think it will have to be spelled out more explicitly

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I am returning herewith the various commendatory letters you sent recently. They are both heart-warming and entirely justified.

Sincerely,

HCF

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C. 10/18/59

Dear Harold:

I thought the enclosed might be of interest.

RECEIVED OCT 20 1959

They also gratify my vanity.

M. A. W.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

RECEIVED DEC 4 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 1, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Romm 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am glad that you feel that it might be appropriate for me to attend the meeting at the University of Buffalo. I have advised the Chancellor that I will be present. It would be fine if you also found it possible to be present for this meeting.

Meanwhile, you may have some ideas as to what I might say or do to advance the SRC cause. If so, fire them at me.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW:jc

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 10, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a day or so after my letter went into the Attorney General I received a telephone call from some member of the legal staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Department. The letter had been handed him by the Attorney General with instructions to get in touch with me and to let me know the Department's full approval of the idea contained in my letter.

We had quite a lengthy chat -- at government expense, of course. He agreed with the idea of no advance publicity, though a follow-up in brochure form. He felt that only one representative of the Department should be present and stated that such a meeting could not be sponsored by the Department which had no funds to subsidize sponsorship by Penn. He wanted to know if any other organizations would be associated in the sponsorship, and I told him none with the possible exception of SRC. (I think he was a little fearful of involving certain other organizations, though he was quite happy with SRC).

I told him that Penn would have to secure funds from some outside source to cover not merely the expenses and honoria of the task force, but also of those who attended in response to our invitation. He assured me that we could count on such influence as the Department had in wangling a grant. I felt that he had in mind certain sources which the Department might reach -- perhaps I should say resources.

The conversation ended with the burden upon Penn to get up something in the nature of a specific proposal which he would be glad to discuss with us at any time. When the final form has been agreed

upon, we would devote attention to the question of where the money would come from.

Your letter of November 30 raises an essential point. Of course, we would not invite those admittedly hostile to our position. It would be the old story of preaching to the converted plus such uncommitted souls as might be persuaded.

I think to secure attendance we will have to put a rather broad interpretation upon the word "rural." For purposes of the institute, I think we will have to consider all of South Carolina and contiguous parts of North Carolina and Georgia as coming within the rural definition. Courtney feels very strongly -- and I am disposed to agree with him -- that a considerable sprinkling of urban people would have to be included among the invitees to secure the necessary volume and the desirable quality of attendance.

I blocked out in pen and ink a rough draft of the proposal which I took to Charlotte with me on December 5. Courtney met me there and advanced a number of amendments. I am now in travail over revising the draft. When that labor is ended and I can have it put in typewriting, I will send you a copy for your own fearless and ruthless observations.

I do hope Col. Muse can operate in Raleigh. Bill Bagwell, of AFSC, has been giving some thought to sympathetic persons who might have influence with the Governor or the State Education authorities. Col. Muse might get some very good suggestions from Bill in advance of the march on Raleigh.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW:jc

Retained in G. W.

CONFERENCE ON FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO
(NORTON UNION-MILLARD FILLMORE LOUNGE)

DECEMBER 16, 1959.

A G E N D A

9:45 - 10:00 Welcome - Chancellor Clifford C. Furnas

Opening - Senator Jacob K. Javits, Chairman

10:00 - 11:00 (1) General procedural and enforcement changes
- obstructing justice
- private suit and intervention by Attorney General

Opening Summary by -Professor Monrad G. Paulsen, Columbia

11:00 - 11:15 Break

11:15 - 11:45 (2) Employment - general federal legislation
- statute tightening control on govt. contracts

Opening Summary by - Professor David R. Kochery, Buffalo

11:45 - 12:45 (3) Voting, including poll tax

Opening Summary by - Professor Louis H. Pollak, Yale

12:45 - 2:00 Lunch - Speaker, Hon. Philip Halpern, New York Supreme Court, Appellate Division, Fourth Department

2:00 - 2:45 (4) Assisting school desegregation

Opening Summary By - Professor Robert M. Anderson, Syracuse

2:45 - 3:45 (5) Federal legislation re bombing and lynching

Opening Summary by -Professor Paul Oberst, New York Univ.

3:45 - 4:00 Break

4:00 - 4:30 (6) Housing

Opening Summary by- Professor Wade J. Newhouse, Jr. Buffalo

4:30 - 5:00 Summary and Conclusion.

REPORTERS: Items (1) and (2) - Professor Robert B. Fleming
Items (3) and (4) - Professor Robert H. Stern
Items (5) and (6) - Arnold T. Olena, Esq.

Return to M.A.W.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

CIVIL RIGHTS SEMINAR ------- DECEMBER 16, 1959

CHAIRMAN, SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS

PARTICIPANTS

ABRAMS, Mr. Charles
State Commission Against Discrimination
225 Broadway, New York, 7, New York

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517 Capen Boulevard, Buffalo 26, New York
(Anti Defamation League)

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New York State Assemblyman
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Chief Judge, New York State Court of Appeals, County Hall, Buffalo 2.
(Represents Canisius College)

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New York State Representative, House of Representatives, Washington 25, D.C.

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Buffalo 14, New York

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1637 Massachusetts, NW, Washington 6, D.C.

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HALL, Professor Livingston
Harvard University Law School
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

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Associate Justice, Supreme Court,
Justices' Chambers, Buffalo 2, New York

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Buffalo, Buffalo 14, New York

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Chairman, Board of Community
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280 Hickory Street, Buffalo 4, New York

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Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

KANE, Mr. James, President
Buffalo AFL-CIO Council
Prudential Bldg., Buffalo 2, New York

KAUFMAN, Mr. Robert, Office of
Senator Jacob K. Javits, Senate Office
Building, Washington 25, D. C.

KWIETNIEWSKI, Mr. Edward J.,
Executive Secretary, Buffalo AFL-CIO
Council, Prudential Bldg., Buffalo 2.

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President, Council of the City of Buffalo
City Hall, Buffalo 2, New York

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Manager, B. F. Goodrich Chemical Co.,
Buffalo Avenue & 53rd Street, Niagara
Falls, N. Y. (Niagara Falls Area
Chamber of Commerce Representative)

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Syracuse 10, New York

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Race Relations Department
Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee

MAHONEY, The Honorable Walter J.
New York State Senator
Marine Trust Building, Buffalo 3, New York

MANCH, Dr. Joseph
Superintendent of Schools
City Hall, Buffalo 2, New York

McCANN, Mrs. Betty
Director, News Bureau, University of
Buffalo, Buffalo 14, New York

MILLENSON, Mr. Roy H., American
Jewish Committee, 1012 Fourteenth
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MITCHELL, Mr. Clarence, Director, Washington Bureau National Ass'n Advance. Colored
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Professor, School of Law, University of
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NICE, Miss Mary L., Commissioner,
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Lafayette Bldg., Buffalo 3, New York

NOONAN, The Honorable Robert E.
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Batavia, New York

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Manufacturers and Traders Bank Building
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School of Law, Columbia University
612A Kent Hall, New York 27, New York

POLLACK, Professor Louis
Yale Law School
New Haven, Connecticut

PRINCE, Dean Jerome
Brooklyn Law School
375 Pearl Street, Brooklyn 1, New York

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Buffalo, Buffalo 14, New York

THOMAS, Mr. Julius, Director Industrial
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14 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

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School of Law, Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

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WARD, The Honorable Hamilton, Supreme
Court Justice, Justices' Chambers
County Building, Buffalo 2, New York

WEIS, The Honorable Jessica (Mrs.)
House of Representatives, House Office
Building, Washington 25, D. C.

WHITE, Mr. Samuel S., Vice Chairman,
Missouri Commission on Human Rights,
c/o Coronet Manufacturing Company
414 West 8th St., Kansas City 5, Missouri

WILLIAMS, The Honorable Alger A.
Associate Justice, Supreme Court,
Justices' Chambers, Buffalo 2, New York

WILLIAMS, The Honorable Harrison A., Jr.
United States Senator from New Jersey,
Senate Office Bldg., Washington 25, D. C.

WOFFORD, Mr. Harris
School of Law, University of Notre Dame,
Notre Dame, Indiana

WRIGHT, Mr. Marion A.
Topknot, Linville Falls, North Carolina
(Formerly President Southern Regional
Conference.)

PRESS REPRESENTATIVES

M
BUFFALO EVENING NEWS
218 Main Street, Buffalo 2, New York

M
BUFFALO COURIER-EXPRESS
785 Main Street, Buffalo 3, New York

M
NEW YORK TIMES
Times Square, New York 36, New York

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 21, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You are entitled to something of a report on my trip to Buffalo.

It developed that I was the only person present from the South, unless Dr. Herman Long and Clarence Mitchell could be put in that category. The rest of the group -- probably one hundred in number -- were from New York with a sprinkling of New Englanders. My feeling is that the meeting might have been more effective if there had been a larger Southern attendance somewhat bi-racial in composition.

Senator Javits made an excellent chairman. He was quite evidently seeking the guidance of the group, consisting preponderantly of law professors, on pending civil rights legislation -- what were the strong and weak points of the bills now before Congress and how they might be strengthened.

It was a very pleasant experience to be in a meeting where everyone present was on our side and was capable of stating his position lucidly and forcefully.

In the presence of this array of legal brains from such places as Yale, Harvard and Syracuse, I was less voluble than is my custom. My own brief participation carried endorsement of Parts I and III of the pending Douglas-Javits bill. Part I is a mere declaration arraying the Congress and the Executive alongside the Supreme Court in its integration decisions. Part III, as you no doubt know, is the controversial feature conferring upon the Attorney General

the authority to aid plaintiffs under certain circumstances.

Incidentally, I did also inject the idea of requiring contractors with the Federal Government to post bonds guaranteeing non-discrimination in employment, and the one mentioned to you over the phone, which would authorize the Department of Health Education and Welfare to provide education where public schools have been closed to thwart integration decrees.

At least, I met a number of able and influential people who asked with great interest about SRC. If I earned my travel money, about which I am doubtful, it would have been in informing such people of our role and program.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW:jc

12/31/59

Please reserve room at Piedmont for night of Jan. 26. Hope you and Harold may bend elbows and break bread with me. Should check in about 7:00 P.M.

Thanks.

M. A. Wright

VIA AIR MAIL January 4, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Paul Rilling and I have read the draft of your Arkansas speech and are impressed by both its form and its substance. The notion of private acts affected with a public interest is beautifully relevant to race relations.

We have only one criticism of importance. Your remarks about the international-mindedness of Southern representatives in Congress are true of the past, but not of the present. The South, alas, can no longer claim this merit. Not only in individual cases -- such as a Talmadge replacing a George -- but in the aggregate, the Southerners' voting record on international questions is no longer distinguishable from that of the rest of Congress. This has been demonstrated by analyses in the Congressional Quarterly. Perhaps by a judicious use of the past tense, you can make the necessary adjustments without damaging the central point.

On a pettier note, Paul Rilling questions the accuracy of the Thoreau quote about the drummer on page 10. I question the use of "venality" on page 6; the legislatures have been stupid, irresponsible, exploitative, and what not, but I doubt that venality could be proved. Doubtless you have caught the

typographical error on page 7, which gives the plural of "cliché" as "cliché's."

Thus do we justify your attirbution to us of "gimlet eyes." We apologize for such quibbles in the face of a truly excellent speech.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Speech)

January 5, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

A room has been reserved for you at the Piedmont for the night of Monday, January 25. Harold and I will look forward to meeting you there some time after 7:00 P. M.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

e

~~LWD~~ MF Please return ref.

PUBLIC INTEREST IN PRIVATE ACTS

Address by
Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N.C.
Before Arkansas Council on Human Relations
at
Little Rock, January 15, 1960

I approach this task with due appreciation of its delicacy. In the public mind Little Rock has become such a symbol that there is an almost irresistible impulse to comment upon the swirling events which kept this city for so long in the headlines -- a position I am sure you would have been glad to relinquish. But if, with the best of motives, I should express opinions about the events or the personalities of those hectic days, I might tread upon toes where corns are beginning to heal. And, out of your painfully acquired knowledge of the facts, you may find in error one who knows only what he read in the papers.

You remember Mr. Adlai Stevenson's story of the young preacher who had difficulty holding his congregation. He went to an older minister for advice. He was told, "You see that glass on the pulpit. That doesn't hold water; it holds vodka. I take a sip every now and then. It helps me to get a little more zeal into my sermons. You try that." The young man agreed. A few Sundays later the elder gentleman dropped in to see how the experiment was going. He found the house full with everyone on the edge of his seat and the young man really laying it on.

After service the two met. "Well, what did you think of it?" the young man asked.

"Oh, it was all right from the delivery viewpoint. But you want to be a little surer of your facts. For instance, it's true that David did kill Goliath. But he used a sling shot; he didn't stomp the living hell out of him."

So, in all innocence, I might err as to the facts about Little Rock. But we may be upon safe ground, if, in generalities which do not even glitter, we attempt to draw an obvious lesson or two.

A community may make a short and quick trip in moving from fame to infamy. The road back is long and hard.

The worst and the best of a community emerge under stress of conflict. Referring to the French Revolution, Dickens wrote "It was the worst of times; it was the best of times." So with your own ordeal. Brutal and cunning private and official acts matched and finally checkmated by calm, noble and courageous deeds. History's laurels are long deferred. But, inevitably, there will be universal appreciation for the bravery of Negro children and their parents who ran the evil gauntlet and for those white citizens who withstood the tyranny of time and place to serve a common humanity.

Little Rock may have paid an exorbitant price for the distinction, but here, rather than at Gettysburg, was established the truth that this is "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." For here was given belated proof that one may be a citizen of Arkansas, but he is also a citizen of the United States and that the national government will not forever remain callous to the plight of any of its citizens. If that lesson has seeped into the consciousness of officials of this and other resisting states, the ordeal here endured will not have been in vain. Again, paraphrasing Dickens, Little Rock may have been "the winter of despair, the spring of hope."

With the consciousness of Southern leaders we are deeply concerned. We are concerned because the time and pain involved in the complete ending of discrimination depend largely upon what lies within certain skulls. We hold no card in the psychiatric union, but crash in as amateurs.

A few weeks ago Charles Collingswood had a T.V. program on hypnosis. Certain professors at Harvard were able to induce in individuals a state of reversion to childhood. These grown men and women liked Mother Goose rhymes and such games as tag, hop scotch and hide-and-seek. Yet these same persons in that state could spell the word "psychology", which was, of course, beyond the vocabulary of the child. I greatly abridge the scientific explanation, but I gathered that, under hypnosis, two departments, or levels, of consciousness could function independently.

It occurred to me that this is what has been happening in the South.

We have recently been moving -- are moving now, in fact -- from a plantation into an industrial economy. (Parenthetically, I understand that movement, for some strange reason, has greatly slowed in Arkansas. Don't be discouraged. Virginia is having the same experience. Sometimes I wonder). Indigenous to the plantation economy were such ideas as segregation and white superiority, keeping certain people in their places, "our way of life" (which was, of course, the plantation way) and States Rights (which means, of course, the right of a state to run its own affairs without regard to standards of conduct and decency prevailing elsewhere).

Such ideas we absorbed when we were very young -- indeed, so much has happened since Appomattox -- when the nation itself was young.

Such, then, is the heritage of our youth.

Two movements of great significance have developed since Woodrow Wilson signed the treaty at Versailles. The first was the emergence of the United States into a dominant position in world affairs. The second was the emergence of the South as an industrial power. The American has become, willy-nilly, a citizen of the world, and the Southerner has become, willy-nilly, a citizen of the United States, and, hence, of the world also.

By injecting the expression "willy-nilly" I may seem to imply that this new citizenship of the Southerner was relunctantly embraced. I do not intend to do so.

One of the things of which we in the South may be most proud is that the leaders we have furnished to the nation have usually been internationally minded. The conception of the interdependence of nations, one worldness, as Wendell Wilkie phrased it, emerged as the result of World War I. Woodrow Wilson first gave it authentic expression. The League of Nations was its concrete embodiment.

The League was done to death by leaders from New England, the Midwest and the Far West -- men like Henry Cabot Lodge from Massachusetts, William E. Borah from Idaho and Hiram Johnson from California. Its staunchest defenders were men like Senator Carter Glass from Virginia, Senator Oscar W. Underwood from Alabama and -- we must admit -- Congressman James F. Byrnes from South Carolina. In all the national debate of the era, Southern leaders were solidly behind Wilson.

That was no unique and exceptional performance. Whenever the issue of internationalism versus isolationism has had congressional attention, Southerners almost to a man have stood for full discharge of our obligations as a member of the family of nations. Support for United Nations, foreign aid, the Marshall Plan and all the rest has come most powerfully from the South. Senators George from Georgia, Sparkman and Hill from Alabama, Johnson from Texas and Fullbright from Arkansas, to mention only a few of an imposing company, have expressed the moral conviction of the country that we have a concern with the welfare of men and women everywhere. The South has produced no counterpart of Bridges, Knowland or McCarthy.

Our representatives on the national scene, insofar as legislation in foreign affairs is concerned, have usually been citizens of the world at large and of the twentieth century.

Yet these same leaders, with all the broad sweep of their vision, with all the thrust and surge of their great powers to the end that our international obligations shall be fully discharged, have resurrected the cadavers of Interposition and Nullification, have signed Senate Manifestos, have fashioned massive resistance, have concocted pupil placement laws and all the rest.

Why? To see that some millions of their constituents and fellow citizens are denied their rights under the American Constitution.

So -- their good eye is on the future, but their poor eye is on the past. Part of their consciousness is adult and part is infantile. They are able to write "psychology" but they play hop scotch.

Now, individuals thus divided in their loyalties must be experiencing a kind of hypnotic trance. They live half within and half without the world of reality. They need our help. And I think you and I may help them.

The malady from which they suffer is a belief. That belief is that you and I, their constituents, still mentally live in the nineteenth century; that we feel we may still have a plantation way of life in an industrial society; that we may still advance while holding others back; in short, that we may have our cake and eat it too.

Our task, then, is quite simple. It is so to conduct ourselves as private citizens that this belief on the part of our leaders shall rest upon no solid foundation, and to take every occasion to communicate our views to leaders and others.

I call your attention to a sharp reversal of our usual concepts of the function of a leader. The view which Thomas Jefferson announced from the classical calm of Monticello was that a political leader actually led; that he was ahead of the thinking of his day and, by force of intelligence, character and personality, he informed his constituency and elevated it to something approaching his own superior standards.

In a sentence, we may fairly dismiss the political leadership of most of the South on the de-segregation issue with the comment that it was insensitive to the pressures and necessities of this age and was geared to the thinking of the 1860's.

With what results?

For sheer political immorality there was nothing in the annals of Reconstruction to equal the legislation spawned and concocted throughout the South. And this example from high official source has begotten the ugly brood of violence and blood-shed -- the bombings, the assaults, the murders -- which have brought disgrace upon an entire region.

We have had, then, in some states, a political leadership which not merely did not lead, but which actually retarded normal adjustment to the inevitable. In mechanical terms, what these leaders supplied was not motive power, but brakes; not sail, but anchor.

This bankruptcy of leadership forces upon us the reversal of our concepts to which I referred a moment ago. The impulse to progress, instead of moving from the leader to the citizen, must now move from the citizen to the leader. The citizen, by force of his own intelligence, character and personality, must now elevate the leader. The immutable force of circumstance is casting the citizen in a new and heroic role.

We may easily fall into the error of blaming others -- our political leaders -- for all of our difficulties. This is an attractive error. It absolves us of "self-examination and self-reproach." The truth is that our leaders are our creatures; we, the people, are their masters. When we look at these leaders we are compelled to admit "An ill-favored thing, Sir, but mine own."

I carefully skirt the cliches about the power of the private citizen of which we are constantly reminded. But we may profitably consider for a moment the expanding significance of private action.

There is a legal phrase to the effect that a certain business or enterprise is "affected with a public interest." The classic illustration would be of a utility company holding a franchise to furnish electricity or transportation. It is a rapidly enlarging conception, even in corporate circles.

But, under conditions of the modern world, may we any longer limit the connotations of the term to corporate action of a commercial nature upon a large scale?

Dr. Ralph Bunche was recently denied membership in a tennis club because he is a Negro. It was a private club acting within its legal rights. But that action had repercussions around the world. In a hundred different translations it was blazoned before peoples of color whose friendship this nation needs desperately to win. The simple black-balling of an applicant for club membership was profoundly affected with a public interest.

That would not have been true in simple, unhurried plantation days. But steel rails have been laid; long strips of macadam bind the nation; wires have been strung, cables laid and the air waves themselves harnessed. Over all there move impulses and ideas. To such, men everywhere react. In today's closely knit world even the most trivial act of a private citizen may affect the destiny of the nation.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, a year or so ago -- you see, I feel it safer to talk about my state than yours -- a photographer snapped a picture of some people surrounding a poised and serene Negro girl on her way to a white school. There was a snarl on the faces of the menacing group. That picture, in addition to publication in this country, won an award in international competition at Amsterdam. It travelled around the world. The mere facial expressions of a handful of people were affected with a public interest.

In the Southern school situation we now enter upon a phase in which the role of the private citizen is vastly magnified. The struggle is no longer between Thurgood Marshall and Senator Byrd, or some governor you might think of. That battle is over. The struggle of the Titans is ended; the struggle of the Lilliputians begins.

The legal rights of Negro children are now established. The period of quibbling and evasion, insofar as the law is concerned, has run its course. With unparalleled faith in human nature, the court has assumed that the pupil assignment statutes will be fairly administered -- that school officials will completely disregard the color of children in determining to which school they will be sent. The question now becomes one of good faith; in other words, one of morals. Here John Doe and Mary Smith may throw their weight around.

The shift of emphasis from law or politics to morals is one of the striking phenomena of the times. Both law and politics require special skills, special competence. That requirement disqualified the layman from full participation in the making of major decisions affecting the public schools. Necessarily, he was side-lined while the battle raged. But in the struggle's aftermath, in the grass-roots adjudication of the right of a neighbor's boy or girl to go to a nearby school, no one of us is so insignificant that he may not influence the result.

Consider for a moment the import of such adjudications. The school board of Charlottesville, for example, is an arm, or agency, or creature, of the state. It exercises a fractional part of the state's sovereign

power. Its decisions, wise or unwise, good or bad, will be regarded in this country as an expression, not of Charlottesville's, but of Virginia's, sense of justice. And abroad, no note will be taken of Charlottesville or Virginia. There they will be regarded as an expression of American sense of justice. What happened at Little Rock, for example, is not used by the Russians to discredit this city, of Arkansas, but to defame the United States.

Such, then, is the momentous nature of every decision affecting a lone Negro youth seeking admittance to a white school. If there is a formerly white school near his home, but he is sent across the city or county to a Negro school, there is a stain upon the national honor. If, however, it should develop that assignment is made upon the basis of distance and other proper considerations, without regard to race, national prestige is enhanced.

The private citizen, by urging an honorable course upon school boards, engages in action affected with a public interest.

So, without elaboration, whoever hires and promotes employees; whoever builds, leases and sells homes; whoever extends a welcome into church membership -- all with a vision which takes no note of color -- such a one in only the narrowest sense engages in private action. In the widest and truest sense he contributes to national grandeur. Vastly more important, he strengthens the bonds which unite into the family of man all human creatures.

In any community in a single day there are thousands or millions of private acts. There are millions of thoughts, ideas, emotions, expressions, gestures, postures, assertions, laughs, nods, frowns -- all of the things which individuals do, consciously or unconsciously, to give outward expression to their inner selves, to indicate their reactions to events and their attitudes toward other individuals. The composite, the resultant, the synthesis, of these myriad and fleeting revelations of attitude is an awesome and potent force. It is the force of community pressure.

The destiny of the community is involved with that force. It may drive talent and skill and genius out, or it may retain and attract men and women of such qualifications.

If the community attitude is hostile to the new and novel; if it places limitation upon advancement; if it assigns fixed status to men and women, drawing lines beyond which one proceeds at his peril; if it exalts a way of life merely because it is venerable -- if the community attitude does those things, men and women of spirit, initiative and enterprise will elsewhere seek a more congenial climate. The constrictive forces of the community, like pressure which forces cream from a tube, will expel the superior and elite.

The same constrictive force will warp and twist those who remain. Community pressure is a Procrustean bed which fits to its own dimensions those who yield themselves to its clutches. But, so insidious is its operation, its victims do not comprehend the extent to which they have been shaped or molded.

But if the community attitude encourages every creative activity, however novel; if it slams shut no door to human aspiration -- men and women of genius will remain and others will come to join their gallant company.

States which lose population may ponder those somber facts.

Don't let us delude ourselves for one moment into believing that the only persons who leave are Negroes. Who's Who in America is studded with names of persons, white and Negro, born under Southern skies but whose careers have been carved out in the North and East and West, where they have enriched other states.

Nor dare we believe that they go only for better pay and that all will be well when our wage scale matches that of the rest of the nation. Admittedly, many move in response to that lure. But your really superior man, your man of genius, who doesn't keep pace with his companions here, in Thoreau's phrase, moves "because he hears a different drummer." He wants to breathe an ampler air, have his being in a freer society. He will "step to the music he hears, however measured or far away".

The movement of industry to Arkansas, I am told, has been greatly retarded. Arkansas' percentage loss of population in the last ten years exceeded that of any other American state -- that at a time of expanding population in nearly all other states. Those are somber facts.

But there is an unprovable, but, I think, reasonable, assumption much more somber. That is that in this migration from your state, there was more than a sprinkling of superior men and women who sought elsewhere a freedom of association and self-expression denied them here. For a state to have against it a balance of trade in commercial products and commodities is bad enough. To have against it a balance of trade in ideas is profoundly tragic.

No one knows or cares what products moved by boat or camel back from Athens or Judea or Alexandria. What matters it to us in 1960 that so many tons of olives, or so many hogsheads of wine, or so many bushels of rice, were loosed in the channels of trade 2,500 years ago? What does matter profoundly is that in Athens and Judea and Alexandria there were evolved ideas and principles of conduct and ethics, which, if they do not wholly govern us, at least have daily impact upon our lives. They evolved in a society in which every man was prodded to think, to express himself, to achieve up to the full limit of his powers.

So, in some dim and distant future, men will little note nor long remember what agricultural or commercial products flowed from Arkansas in the year 1960. Even the victory of the Razorbacks over Georgia Tech in the Gator Bowl may go unremarked! But the attention of men could be riveted to this state, and they could be exalted in spirit, if there were here produced ideas and principles of use and service to mankind.

Perhaps history does operate upon the pendulum rule, move in cycles. The Dark Ages were followed by the flowering of the Renaissance. It could happen here.

For this development there is present one ingredient heretofore lacking. You may utilize talents and skills of a substantial part of your population heretofore barred by law and custom from making more than minor contributions to the state's development. That part, in addition to natural endowments, has reached its new state by suffering and travail. Out of suffering and travail have sprung the world's great literature, drama, music, all the arts, which are the ornaments and evidence of civilization.

The road back to secure fame will not be so long and hard if we march resolutely and unafraid in full comradeship with these gallant and battle-tested recruits.

- - - - -

via air mail

March 1, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

You did a superb job on the Garroway program this morning. This is not only my view but that of everyone I've talked to who saw the program.

I'm pleased and grateful that you could take on this important task on such short notice. The SRC banner has never waved more proudly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 3/15/60

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

March 12, 1960

Dear Harold:

I am so glad to have your note of approval of my appearance on the Dave Garroway show. You will be interested to know that I have had a number of notes of similar tenor and only one of the other sort.

That one, of course, accused me of being a Communist, a charge to which I have long since become accustomed.

With thanks and kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright.

3/18/60

Harold:

Our boy is doing good up here.

We have missed your elbow in the bending exercises.

M.A.W.

FEPC to Seek Signs of Bias in School Hiring

LANSING, March 18.—(AP)—The Fair Employment Practices Commission has started an investigation of questionnaires sent by school boards to prospective teachers, Director Frederick Routh disclosed today.

Routh said the commission will try to determine whether discrimination is practiced in hiring of teachers.

"We have noted a considerable number of forms issued by various school districts which ask for a photograph and the race, religion and place of birth of teacher applicants," he said.

"These questions are in violation of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Act."

Routh said the commission is urging boards of education, superintendents and others engaged in teacher placement to "bring their application forms into conformity with the law."

India's Jabalpore plant has begun turning out three-ton military trucks.

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DOUGHTNUTS AND DEMOCRACY
Address by Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina
Before meeting sponsored by the NAACP
Ford Auditorium, Detroit, Michigan
March 18, 1960

It has often happened that those who lived through great events were unaware of their historical significance. Another generation with increased perspective begins to grasp their importance and, ultimately, to realize that they were mile stones in human progress. What was merely an exciting episode to a participant may, upon later examination, turn out to have been one of the pivots upon which history turns.

A dozen or so citizens of Massachusetts clamber at night upon a ship at anchor in Boston harbor and throw some bags of tea overboard. As they slipped furtively back to their homes, probably not a man of them ever dreamed that his descendants would some day boast that Grandpa had taken part in the Boston Tea Party, or that his action had sparked the creation of a new nation. The determination of Bostonians to drink tea without paying a tax to the British crown, a few minutes of daring action -- and History begins a fresh chapter.

Now, behold a parallel. On February 1, 1960, a few college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, enter, not a ship at anchor, but Woolworth's 5 and 10 Cent Store. They do not throw tea out on the street; they order coffee to be drunk sitting down. (Instead of standing up for their rights, they sit down for them; in other words, they were sitting on their Constitutional rights.) They were refused service. You know the result. The movement has spread electrically throughout the entire South, forcing every community to re-examine its segregation practices.

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea -- I am a Bourbon and branch water man myself -- but I suggest that in History's long view the Greensboro Coffee Party may loom as large as the Boston Tea Party. Lipton and Maxwell House may fight out that issue between themselves. Neither has given me any payola.

If anything was inevitable, it was this strife over the lunch stools.

One thing to which the South has not yet fully adjusted is the Negro's increased purchasing power. So long as that power was insignificant, he could expect, and was reasonably content with, second class service. In all fairness, this discrimination was not entirely a matter of race. For example, I am sure that if Mr. Rockefeller and I, or, to keep politics out of it, Mr. Harriman and I, walked into Tiffany's at the same time, the clerks would knock themselves out waiting on either of them while I twiddled my thumbs. I would regard that as annoying but normal. But with my first hundred million, I would begin to pound on the counter and demand equal service.

The Negro has now reached that stage. His money is as good as anybody else's. When he may trade freely at all of the store's counters except the lunch counter, the calculated humiliation of him becomes obvious. It will no longer be endured.

But, transcending the economic reason, is a deeper motive. It involves the dissipation of the myth of white superiority. The older white and the older Negro had been reared on that myth. The white believed it firmly; the Negro, if only subconsciously, was at least half persuaded.

But in the last two or three decades the last shred and vestige of the myth have dissolved, leaving "not a rack behind." Jackie Robinson, Marian Anderson, Dr. Ralph Bunche and a galaxy of able and talented men and women have demonstrated conclusively that, in fair competition, the Negro stride for stride will match his white rival. No one now above the mental level of Senator Eastland ever even mentions white superiority. To tell the truth, if Sec. Benson will pardon the expression, there are times when I am disposed to settle for 90 per cent of parity.

The young people -- particularly the college crowd -- know this. They are not blind. It is "agin nature" to ask them to act as if they didn't know, as if they couldn't see. Knowing and seeing, they demand that they be treated as any other American citizen.

This demand confounds the segregationist. While it is at best specious reasoning, up until now he has indulged the fiction that the Negro Southerners were quite happy with their lot until misled by the NAACP, which capitalized upon ignorance. Here, however, we have a spontaneous movement among the most intelligent -- college students, no less -- erupting throughout the entire South.

And the confusion of the segregationist is further compounded by a fact of utmost importance. White college students of the South, in more than isolated instances, have stood loyally by the side of the protesting Negroes. The hecklers -- who were they? Let the Richmond News-Leader answer:

> Many a Virginian must have felt a tinge of wry regret at the state of things as they are, in reading of Saturday's "sitdowns" by Negro students in Richmond stores. Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the side walk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern states in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause.

So, then, the issue is fairly and finally joined in the only way it should be joined. It is not Negro versus white. It is intelligence and decency of white and Negro versus ignorance and depravity.

The Negro people, during the past half dozen years, have given to the nation a host of brave and noble spirits who have endured martyrdom for a cause -- Martin Luther King, Mrs. Daisy Bates, and a long star-studded scroll of the anonymous valiant. How often have I had occasion to praise them! Permit me now, as a white man, a brief moment of exaltation that members of the race to which I happen to belong -- students of Wake Forest College, Duke University and a score of other institutions -- have conquered the tyranny of time and place to march with you, resolute and unafraid.

Don't forget, my friends, those students can sit and eat wherever they please. Can there be greater purity of motive than that which prompts courageous action to secure rights for another. All hail to them!

But, as is usually the case, action which has its principal justification upon high moral grounds is consistent with intelligent self-interest. We are concerned that the Negro shall have the right to occupy a lunch stool. We are more concerned that the South shall get down off the dunce stool.

What an image we must present to the world! Conspiritorial and furtive planning how to thwart judicial decrees, massive resistance, gerrymandering, pupil placement acts, token de-segregation, exclusion from the ballot, filibustering -- all of these were and are bad enough. But they have about them a certain low cunning which bespeaks a kind of depraved intelligence. One might admire them as he would admire the artistry of the jackal or the crocodile.

But this lunch room thing lacks even that dubious distinction. Here are men in the year 1960 arrayed to defend a primitive taboo which might have flourished on a South Sea island 5,000 years ago. The whole majesty and might of states massed to see that certain people stand while they eat their peanut butter sandwiches! Where the rest of the world is not grieved by the tragedy, or amused by the folly, or shocked by the brutality, of state action, it must be appalled at its unfathomable stupidity.

Stupid, because this whole cause celebre, this fantastic and incredible episode, could end in five minutes if white Southerners would utter a phrase which they learned in childhood and have repeated ever since -- "Sit down. Have a cup of coffee."

In other words, leaving law and morals aside, the situation would yield to ordinary good manners. And it is manners upon which the Southerner has always prided himself. Our politicians have led us into strange paths. They have, in our name, departed from established law, struck questionable compromises with principle. Manners are about all we have left. We shall be naked indeed if we surrender them.

But perhaps we have been unfair to our politicians. I have thought of them as having no concern about civil rights. I was wrong. There is one civil right they seem determined to protect. It is the right of a lunch counter operator to require a Negro customer to stand while eating.

I risk no legal opinion as to the existence of such right. But guessing as to the future is a game all may play. So I give you my reading of the stars: This court, or a succeeding court, will hold that one who has a charter or franchise or license from a state to engage in business operates that business pursuant to exercise of state power, and that state power may not be used by a grantee to discriminate against customers because of race or religion.

There are certain inherent rights one enjoys merely as a human being. They grow in number as men's minds expand. They are not all found in certain admendments to a constitution. Among them is the right not to be publicly humiliated on account of race by a policy of a business which exists under the aegis of a state.

The Greensboro Coffee Party may well establish that principle as a part of our organic law. It is doing much more than that. It is presenting the South with alternatives between which it must choose. There is no escape from definite and clear-cut decisions. Let us approach one of them a little bit obliquely.

The segregationists protest loudly against the Negroes' use of the boycott. In Montgomery, for example, scores were arrested for boycotting the buses. That in spite of the fact that its use against Negroes is blatantly advocated in the profane literature of the White Citizens Councils and that Negroes all over the South have felt the keen edge of that economic weapon. Let's not put it in such abstract terms. Thousands of Negro fathers, mothers and children have been driven from humble farm homes; thousands of small Negro merchants have been forced out of business, and thousands of Negro teachers and preachers thrown from their class rooms and pulpits -- all for no other offense than that they acted as American citizens. But things have come to a pretty pass, the segregationists says, when the Negroes boycott a dime store.

How do they react? Virginia, birthplace of Thomas Jefferson, mother of presidents, and other Southern states rush through the legislature bills redefining trespass. Police are re-enforced, the National Guard alerted, stern warnings issued, -- all to uphold the alleged civil right of a restaurant owner to require Negroes to stand while eating. Such the re-action against the Negro boycott.

But the white supremacists, whithout being aware of it, by the very nature of their acts, are themselves perpetrating a boycott of an entire region. By insistence upon preserving a caste system -- engrafting a part of the dead Eighteenth Century upon the living body of the Twentieth -- they insulate the South against the intelligence and the superior moral force of the rest of the nation. Cultural and scientific groups, professional societies, religious organizations, refuse to hold their conventions in the south because they refuse to humiliate their Negro members. That is one phase of this self-imposed boycott.

There are others. Able Southern professors and ministers of the gospel -- white men and women -- have been expelled, sent into exile beyond the region, because they spoke out for truth and decency. Still others, suffocated by the local atmosphere, voluntarily leave for realms where they may live as free men.

Such, then, is the colossal intellectual boycott of a third of the land mass of this nation. Such the choice with which the segregationist is confronted. He may let people sit on lunch stools or he may make the South a Sahara of the mind and spirit.

I must interpolate that silver linings appear on the clouds. Perhaps for the first time, the Negro has widespread support from the South's intellectuals. I have referred to the white college students. The ferment has spread as well to faculties, who are becoming vocal. And ministers of all denominations now speak out against the prevailing infamy. Never in history has sheer brutality been a match for the still, small voice. It will not be now.

Do you here in Detroit have any stake in what is now transpiring in the South? I understand that your constitution and statutes require complete absence of racial discrimination. But may you for that reason wash your hands of us?

We live in a closely knit world -- a fact of which the segregationist seems unaware. He talks eternally about something he calls states' rights, as though behind a river, or some line drawn on a map, citizens are free to conduct themselves as they please, without a "decent regard to the opinion of mankind." Someone should take him by the hand, lead him out back of the barn and tell him the facts of life. Among those facts is that this <u>is</u> one nation, indivisible.

Nothing may now be done anywhere in this nation without everywhere producing consequences and repercussions. Ideas spawned in South Carolina or Mississippi today may find lodgement in skulls in New York or Michigan tomorrow. The tools of science are sometimes invented before men have the spiritual qualification to use them wisely. Thus ideas may leap across continents and oceans before their authors may mentally leap across their back yard fences. The antropoid utterances of Senator Eastland and Senator Thurmond may stir the primitive in men, not merely in Mississippi and South Carolina, but in Detroit and Chicago as well.

So, don't for one moment entertain the delusion that the Mason and Dixon line is a rampart behind which you are secure. Your own destiny is involved with the fate of the Southern liberal.

But, surely, it is a narrow and selfish view which prompts one merely to take steps for his own protection. That is negative virtue. A person of robust goodness wants to throw his weight around, to influence favorably the course of events beyond his own community limits. So, what may be done by the private citizen of Detroit?

As I pointed out a moment ago, I understand in this state there is no discrimination based upon law. Now, I have complete confidence in the validity of the distinction between discrimination legally enforced and discrimination voluntarily practiced. But I think I should be evasive if I did not point out that voluntary discrimination in any section of this nation, Michigan, for example, strengthens legally enforced discrimination in the South. Discrimination, even if not legally sanctioned in one state, encourages the application of such sanctions elsewhere. This fact places upon the non-Southern private citizen the solemn duty of taking care that his individual and voluntary acts and attitudes are above reproach.

I carefully skirt the cliches about the power of the private citizen of which we are constantly reminded. But we may profitably consider for a moment the expanding significance of private action.

There is a legal phrase to the effect that a certain business or enterprise is "affected with a public interest." The classic illustration would be a utility company holding a franchise to furnish electricity or transportation. It is a rapidly enlarging conception, even in corporate circles.

But, under conditions of the modern world, may we any longer limit the connotations of the term to corporate action of a commercial nature upon a large scale?

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So, every college fraternity, the American Legion, the Forty and Eight, the churches -- every organization which makes color or race a qualification for membership -- affects the safety and destiny of this republic.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, a year or so ago, a photographer snapped a picture of some people surrounding a poised and serene Negro girl on her way to a white school. There was a snarl on the faces of the menacing group. That picture, in addition to publication in this country, won an award in international competition at Amsterdam. It travelled around the world. The mere facial expressions of a handful of people were affected with a public interest.

So, without elaboration, whoever hires and promotes employees; whoever builds, leases and sells homes; whoever receives guests at a hotel; whoever sells tickets to shows; whoever deals with his fellow human beings -- all with a vision which takes no note of color -- such a one in only the narrowest sense engages in private action. In the widest and truest sense he contributes to national grandeur. Vastly more important, he strengthens the bonds which unite all human creatures into the family of man.

While it must at times seem to all of us that government is forever regulating our conduct, actually only a small percentage of our acts are regimented. Beyond the pale of law, beyond the reach of government, lies a vast domain of conduct, a kind of moral penumbra, where the citizen is free to act as he pleases. Here no legal restraints or imperatives, no penalties or sanctions. Here passions and prejudices may be freely indulged, likes and dislikes freely expressed, without other than self-imposed limitation. Here the sovereign authority is now law, but conscience.

But let it not be supposed for one moment that, because the public, through government, does not invade this uncharted area, it is not concerned or involved with what there transpires. On the contrary, from this uninhibited welter of conduct are fashioned customs, institutions, a way of life, and, ultimately, even government itself.

The business of government, we say, is civil rights; that is, the preservation of privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution. Outside of that field, as broad as it may be, lies a vaster domain. It is the field of the civilities. Here the citizen is on his own. Here his conceptions of right and decency and honor find full expression. Here such religion as he may have may come to full flower. It is one thing to grant grudging obedience to law; it is another and more important to do what is right, not because of law's command, but because of promptings which spring from the heart.

No one, of course, may legitimately disparage the profound importance of judicial opinions. But they come from men aloof and scholarly who are no cross section of American thinking. The opinions which will have impact upon mankind are fashioned by average men and women. They reflect the thinking, the principles, the attitude of the anonymous citizen.

So, what does this mean to the anonymous private citizen of Detroit? Simply this; If you have a deep concern with the injustice and pain resulting from legalized segregation; if you are sickened by the violence, and shocked by the duplicity, which have attended efforts to preserve it; if you consider it a scourge and a pestilence upon a fair land -- then examine the secret places of your own heart. Legalized segregation would not long survive in the South if, elsewhere in the nation, all men, in their attitudes toward their fellows, rose above consciousness of race. The very means of communication which bring you the words of Eastland and Thurmond would carry in exchange the soft persuasion of your own deeds and words and thoughts. To such persuasion no state would long be adamant.

In any community in a single day there are thousands or millions of private acts. There are millions of thoughts, ideas, emotions, expressions, gestures, postures, assertions, laughs, nods, frowns -- all of the things which individuals do, consciously or unconsciously, to give outward expression to their inner selves, to indicate their reactions to events and their attitudes toward other individuals. The composite, the resultant, the synthesis, of these myriad and fleeting revelations of attitude is an awesome and potent force. It is the force of community pressure.

The destiny of the community is involved with that force. As an instrument of community development, the NAACP is involved with it. The attitude of the community may drive talent and skills and genius out, or it may retain and attract men and women of such qualifications.

If the community attitude is hostile to the new and novel; if it places limitation upon advancement; if it assigns fixed status to men and women, drawing lines beyond which one proceeds at his peril; if it exalts a way of life merely because it is venerable -- if the community attitude does those things, men and women of spirit, initiative and enterprise will elsewhere seek a more congenial climate. The constrictive force of the community, like pressure which forces cream from a tube, will expel the superior and elite.

That same constrictive force will warp and twist those who remain. Community pressure is a Procrustean bed which fits to its own dimensions those who yield themselves to its clutches. But, so insidious is its operation, its victims do not comprehend the extent to which they have been shaped and molded.

But if the community attitude encourages every creative activity, however novel; if it slams shut no door to human aspiration -- men and women of genius will remain and others will come to join their gallant company.

Nor dare we believe that they who leave go only for better pay. Admittedly, many move in response to that lure. But your really superior man, your man of genius, who doesn't keep pace with his companions here, in Thoreau' phrase, moves "because he hears a different drummer." He wants to breather an ampler air, have his being in a freer society. He will "step to the music he hears, however measured or far away."

For a state to have against it a balance of trade in commercial products and commodities is bad enough. To have against it a balance of trade in ideas is profoundly tragic.

No one knows or cares what products moved by boat or camel back from Athens or Judea or Alexandria. What matters is to us in 1960 that so many tons of olives, or so many hogsheads of wine, or so many bushels of rice, were loosed in the channels of trade 2,500 years ago? What <u>does</u> matter profoundly is that in Athens and Judea and Alexandria the foundations of science were laid and there were evolved ideas and principles of conduct and ethics, which, if they do not wholly govern us, at least have daily impact upon our lives. They evolved in a society in which every man was prodded to think, to express himself, to achieve up to the full limit of his powers.

So, in some dim and distant future, men will little note nor long remember what agricultural or commercial products flowed from Detroit in the 1960's. But the attention of men could be riveted to this city, and they could be exalted in spirit, if there were here produced ideas and principles of use and service to mankind.

A secure place in history, a kind of urban immortality, is reserved for those cities which, in the lives of their citizens, show complete devotion to the highest principles of civic virtue.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARION NC MAR 21 1960

To GOV LUTHER HODGES 19

Street and No.
Care of or RALEIGH NC
Apt. No. Destination

GOVERNOR COLLINS STATESMAN-LIKE UTTERANCE ON LUNCH-ROOM SITUATION DESERVES YOUR EMULATION

M A WRIGHT LINVILLE FALLS NC

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

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1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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	24 PD		SIG	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To GOV LEROY COLLINS MARION NC 19
MAR 21 1960

Street and No.
Care of or TALLAHASSEE FLO
Apt. No. Destination

YOUR STATEMENT ON LUNCHROOM SITUATION IS FIRST STATESMAN LIKE POLITICAL UTTERANCE HEARD IN SOUTH IN YEARS MORE STRENGTH TO YOU.

M A WRIGHT LINVILLE FALLS NC

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

March 22, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is a choice exchange; once more, I'm glad you and I are on the same side.

Wish I could have been a third at the Routh-Wright reunion in Detroit. What an opportunity for toasts!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

P. S. -- Delighted that Vernon Eagle came through for the Penn "hard core" conference.

March 24, 1960

Mrs. D. M. Lucas
Washington, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Lucas:

I am very much obliged to you for writing me so fully your views about my appearance on the Garroway show. My gratitude stems from the fact that you give me written proof of the truth of one of the things which I tried to say on that show.

A point which I tried to make was that the segregationist always seemed to move from a denial of civil rights to a denial of ordinary civilities. He goes from bad law to bad manners. Your letter makes this point perfectly. For example, I have never had the pleasure of meeting you, but you write me that your estimation of me is "pretty low."

You say of hundreds of Negroes whom you have never seen that, "Of course, these Negroes lied." The word "lie" is hardly ever used by a lady or gentleman. You are quite willing to charge Governor Hodges with "purely political motives" when, I dare say, you have never talked with Governor Hodges and have no knowledge of his motives. He "was buying the Negro vote." You are quite willing to charge that "I have been hired to bring the whites and blacks together."

None of these rash and reckless statements would have been made by a person having proper manners, let alone by a person having regard for the rights of other human beings.

I cannot claim to be in God's confidence, as you seem to be, but I doubt there is authority for the proposition that God intended to keep any people segregated from others. If such was His intention you must have stronger doubts than I as to His competence since millions of persons of mixed blood throughout the world establish how completely His intention was frustrated.

May I remind you that God also made the Angles and the Saxons who were originally segregated from each other. Somehow they got together and you and I, alas, are among the products of this deviation from divine plan.

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright

Marion A. Wright

MAW:jc

bc Harold Fleming

Via Air Mail

July 7, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is a hasty note to pass on such meager information as we have about the Crown Publishing Company. It is clearly one of the well-known and reputable publishing houses, if not a Vanity publisher. I think you can confidently assume good faith and honest dealing. Crown's interest in this field apparently has existed for some time. I have on my shelf a picture history of the Negro in which Langston Hughes was one of the collaborators, published several years ago by Crown.

Unfortunately, none of us here is sophisticated about this matter of having a book published. Obviously the deal should include no financial commitment on your part -- or any commitment to sell the book yourself. On the contrary, there should at least be a generous royalty arrangement, and the publisher should undertake to give the book effective nationwide promotion. This is just about the sum total of what I know of such matters.

Harry Fleischman, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street; telephone number Plaza 1-400, would I think be a willing and helpful advisor. I am writing him today to say that you will be in New York next

week and that you will probably be calling him for counsel.

I shall look forward eagerly to further word of your negotiations with Crown. As you know, I am a strong proponent of your emerging into the literary world.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf

July 28, 1960

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

When you get a chance, do let me know how you made out with the publishing house in New York. I trust the prospects for a book are at least promising.

Harry Fleischman dropped me a note saying that you and he talked by telephone and that he would be happy to be of help if the need should arise.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

August 12, 1960

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

You should have received by now the copies of your latest speech. This is just to tell you that Marge Manderson and I both read the manuscript and via with each other in praise of it.

I made only two small changes: Robertson is a woman and the text has been changed accordingly; it seemed to me that the phrase "the stigma of race" lacked precision, and I made a slight change to indicate that the stigma is attached to race by the prejudice. The latter is a quibble, which you may want to ignore.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

September 28, 1960

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Harold and I have discussed the idea of you doing an article on the advisory groups to the Civil Rights Commission. It is an excellent idea, and I am looking forward to receiving the finished product. Let me know if we here can be of any help.

I am looking forward to seeing you at the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Conference at Atlanta University in October. If the program goes according to the plans of the Committee, it should be a good conference.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC?lec

LWD
SC
PR
PA
MF (file)

EXECUTIVE ACTION IN THE SCHOOL CRISIS

Address by
Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

before

Sen. Kennedy's National Conference on Constitutional Rights and American Freedom

at

Park Sheraton Hotel
New York, New York

October 1, 1960

When Andrew Jackson was President, Nullification reared its head. Old Hickory was quick to react. He told a South Carolina Congressman "You may tell the Nullificationists for me that if they spill a drop of blood, I will hang the first one I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find."

Senator Hayne from South Carolina expressed some doubt that Jackson would go that far. "I tell you, Hayne," the congressman replied, "when Jackson talks about hanging you can look out for rope."

What has happened in some parts of the South since the decision in school cases is Nullification. It is sometime avowed but usually unexpressed. But it is Nullification nevertheless.

Six years after the decision only 6 per cent of Southern Negro children are in integrated school situations. At that rate it would take 100 years to achieve full compliance. Certainly, to the practical mind, such rate of acceptance is effective nullification.

Obviously, the first duty of the President is to take care that the laws are enforced. The full weight of his office must be thrown into the task. Failure means ultimate anarchy.

I am quite sure that if any governor or other person in authority should proclaim a suspension of any constitutional guaranty, such as free speech or freedom of worship, there would be quick presidential reaction.

Now, the Supreme Court has said that there is a constitutional guaranty of right to attend a public school without racial

restrictions. Certain governors, legislatures and school boards have said no.

In bold terms their action is a suspension of a constitutional guaranty as effectively as if proclaimed by a Hitler, or a Stalin, or a Mussolini. There is no scale of values of such rights. They are of equal sanctity. The executive responsibility is as clear in one case as in another.

If any president should be timid, he may reflect upon the career of Andrew Jackson.

I should like to see a president recognize and brand the resistant action for what it is - rebellion against national authority.

There is a great moral value in a ringing expression of national indignation. This springs from personal qualities of the president, rather than from the Constitutional duties of his office.

Without making any invidious comparisons, we in the South have strained our ears to detect this indignant note.

The presidential comments have ranged from "You can't legislate morals" - which, of course, no one ever contended - to "It doesn't matter what I think about the decision" - surely the limit in self abnegation - to "It takes generations to change custom."

On this latter point, it may be pointed out that a few resolute and poised Negro college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, have changed the public eating customs of the South in six months.

I am old enough to remember the furor created by President Theodore Roosevelt's entertainment of Booker T. Washington in the White House. I have witnessed the warm and generous hospitality shown President Toure' of Guinea by Governor Hodges of North Carolina. Both are examples of executive action, personal in nature, which had profound effect. No president has a right to be above a national moral battle. His personal prestige and weight must be thrown into the scale. Lesser men take heart from his example. Courage travels by osmosis.

Now, as to his more formal and prescribed duties -

The Constitution confers upon the president significant powers to propose, and influence the course of, legislation.

For two or three years Senator Douglas and other Democrats - as well as certain members of another political party - have urged civil rights bills on the Congress. Had those bills been enacted, in my opinion the school situation would be vastly improved. It is at least conceivable to me that an alert and aroused president might have secured their enactment.

Their essential features are allowance of technical and financial guidance and aid to school districts seeking to comply, and intervention by the Attorney General when clear determination not to comply appeared.

Out of recent experience, I propose two refinements of the bill:

1. Presumption of discrimination should arise when
   (a) A district by a specified date has not adopted a plan of integration and

(b) The percentage of Negro children geographically entitled to attend a previously white school does not exceed a specified figure.

The date and figure are open to discussion.

2. One or more school districts in Virginia have closed public schools. That can happen in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. The nation should not stand idly by while a school generation grows up in ignorance.

Such areas are "disaster" areas in the most tragic sense of that term. When disaster now wipes out a cotton crop or, in hurricane form, flattens a city, the president declares the area involved a disaster area and uses all federal resources to mitigate the effects of the catastrophe.

Who has a greater claim upon national compassion than these youthful victims of parental bigotry?

A concerned president should seek authority thus to employ the national resources.

The executive has no right to be the unprotesting witness of an unequal struggle between a lone child and the massed power of his native state.

This unequal struggle, alas, is not limited to school children. In certain areas of the South, there is official and non-official persecution of human relations groups, usually bi-racial in composition. The president belatedly recommended

the formation of such groups, being apparently unaware that they were of long standing. The groups and their officers are targets of investigating committees and are otherwise harassed, including arrest and imprisonment. Recently a minister executive-director spent the weekend in jail. His state organization had to spend half its annual budget in his defense.

I think it would have a salutary effect if the president should direct the justice department to act as observer of these inquisitions and appear as amicus curiae, when opportunity offered.

The Southern liberal should not be left to fight his battles alone. After all, they are no more his battles than the battles of us all.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH TODAY : PROGRESS AND PROSPECT

address by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

before

Tennessee Council On Human Relations

at

Knoxville, Tennessee

October 17, 1960

I must be very careful what I say tonight. Less than a year ago I spoke before this same group at Nashville. Timidly, and bearing in mind your tax-exempt status, I managed to get in a kind word about a certain United States Senator, whose name I dare not mention. What was the result? The Tennessee voters rushed to the polls to send him back to Washington. I had no idea they would take me so seriously. It makes a man watch his words.

The whole country had its eye on that race. It now has its eye on races of all Southern politicians. When the race is in Virginia, we are all Byrd watchers.

I must tell you too, that since we last met, and just prior to the victory in Tennessee, we in North Carolina were burying under a blanket of ballots, one who beat tom-toms for segregation. A few years ago, the same type of anti-Negro campaign in North Carolina produced a victory over Dr. Frank Graham, one of the state's most enlightened citizens. So rapidly has public opinion shifted as it has become informed! In the delicate and important task of informing the public, your own Council on Human Relations, and the Councils of all states have played significant roles.

Our politicians are among the most intuitive of men, tuned in with utmost precision to the wave lengths of their constituencies. The recent session of the Congress has seen the Southern senatorial bloc reduced to a position of relative futility. Only by the aid of Northern Republicians -- that unholy alliance -- were they able to maim, but not destroy, civil rights legislation. The four senators from Tennessee and Texas have defected. Among those who remain, only such characters as Eastland of Mississippi and Thurmond of South Carolina may be said to be white supremacy advocates of the old school, to carry on the Bilbo, Tillman, Cole Blease and "Cotton Ed" Smith tradition.

Among those nominally members of the bloc are men of such attainments as Fulbright, Hill, Sparkman and Long who obviously gag and retch as they observe the tribal rituals.

So, as the recent Senate debate made clear, the obstructionists are fewer in number and weaker in conviction. Instead of inspiring awe or fear, they are now merely a little ridiculous, a little pathetic.

The national pressure upon our politicians daily increases. It is the most subtle and effective kind of pressure in that it involces national recognition, appreciation and reward for meritorious conduct. Governor Collins, of Florida, was honored by being made chairman of the Democratic Convention, over which he presided with dignity and grace. Governor Hodges, of North Carolina, is an important figure in the councils of the party. It seems more than an inadvertant omission that such party stalwarts of by-gone days as Eastland, Byrd, Talmadge, Thurmond, and Byrnes are left to wither in the wings - off - stage. The quality which they have in common is devotion to the cause of a segregated society. In 1960, endorsement of that cause is the quickest form of national political suicide.

What do these developments portend?

Throughout the South, in law schools and elsewhere, young men and, I hope, young women, are contemplating careers in politics. They observe the trend of the times. They read handwriting on walls. Assuming without conceding that they are merely calculating and self-centered, to what stars shall they hitch their wagons? They wish to ride the wave of the future. Does that wave flow toward a program of freezing men and women into a fixed status, dividing them into hostile and sullen groups, the racially elite and the racially outcast? The most dangerous and discredited figure of our times is the one who would drive lines of cleavage between men. The one whom the South of the future will delight to honor is he who seeks, not to preserve, but to strike down, such artificial walls and barriers.

These truths, I am sure, will be as evident to the budding politician as to you and me. If so, there is now in incubation a new bread of Southern political leader,

one oriented to national and international consciousness. The sense of sectional solidarity, with which we have so long been afflicted, will perish in the new day.

Not only are forces here at home propelling us into the twentieth century. The force from abroad is even more compulsive and urgent.

One day last month, thirteen new African nations became members of the United Nations. The nations of Africa and Asia now constitute almost fifty per cent of the membership. They are non-white members. Their destinies have heretofore been very largely in white hands. The converse could become true. I hope it will be more consistent with truth to say that the color of hands will not enter into the destiny of any nation, or any individual, for that matter, but that the combined wisdom of all men, distilled at the United Nations, will shape the destinies of us all.

But certainly the emergence of non-white peoples throughout the world, their new position of international authority, has a lesson for us here in the South. We need desperately to get along with these new fellow members in the family of nations. We need their sympathy and support, as, indeed, they need ours. The Southern attitude can be crucial in securing and holding sympathy and support.

Now, the Civil Rights movement in this country is designed to guarantee the Constitutional rights of all people--including colored people. You may be sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa know what is happening to their brethren in this country. The Russian propaganda machine sees to that. So they are aware of the resistance movement in the South, aware of speeches made in Washington and in the State capitols, aware of the shabby and fraudulent tricks used to deny rights to people of color in the South, aware of burnings, boycotts and bombings.

Let us suppose that the colored citizens of Ghana were simultaneously informed of certain facts. They were told that the United States government had made a grant to Ghana for the purpose of building a dam. They were also told that a Southern state had announced no Negro should attend its law school; or that Negroes must ride in the back end of buses in a certain city; or that another city sold its golf course rather than permit Negroes to play on it; or that a United States Senator gave active support to an organization set up to keep Negroes in their place. And so on indefinitely. Which kind of facts, do you suppose, would have the larger impact upon the minds of Ghana citizens? You and I know that the personal insult to men of color would far out-weigh the national gesture.

So the bold and stirring program of aid to the new African nations which President Eisenhower presented to the United Nations may be completely nullified by the official policy of a lone Southern state. The world may be plunged into chaos or holocaust, men by millions may be seared and pulverized, because Negroes are kept out of schools.

The choice may not be between segregation and integration. It may be between integration and <u>dis</u>integration.

Surely then, upon the political front, pressures, self-created and imposed from abroad, push the South into the main stream of this century.

Upon the legal front the pressures are even more clearly evident with prospective results more imminent.

I need hardly remind you of a whole spate of statutes and constitutional amendments adopted by the resistant states in the wake of the school decision. These were designed to preserve the shaky edifice of segregation. With monotonous regularity, they have been struck down by the courts. Only one survived. It is the pupil assignment act.

You are aware that, under that act, school boards may assign pupils to schools

upon the basis of certain factors, none of which, of course, is race. The court held that the act is constitutional upon its face, though keeping open the question of constitutionality in application. That decision brought great cheer to the segregationists. "Massive resistance" was gone but there would be only "token integration".

Mr. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, put the matter quite baldly:

"There are indications that it may be legally possible for Southern states to satisfy the Federal courts, keep open their public schools, and yet to hold mixing of the races in the schools at an absolute minimum."

It seems almost presumptuous to give news to a newspaper man, but we have news for Mr. Dabney. He might find it enlightening to consult the New York Times of September 18.

"There is evidence at hand", The Times says, "to suggest that the long patience of the Federal Courts toward Southern delaying tactics on school integration is wearing thin."

After reviewing decisions affecting Houston and New Orleans, The Times reports:

"But perhaps more significant than these judicial stands against open intransigence have been some less-publicized Appellate Court rulings that could, in the long run, threaten what has so far been the South's most effective legal weapon. This has been, and is, the use of so-called pupil assignment plans to hold school integration down to a trickle."

The Times then discusses appellate court decisions affecting Dollarway, Arkansas, and Norfold, Virginia. Time doesn't permit detailed analysis of those decisions, but the conclusion drawn from them follows:

"What the recent opinions should indicate to the South is that the process of desegregation is not going to end with a handful of Negroes filtered into white shools. Some day, even if not right away, Negro children will be entitled to enter public school systems without being channeled here or there on account of their race."

So, upon the political front, where both parties have gone beyond any prior commitments in the Civil Rights field, and upon the legal front, proponents of a legalized caste system for the South are in utter rout.

All of these momentous developments have occurred since your last annual meeting. They have occurred in the year 1960 -- political conventions, African membership in the United Nations and historic judicial decisions. But these events are dwarfed by a movement having no political, legal or judicial origin.

Perhaps the greatest compliment ever paid one man by another was that paid Benjamin Franklin by Tom Paine. When asked where he was born, Paine replied, "I was born in a cafe in Paris the night I met Ben Franklin.

In a real sense the culminating drive against segregation had its birth at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when some Negro college students ordered a cup of coffee.

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea -- I am a bourbon and branch water man myself -- but the Greensboro Coffee Party deserves to rank with the Boston Tea Party in inaugurating a revolution. I will let Lipton and Maxwell House fight out that issue between themselves. Neither has given me any payola, so I give them no plug.

The year 1960 may have interest to the historian for many reasons. Not the least

of these will be because an idea emerged in the South -- an idea which had application to the entire region.

You will note that I do not say the idea was then and there evolved. I say it emerged and it had application. For the idea itself -- non-violent resistance to tyranny - was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, Jr., the idea on February 1,1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

There is epic drama in the emergence of such an idea at such a time and place. It emerged in the South in the year 1960. There is a jarring contrast between the gentle and humane philosophy of non-violence and the prevailing spirit and mood. A Sophocles or a Shakespeare would have arranged it thus.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York. More than incidentally, violence has often been the ready tool of some segregationists.

We hear much of "our way of life." I am never sure what our friends mean, but it is the way of violence.

It was against this backdrop of raw, red violence, into this world of bared fangs and claws, that the idea of non-violence entered a Greensboro lunch room on February 1.

So you may see at once how heretical to most Southerners was the idea that, as the race is not always to the swift, victory is not always to the violent.

Here then, for the resistant South, is a completely new concept -- certainly a completely new tactic in securing social change.

Let us pause for a moment to point out two facts of utmost significance about this new tactic.

First, it is an exclusively Negro conception. The movement that rocked the South was the product of brains of Negro boys in a college dormitory at Greensboro. If the white South views this phenomenon realistically, must it not ask certain questions: If non-violence may secure results so sweeping and profound, may we not have erred in relying upon violence? If violence is proven the incorrect policy, what about its city cousinc, intimidation and repression, which are nothing but kid glove violence?

If a custom a century old may be upset by a few resolute and poised college students at lunch counters, is it entitled to survive elsewhere? And, finally, if Negro brains could conceive and execute so unorthodox and masterly a campaign, could not such brains be profitably utilized in all other phases of Southern life?

I must state quite frankly that I doubt that many white Southernere at the moment are asking such questions. But the questions are inherent in the situation. They will be asked by increasing numbers. They demand answers. We cannot forever deafen our ears to them. And the ultimate answer will mean the employment of full Negro skill and talent and ability everywhere in the South.

So, in a social revolution of first magnitude, origination and direction have come from the Negro community. This is as it should be.

But -- and this is the second point upon which I wish to comment -- in some instances, particularly in North Carolina, white college students and professors have marched with Negroes on the picket line, sat with them on the lunch stools and gone with them to jail. If leadership has been the Negroes', loyal support has come from the whites. I think you may search Southern history without uncovering a precedent.

As a white man, I hope you will let me point out that the white students and professors could have eaten anywhere. To fight another's battles requires character in superlative degree.

May I dilate a bit upon this idea. I do so because it marks a long leap forward in men's relations with each other.

Macaulay said that "If the law of gravity had disturbed vested rights it would not be accepted to this day."

Disraeli remarked that any noble lady of England would be more concerned about pinching her little finger in a door than about the drowning of 10,000 Chinese in a flood of the Yangtze River.

And, finally, Tolstoi said: "The poor are hungry and we feed them; the poor are naked and we clothe them; the poor need shelter and we put roofs over their heads. But we won't get off their backs."

These fairly cynical and somber reflections upon human nature were made by highly intelligent and civilized men. They proclaim man's determination to preserve a favored status for himself and his unconcern with the plight of others. No one may question the legitimacy of the observations.

And yet --

In significant instances white college students and professors, representing many institutions, have leaped into the struggle. They sought voluntarily to give up their preferred status -- their vested right, if you please -- and they showed the deepest concern with the plight of others.

So the lunch counter struggle was lifted above the ruck of an interracial brawl. It was not whites versus Negroes; it was the decency of whites and Negroes versus indency and injustice.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in Athens. He replied "When those who have not suffered injustice are as indignant as those who have." If he were alive today he would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward that high ideal.

Yet, of course, the South is a region of contrasts. (Nature seems to delight in

producing contrasts.) So, in the interest of historical accuracy, it must be pointed out that this evidence of groping toward the ideal of complete justice exists side by side with evidence of retreat from all conception of justice, indeed retreat from civilization itself.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to re-produce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, - that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter and better world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

SOME EVENTS OF 1960:

THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH CAROLINA

Address by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

before

Annual Meeting South Carolina Council on Human Rights

at

Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

November 1, 1960

SOME EVENTS OF 1960:
THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH CAROLINA

I must be very careful what I say here today. A little while ago in Virginia I predicted the end of "massive resistance." Evidently the Supreme Court was listening. You know what has happened.

A little later in Tennessee, I managed to get in a kind word about a certain United States Senator, whose name I dare not mention. What was the result? The Tennessee voters rushed to the polls to send him back to Washington. I had no idea they would take me so seriously. It make a man watch his words.

The whole country had its eye on that race. It now has its eye on races of all Southern politicians. When the race is in Virginia, we are all Byrd watchers.

I must tell you, too, that since we last met, and just prior to the victory in Tennessee, we in North Carolina were burying under a blanket of ballots, one who beat the tom-toms for segregation. A few years ago, the same type of anti-Negro campaign in North Carolina produced a victory over Dr. Frank Graham, one of the state's most enlightened citizens. So rapidly has public opinion shifted as it has become informed! In the delicate and important task of informing the public, your own Council on Human Relations and the Councils of all states have played significant roles.

The recent session of the Congress has seen the Southern senatorial bloc reduced to a position of relative futility. Only by the aid of Northern Republicans -- that unholy alliance -- were they able to maim, but not destroy, civil rights legislation. The four senators from Tennessee and Texas have defected. Among those who remain, only such characters as Eastland of Mississippi and Talmadge of Georgia may be said to be white supremacy advocates of the old school, to carry on the Bilbo, Tillman, Cole Blease and "Cotton Ed" Smith tradition.

Among those nominally members of the bloc are men of such attainments as

Fulbright, Hill, Sparkman and Long who obviously gag and retch as they observe the tribal rituals.

So, as the recent Senate debate made clear, the obstructionists are fewer in number and weaker in conviction. Instead of inspiring awe or fear, they are now merely a little ridiculous, a little pathetic.

The national pressure upon our politicians daily increases. It is the most subtle and effective kind of pressure in that it involves national recognition, appreciation and reward for meritorious conduct. Governor Collins, of Florida, was honored by being made chairman of the Democratic Convention, over which he presided with dignity and grace. Governor Hodges, of North Carolina, is an important figure in the councils of the party. It seems more than an inadvertant omission that such party stalwarts of by-gone days as Eastland, Byrd, Talmadge, Thurmond, and Byrnes are left to wither in the wings - off - stage. The quality which they have in common is devotion to the cause of a segregated society. In 1960, endorsement of that cause is the quickest form of national political suicide.

What do these developments portend?

Throughout the South, in law schools and elsewhere, young men and, I hope, young women, are contemplating careers in politics. They observe the trend of the times. They read handwriting on walls. Assuming, without conceding, that they hitch their wagons? They wish to ride the wave of the future. Does that wave flow toward a program of freezing men and women into a fixed status, dividing them into hostile and sullen groups, the racially elite and the racially outcast? The most dangerous and discredited figure of our times is the one who would drive lines of cleavage between men. The one whom the South of the future will delight to honor is he who seeks, not to preserve, but to strike down, such artificial walls and barriers.

These truths, I am sure, will be as evident to the budding politician as to

you and me. If so, there is now in incubation a new breed of Southern political leader, one oriented to national and international consciousness. The sense of sectional solidarity, with which we have so long been afflicted, will perish in the new day.

Not only are forces here at home propelling us into the twentieth century. The force from abroad is even more compulsive and urgent.

One day last month, thirteen new African nations became members of the United Nations. The nations of Africa and Asia now constitute almost fifty per cent of the membership. They are non-white members. Their destinies have heretofore been very largely in white hands. The converse could become true. I hope it will be more consistent with truth to say that the color of hands will not enter into the destiny of any nation, or any individual, for that matter, but that the combined wisdom of all men, distilled at the United Nations, will shape the destinies of us all.

But certainly the emergence of non-white peoples throughout the world, their new position of international authority, has a lesson for us here in the South. We need desperately to get along with these new fellow members in the family of nations. We need their sympathy and support, as, indeed, they need ours. The Southern attitude can be crucial in securing and holding sympathy and support.

Now, the Civil Rights movement in this country is designed to guarantee the Constitutional rights of all people--including colored people. You may be sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa know what is happening to their brethren in this country. The Russian propaganda machine sees to that. So they are aware of the resistance movement in the South, aware of speeches made in Washington and in the State capitals, aware of the shabby and fraudulent tricks used to deny rights to people of color in the South, aware of burnings, boycotts and bombings.

Let us suppose that the colored citizens of Ghana were simultaneously informe

of certain facts. They were told that the United States government had made a grant to Ghana for the purpose of building a dam. They were also told that a Southern state had announced no Negro should attend its law school; or that Negroes must ride in the back end of buses in a certain city; or that another city sold its golf course rather than permit Negroes to play on it; or that a United States Senator gave active support to an organization set up to keep Negroes in their place. And so on indefinitely. Which kind of facts, do you suppose, would have the larger impact upon the minds of Ghana citizens? You and I know that the personal insult to men of color would far out-weigh the national gesture.

So the bold and stirring program of aid to the new African nations which President Eisenhower presented to the United Nations may be completely nullified by the official policy of a lone Southern state. The world may be plunged into chaos or holocaust, men by millions may be seared and pulverized, because Negroes are kept out of schools.

The choice may not be between segregation and integration. It may be between integration and disintegration.

Surely then, upon the political front, pressures, self-created and imposed from abroad, push the South into the main stream of this century.

Upon the legal front the pressures are even more clearly evident with prospective results more imminent.

I need hardly remind you of a whole spate of statutes and constitutional amendments adopted by the resistant states in the wake of the school decision. These were designed to preserve the shaky edifice of segregation. With monotonous regularity, they have been struck down by the courts. Only one survived. It is the pupil assignment act.

You are aware that, under that act, school boards may assign pupils to

schools upon the basis of certain factors, none of which, of course, is race. The court held that the act is constitutional upon its face, though keeping open the question of constitutionality in application. That decision brought great cheer to the segregationists. "Massive resistance" was gone but there would be only "token integration".

Mr. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, put the matter quite baldly:

"There are indications that it may be legally possible for Southern states to satisfy the Federal courts, keep open their public schools, and yet to hold mixing of the races in the schools at an absolute minimum."

It seems almost presumptuous to give news to a newspaper man, but we have news for Mr. Dabney. He might find it enlightening to consult the New York Times of September 18.

"There is evidence at hand", The Times says, "to suggest that the long patience of the Federal Courts toward Southern delaying tactics on school integration is wearing thin."

After reviewing decisions affecting Houston and New Orleans, The Times reports:

"But perhaps more significant than these judicial stands against open intransigeance have been some less-publicized Appellate Court rulings that could, in the long run, threaten what has so far been the South's most effective legal weapon. This has been, and is, the use of so-called pupil assignment plans to hold school integration down to a trickle."

The Times then discusses appellate court decisions affecting Dollarway, Arkansas, and Norfolk, Virginia. Time doesn't permit detailed analysis of those decisions, but the conclusion drawn from them follows:

"What the recent opinions should indicate to the South is that the process

of desegregation is not going to end with a handful of Negroes filtered into white schools. Some day, even if not right away, Negro children will be entitled to enter public school systems without being channeled here or there on account of their race."

So, upon the political front, where both parties have gone beyond any prior commitments in the Civil Rights field, and upon the legal front, proponents of a legalized caste system for the South are in utter rout.

All of these momentous developments have occurred since your last annual meeting. They have occurred in the year 1960 -- political conventions, African membership in The United Nations and historic judicial decisions. But these events are dwarfed by a movement having no political, legal or judicial origin.

Perhaps the greatest compliment ever paid one man by another was that paid Benjamin Franklin by Tom Paine. When asked where he was born, Paine replied, "I was born in a cafe in Paris the night I met Ben Franklin."

In a real sense the culminating drive against segregation had its birth at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when some Negro college students ordered a cup of coffee.

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea-- I am a bourbon and branch water man myself -- but the Greensboro Coffee Party deserves to rank with the Boston Tea Party in inaugurating a revolution. I will let Lipton and Maxwell House fight out that issue between themselves. Neither has given me any payola, so I give them no plug.

The year 1960 may have interest to the historian for many reasons. Not the least of these will be because an idea emerged in the South -- an idea which had application to the entire region.

You will note that I do not say the idea was then and there evolved. I say it emerged and it had application. For the idea itself -- non-violent resistance

to tyranny - was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meshack and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

There is epic drama in the emergence of such an idea at such a time and place. It emerged in the South in the year 1960. There is a jarring contrast between the gentle and humane philosophy of non-violence and the prevailing spirit and mood. A sophocles or a Shakespeare would have arranged it thus.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York. More

than incidentally, violence has often been the ready tool of some segregationists.

We hear much of "our way of life." I am never sure what our friends mean, but it is the way of violence.

I am quite aware that the segregationist will say; "Oh, yes, but a large part of our crime is attributable to the Negro." For the sake of argument only, let us make that concession. What are the implications?

May I draw an analogy? Here is a child who, all his life, has had orange juice for breakfast (Florida papers please copy), a balanced and nourishing diet, cod liver oil and all the rest. Here is another who has had none of these things, but who has been reared on corn bread and fatback. What right has the well nourished child to say to the other: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself for being stunted and having rickets."

Now, anyone who knows anything in the world about crime knows that there are factors which inevitably produce it. Slum conditions, lack of access to parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, inferior education, exclusion from concerts, art galleries, libraries, even picture shows, and, above all else, being branded as a second-class citizen -- these are among the ingredients of which crime is compounded.

My point is that, tragically often in the South, the Negro has had imposed upon him a regime of intellectual and cultural malnutrition. It comes with poor grace from those who have imposed the regime to disclaim responsibility for its results. Much of black crime has a white origin.

It was against this backdrop of raw, red violence, into this world of bared fangs and claws, that the idea of non-violence entered a Greensboro lunch room on February 1.

So you may see at once how heretical to most Southerners was the idea that, as the race is not always to the swift, victory is not always to the violent.

Here then, for the resistant South, is a completely new concept -- certainly a completely new tactic, in securing social change.

Let us pause for a moment to point out two facts of utmost significance about this new tactic.

First, it is an exclusively Negro conception. The movement that rocked the South was the product of brains of Negro boys in a college dormitory at Greensboro. If the white South views this phenomenon realistically, must it not ask certain questions: If non-violence may secure results so sweeping and profound, may we not have erred in relying upon violence? If violence is proven the incorrect policy, what about its city cousins, intimidation and repression, which are nothing but kid glove violence? If a custom a century old may be upset by a few resolute and poised college students at lunch counters, is it entitled to survive elsewhere? And, finally, if Negro brains could conceive and execute so unorthodox and masterly a campaign, could not such brains be profitably utilized in all other phases of Southern life?

I must state quite frankly that I doubt that many white Southerners at the moment are asking such questions. But the questions are inherent in the situation. They will be asked by increasing numbers. They demand answers. We cannot forever deafen our ears to them. And the ultimate answer will mean the employment of full Negro skill and talent and ability everywhere in the South.

So, in a social revolution of first magnitude, origination and direction have come from the Negro community. This is as it should be.

But -- and this is the second point upon which I wish to comment -- in some instances, particularly in North Carolina, white college students and professors have marched with Negroes on the picket line, sat with them on the lunch stools and gone with them to jail. If leadership has been the Negroes', loyal support has come from the whites. I think you may search Southern history without

uncovering a precedent.

As a white man, I hope you will let me point out that the white students and professors could have eaten anywhere. To fight another's battles requires character in superlative degree.

May I dilate a bit upon this idea. I do so because it marks a long leap forward in men's relations with each other.

Macaulay said, "If the law of gravity had disturbed vested rights it would not be accepted to this day."

Disraeli remarked that any noble lady of England would be more concerned about pinching her little finger in a door than about the drowning of 10,000 Chinese in a flood of the Yangtze River.

And, finally, Tolstoi said, "The poor are hungry and we feed them; the poor are naked and we clothe them; the poor need shelter and we put roofs over their heads. But we won't get off their backs."

These fairly cynical and somber reflections upon human nature were made by highly intelligent and civilized men. They proclaim man's determination to preserve a favored status for himself and his unconcern with the plight of others. No one may question the legitimacy of the observations.

And yet --

In significant instances white college students and professors, representing many institutions, have leaped into the struggle. They sought voluntarily to give up their preferred status -- their vested right, if you please -- and they showed the deepest concern with the plight of others.

So the lunch counter struggle was lifted above the ruck of an interracial brawl. It was not whites versus Negroes; it was the decency of whites and Negroes versus indecency and injustice.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in

Athens. He replied,"When those who have not suffered injustice are as indignant as those who have." If he were alive today he would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward that high ideal.

Yet, of course, the South is a region of contrasts. (Nature seems to delight in producing contrasts.) So, in the interest of historical accuracy, it must be pointed out that this evidence of groping toward the ideal of complete justice exists side by side with evidence of retreat from all conception of justice, indeed retreat from civilization itself.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to re-produce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and

social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life, The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, -- that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

"CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

by

Marion A. Wright

Linville Falls, North Carolina

Presented at the Annual Meeting of

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

NOVEMBER 15, 1960

Atlanta, Georgia

Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected.... but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

Our manners, then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?

Since February 1, 1960 -- of course long before, for that matter -- the manners of Southern whites have been an object of world interest. On that date a few Negro college boys entered a lunch room in Greensboro, North Carolina and ordered a cup of coffee.

Good manners, on which we pride ourselves, should have prompted us to say, "sit down, draw up a chair, have a cup of coffee" -- things we have been taught to say since childhood. But we didn't speak those warm and simple phrases. Because of our failure, we have undergone some months of turmoil and unrest. We have produced a sense of shock throughout the world.

There began on a regional scale a campaign of civil disobedience. The idea was not new of course. The principle of non-violent resistance to tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

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The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. It, of course, does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt.

The consciences of Quakers do not permit them to engage in war. They are, therefore, excused from military service. Consciences of Jehovah's Witnesses do not permit them to salute the flag -- which they liken to a graven image. Non-violently, they refused to do so and their action was upheld by the courts. The right of Quakers to refuse to take oaths

in court, or elsewhere, is respected. School children of certain faiths are not required to attend religious chapel services. And so on.

These activities conflict with conscience. The proper way to raise the legal issue is to refuse non-violently to conform.

In the same way one raises the legal issue when he is denied rights and privileges enjoyed by others. To refuse to submit is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he submits there can be no test.

I think it is evident to all students of constitutional law that, once the legal issue is squarely presented, the right of Negro persons to eat at public eating places will be upheld.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any state action discriminating against a person on account of race. When a state issues a charter, or a city a license, to engage in the restaurant business, there is state action which makes the operation legal and permissible. If the operation is featured by racial discrimination, there is conflict with the Constitution.

Under modern conditions, public eating places are an essential feature of normal living. To deprive a person of a right to eat is to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience and hardship. A place of business, operating under state sanction, is forbidden by the Constitution from racial imposition of such inconvenience and hardship.

With every privilege there is a corresponding duty. When one secures the privilege of operating a public necessity, he accepts the privilege with express or implied limitations. Among these is the qualification that the business shall not be so operated as to needlessly inflict damage upon members of the public. To discriminate racially against possible customers is to inflict upon them the physical hardship and the mental anguish inseparable from denial of service.

A business avails itself of facilities and instrumentalities provided by the public. It could not exist without them. The road, the sidewalk, in front of his store, are provided by public funds. His police and fire protection and, water and electricity, are publicly supplied. There is inspection of sanitation, of premises, and health of personnel. Taxes pay for all of these services. A part of the Negro's tax dollar is included. Is it constitutional for the Negro to be required to pay for services in aid of a business serving only white people?

It was against injustices such as these that the sit-ins were directed. They are in the best tradition of this country from the Boston Tea Party to the Greensboro Coffee Party -- from Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to Martin Luther King.

Thomas Jefferson announced the principle that there are certain rights with which everyone is born. Since they were not conferred by government, government is powerless to take them away. Among them is the right to life, liberty and the

pursuit of happiness. No federal government, no state or city government, and no business authorized by anyone of them, may place road blocks in the way of such pursuit.

The sit-in movement is a test of the validity of that principle. It is based upon Jefferson's maxim.

We are concerned with the national image. That image acquired new luster from the conduct of college boys and girls, of both races, calm, poised and resolute, who demonstrated that moral power alone, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable and ultimate victor over oppression.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

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THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES AT HOME AND ABROAD

An Address by

Mr. Marion A. Wright

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of the
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Member of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the
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Given Before the

First Session, 1960-61 Leadership Clinic

November 17, 1960

McGregor Memorial Conference Center
Detroit, Michigan

Sponsored by the

Coordinating Council on Human Relations
of the

City of Detroit, Commission on Community Relations

In a Scottish village some time ago a sixteen year old boy was roughly handled by two policemen. His injuries were minor and superficial. From the viewpoints of force employed and damage inflicted, the incident was not one of gravity.

But, in the British view, the facts that any unnecessary force was employed and any damage was inflicted in themselves made the incident one of extreme public concern. The local Scottish authorities seemed to move slowly in imposing discipline upon the officers. Throughout the British Isles there developed a tide of public sentiment demanding that action be taken. Summit conferences, the cold war, the conquest of space, of course received a share of British attention. But they were secondary to one case of official mistreatment of a lone youth.

Debate erupted in the House of Commons. Prime Minister McMillan turned his attention from cosmic matters long enough to make a statement on the floor. Government created a board of inquiry to learn the facts and recommend appropriate action. Traditional British justice found full expression.

Mr. Churchill upon another occasion, when the Empire stood in mortal peril from searing and scalding bombs, referred to that as being Britain's "finest hour." Time will tell. But surely a profound national concern with the invasion of rights of a single Scottish boy reflects a quality in Englishmen no less praiseworthy than the physical courage with which they bore the ordeal from the skies.

What American did not receive a momentary lift of spirit from the incident! Who among us was not proud to have a relationship by blood, by tradition, or by nurture upon the same common law, with the people who employed the full resources of government to redress a trivial wrong!

I refer to this incident because we are concerned here tonight with national images. What happened in the case of the Scottish boy served to help create in our minds an image of Great Britain, more particularly, of British justice. One swallow doesn't make a summer and one incident doesn't make an image. But we can dredge up from depths of memory other incidents illustrating British concern with the civil rights of British subjects.

From a synthesis of these there emerges a conception of a nation resolute always that the full power of government shall be employed to

maintain the rights of the humblest citizen.

National images arise, then, from acts of government. We have been through some weeks of debate of the national prestige. Is it at an all time high, an all time low, or just middlin', as we say down my way? I listened to all of the debate, as I am sure you did. We heard much of missiles, of satellites, of nuclear-powered submarines, of the national economy. The assumption seemed to be that prestige could be statistically computed; it was largely a matter of war-heads and stock piles.

I don't want to resurrect that debate. Certainly, I don't want to get into a semantic question involving "prestige" and "image." But, diffidently, I suggest to Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy that, above all other, the image which we should strive to create abroad is of a nation deeply concerned with strict and literal enforcement of the rights of every citizen of this republic.

Of course, I do not limit that concern to the federal government. Any single American state can create a national image. Virginia, with its "massive resistance;" Arkansas, with its use of the national guard to keep a few Negro pupils out of public schools; Louisiana, with its special legislative session; North Carolina, with its "token integration;" Mississippi, with its Emmet Till case; Georgia and Alabama, with their callous mistreatment of Dr. Martin Luther King; South Carolina, with its patrolman turning fire hoses on peaceful demonstrators--all of these and more besmirch the national image.

Foreign nationals do not think of individual states as perpetrators of these infamies. In view of the dual nature of our citizenship, they are merely practical when they attribute to the nation as a whole responsibility for such outrages.

A favorite phrase of Southern politicans is "Northern meddling in our affairs." The idea seems to be that Yankees should keep their cotton picking hands off affairs that are none of their business. But, of course, they are your business. The persons against whom official persecution is directed are, of course, citizens of particular states. They are no less citizens of America. Indeed, they are, in a broader sense, citizens of the world. There will come a time when world government will concern itself with injustice

done to any citizen of this globe.

Of course, one of the great differences between North and South is that, in the South there remains in Constitutions and statute books a formidable array of laws designed to preserve segregation. I think it does not take an expert in constitutional law to declare that these laws will ultimately be struck down. But much time will be required; meanwhile one violates them at his peril. Outside of the South, if I may risk the generalization, no such laws obtain. Hence, I will assume that there is not to be found here an actual exertion of State power to operate detrimentally against any member of a minority group.

I am not so sure about your cities, because I do not know where the line is drawn between official municipal action and mere mass public pressure. But, I must say that we in the South occasionally read of serious resistance in New York, Detroit and elsewhere to integration of public schools and in housing. We read of exclusion from hotels and other forms of racial discrimination. Let me say to you quite frankly that such events are joyfully hailed by the Southern segregationist. They bring him aid and comfort. They strengthen his hand.

But we are here concerned with national images. Such may be created by city action. I mention the names of certain cities--Little Rock, Arkansas; Clinton, Tennessee; Montgomery, Alabama; Poplarville, Mississippi; Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Those may be lovely and charming cities, but their names evoke sordid memories. In all countries the names are familiar. They and the train of ideas of which they are the core contribute to the picture we present to the rest of the world. They help to create the national image.

Let no city, then, indulge the fiction that what it does--distinctions which it makes in the treatment of its citizens--have no extramural effect. Consequences of municipal action may develop in the world's remote corners. They help to create abroad, not merely an image of a city, but an image of this nation as well.

Activities of the nation, the state and the city by no means complete the picture, tell the whole story. There remains the role of the private citizen, the largest role of all.

In more than a figurative sense, each one of us is an ambassador of his country. We represent, speak for it. The American abroad viewed by other nationals, carries with him a fraction of his country's essence.

And, at home, seen in his native habitat by a foreigner, he is part of a composite embodiment of national aim and purpose.

All of us, of course, are not ugly Americans. But the species exists in in sufficient number to have impact on world opinion. There is, for example, the hotel clerk determining what guests he will accept; the real estate broker deciding what people shall live in certain sections of a city; the lunch counter operator choosing the color of his customers; the ticket seller passing judgement on who shall see what shows and where he will sit; the taxi driver selecting his fares, and so on--in the keeping of these, in the decisions made by little men and women, rest the nation's name and fame.

Our Supreme Court, of course, announces vastly important decisions affecting men's relations with each other. No one would detract for one moment from the significance of such pronouncements. But they come from men who are no cross-section of the country's thinking, who are aloof and scholarly, who write from chill and distant heights. We will not be wholly judged abroad by the decisions of such men.

But the American genius, the spirit and character of our people, is revealed in the day to day decisions of average men and women, their opinions, expressions, gestures, laughs and frowns--whatever discloses, consciously or sub-consciously, their pre-delections, biases, prejudices, likes and dislikes, their attitudes toward their fellows.

But it is more than decisions themselves; it is in part the manner in which they are made and announced.

Recently I rode through North Carolina with a Negro friend whose son was one of a few non-whites attending a state university. My friend asked his son "Why do you come home every week-end?" The reply was "To get out of that ice box."

It seems that the boy's fellow students were punctilious in their relations and attitudes. But they withheld the warmth and informality of full friendship and acceptance.

The icily correct may wound as deeply as the vulgarly brutal.

So, then, the image of a nation is found in the conduct of its government--at all levels--and the manners of its citizens. Perhaps more in the manners. For, as Emerson observed, "Your manners are always under

examination and by committees little suspected. . . but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

A welter of private acts, fully as significantly as official edicts, determines our nation's place and acceptance in the forum of world opinion.

For example, no official act of President Theodore Roosevelt advanced the cause of civil rights half so effectively as his entertainment of Booker T. Washington at the White House, a purely private activity. I have in recent years, when some cities are selling their golf courses, rather than permit Negroes to play, and other cities are throwing Negro players into jail--I have thought how electric would have been the effect of the President's example if a Negro friend had been a member of his foursome out at Burning Tree.

The example of the private citizen, of course, carries no such weight. But he is not thereby relieved of responsibility to set the example. Examples are the stuff of which public policy is fashioned. And the sum total of the examples creates the image of the nation.

There is a further feature about example. The effect is not limited to the area of action in which it occurred. It invades other areas.

The White Citizens Councils of the South were formed for the sole purpose of "keeping the Negro in his place," of preserving racial segregation. They were not effectively rebuked. Many Southern politicians nestled close to them. They achieved a certain respectability. But not too long a time elapsed until synagogues were bombed, and, in all of the area which they infest, in the recent political campaign religious bigotry was most intense and virulent. Examples of racial intolerance move the suggestible to demonstrate intolerance in religion, and, indeed, in the whole realm of thought and conviction.

It was almost 200 years ago that Thomas Jefferson wrote that we must "have a decent regard to the opinion of mankind." The phrase has lain somewhat dormant in consciousness. Why have we so suddenly begun to appreciate its wisdom?

Is it not because of the present balance of power in the world and the competition between systems?

On a day in September, thirteen new African nations became members of The United Nations. The nations of Africa and Asia now constitute almost fifty per cent of the membership. They are non-white members. Their destinies have heretofore been very largely in white hands. The converse

could become true. I hope it will be more consistent with truth to say that the color of hands will not enter into the destiny of any nation, or any individual, for that matter, but that the combined wisdom of all men, distilled at The United Nations, will shape the destinies of us all.

But certainly the emergence of non-white peoples throughout the world, their new position of international authority, has a lesson for all of us. We need desperately to get along with these new fellow members in the family of nations. We need their sympathy and support, as, indeed, they need ours. Our attitude can be crucial in securing and holding sympathy and support.

Now, the Civil Rights movement in this country is designed to guarantee the Constitutional rights of all people--including colored people. You may be sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa know what is happening to their brethren in this country. The Russian propaganda machine sees to that. So they are aware of the resistance movement in the South, aware of speeches made in Washington and in the State capitols, aware of the shabby and fraudulent tricks used to deny rights to people of color in the South, aware of burnings, boycotts and bombings, aware of resistance to school integration in Detroit.

Let us suppose that the colored citizens of Ghana were simultaneously informed of certain facts. They were told that the United States government had made a grant to Ghana for the purpose of building a dam. They were also told that a state had announced no Negro should attend its law school; or that Negroes must ride in the back end of buses in a certain city; or that another city sold its golf course rather than permit Negroes to play on it; or that a United States Senator gave active support to an organization set up to keep Negroes in their place. And so on indefinitely. Which kind of facts, do you suppose, would have the larger impact upon the minds of Ghana citizens ? You and I know that the personal insult to men of color would far out-weigh the national gesture.

So the bold and stirring program of aid to the new African nations which President Eisenhower presented to The United Nations may be completely nullified by the official policy of a lone state. The world may be plunged into chaos or holocaust, men by millions may be seared and pulverized, because Negroes are kept out of schools.

The choice may not be between integration and segregation. It may be between integration and dis-integration.

There is appreciation of this solemn and evident truth. Both political parties in their platforms went far beyond prior commitments. Such Southern Democratic political stalwarts as Byrnes, Byrd, Talmadge and Eastland were overwhelmed. The courts, too, give evidence that their patience with Southern delaying tactics is wearing thin. These have been developments of the year 1960. But these events are dwarfed by a movement having no political, judicial or legal origin.

Perhaps the greatest compliment ever paid one man by another was that paid Benjamin Franklin by Tom Paine. When asked where he was born, Paine replied, "I was born in a cafe in Paris the night I met Ben Franklin."

In a real sense the culminating drive against segregation had its birth at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when some Negro college students ordered a cup of coffee.

The year 1960 may have interest to the historian for many reasons. Not the least of these will be because an idea emerged in the South--an idea which had application to the entire region.

You will note that I do not say the idea was then and there conceived. I say it emerged and it had application. For the idea itself--non-violent resistance to tyranny--was old when the pyramids were raised. Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

There is epic drama in the emergence of such an idea at such a time and place. It emerged in the South in the year 1960. There is a jarring contrast between the gentle and humane philosophy of non-violence and the prevailing spirit and mood. A Sophocles or a Shakespeare would have arranged it thus.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficiemt for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths times the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York. More than incidentally, violence has often been the ready tool of some segregationists.

We hear much of "our way of life." I am never sure what our friends mean, but it is the way of violence.

It was against this backdrop of raw, red violence, into this world of bared fangs and claws, that the idea of non-violence entered a Greensboro lunch room on February 1.

Here, then, for the resistant South, is a completely new concept, certainly a completely new tactic in securing social change.

It is an exclusively Negro conception. The movement that rocked the South was the product of brains of Negro boys in a college dormitory at Greensboro. Inevitably the insistent question will be asked throughout the South: If Negro brains can conceive and execute so unorthodox and masterly a campaign, could not such brains be profitably utilized in all other phases of Southern life?

We are concerned with the national image. That image acquired new luster from the conduct of college boys and girls, calm, poised and resolute, who demonstrated that moral power alone, schooled, channelled and disciplined, is the inevitable and ultimate victor over oppression.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings, I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to re-produce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation, in the South or in Detroit, retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with mis-conceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Members of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, --that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter and better world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 7, 1960

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

My apologies for the crude form of the enclosed. I wrote it at Atlanta University the night before your meeting and have no available stenographer.

Don't let your girl detach the pages before copying; she would never get it correctly arranged again.

If this is reproduced in bulk, I will charge you an honorarium of 50 copies for my private mailing list.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely
Marion A. Wright

Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected... but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

Our manners, then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?

1

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

~~Our manners, then, are always on display. ~~ We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?~~

Since Feb. 1, 1960, — of course, long before, for that matter — ~~our manners~~ the manners of Southern whites have been an object of world interest. On that date a few Negro college boys entered a lunch room in Greensboro, N.C. and ordered a cup of coffee.

Good manners, ~~the~~ on which we pride ourselves, should have prompted us to say "Sit down. Draw up a chair. Have a cup of coffee" — things we have been taught to say since childhood. But we didn't speak those warm and simple phrases. Because of our failure, we have undergone some months of turmoil and

2

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

unrest. We have produced a sense of shock throughout the world.

There began ~~for the first time on this country~~ on a regional scale a campaign of civil disobedience. The idea was not new of course. ~~Non~~ The principle of non-violent resistance to ~~the~~ tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is ~~an~~ honored one in this country. ~~This~~ It, of course does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peacably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience or which place upon him

3

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt.

The consciences of Quakers do not permit them to engage in war. They are therefore excused from military service. Consciences of Jehovah's Witnesses do not permit them to salute the flag - which they liken to a graven image. Non-violently, they refused to do so and their action was upheld by the courts. The right of Quakers to refuse to take oaths or affirm in court is respected. School children of certain faiths are not required to attend religious chapel services. And so on.

These activities conflict with conscience. The proper

4

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

way to raise the legal issue is to refuse ~~to conform~~. non-violently to conform.

In the same way one raises the legal issue when he is denied rights and privileges enjoyed by others. To refuse to submit is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he submits there can be no test.

I think it is evident to all students of constitutional law that, once the legal issue is squarely presented the right of Negro persons to eat at public eating places will be upheld.

5

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any state action discriminating against a person on account of race. When a state issues a charter, or a city a license, to engage in the restaurant business, there is state action which makes the operation legal and permissible. If the operation ~~is~~ ~~[illegible]~~ is featured by racial discrimination, there is conflict with the constitution.

Under modern conditions public eating places are an essential feature of normal living. To deprive a person of a right to eat is to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience and hardship. A place of business, operating

6

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

under state sanction is forbidden by the constitution from ~~imposs~~ racial imposition of such inconvenience and hardship.

~~Page 6~~

~~We are concerned~~

With every privilege there is a corresponding duty. When one secures the privilege of operating a public necessity he accepts the privilege with express or implied limitations. Among these is the qualification that the business shall not be so operated as ~~to dama~~ needlessly to inflict damage upon members of the public. To discriminate racially against possible customers

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

is to inflict upon them the physical hardship and the mental anguish inseparable from denial of service.

A business avails itself of facilities and instrumentalities provided by the public. It could not exist without them. The road, the sidewalk, in front of his store, are provided by public funds. His police and fire protection and, in many instances his water and electricity, are publicly supplied. There is ~~public inspection of premises and personnel~~ inspection of sanitation of premises and health of personnel. Taxes pay for all

8

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

of these services. A part of the Negro's tax dollar is included. Is it constitutional for the Negro to be required to pay for services in aid of a business ~~which he is serving only white people? not allowed to patronize~~?

It was against injustices such as these that the sit-ins were directed. They are in the best ~~of~~ tradition of this country from the Boston Tea Party to the Greensboro Coffee Party - ~~present~~ - from Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to Martin Luther King.

Thomas Jefferson announced the principle, ~~written into the~~

9/

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

that there are certain rights with which ~~we~~ everyone is born. Since they were not conferred by government, government is powerless to take them away. Among them is the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. ~~No state and~~ No federal government, no state or city government, and no business authorized by anyone of them, may place road blocks in the way of such pursuit.

The sit-in movement is a test of the validity of that principle. It is based upon Jefferson's maxim

~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

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Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life, The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, -- that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

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SOME EVENTS OF 1960:

THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR NORTH CAROLINA

Excerpts from an Address by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

before the Annual Meeting of the

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

at

Raleigh, N. C.

December 8, 1960

A prized bauble which we must give up along the way toward becoming world citizens is loyalty to that fictitious entity, the South. It floats in space between the state and nation. It has no government of its own. It has no corporate existence—has had none since Appomatox. Yet it is daily invoked by our politicians as if it had some political vitality. Always the rest of the country is supposed to be attacking the South, seducing it from ancient principles, ramming something down its throat.

I should like to see Southern schools treat the Confederacy realisticly—as created to defend an ignoble institution; as having fought gallantly for a cause that should have been lost, and as having been party to a transitory episode in history of no more relevance and concern in the Twentieth Centry than the War of the Roses.

It is important that we do this. Social change in the South is retarded by a mis-conceived loyalty to a vague, ill-defined and amorphous set of emotions we call "the South." The sooner we cease to think of ourselves as Southerners, the sooner we can get along with the business of social reformation.

Not only are forces here at home propelling us into the twentieth century. The force from abroad is even more compulsive and urgent.

One day last month, thirteen new African nations became members of the United Nations. The nations of Africa and Asia now constitute almost fifty percent of the membership. They are non-white members. Their destinies have heretofore been very largely in white hands. The converse could become true. I hope it will be more consistent with truth to say that the color of hands will not enter into the destiny of any nation, or any individual, for that matter, but that the combined wisdom of all men, distilled at the United Nations, will shape the destinies of us all.

But certainly the emergence of non-white peoples throughout the world, their new position of international authority, has a lesson for us here in the South. We need desperately to get along with these new fellow members in the family of nations. We need their sympathy and support, as indeed, they need ours. The Southern attitude can be crucial in securing and holding sympathy and support.

Now, the Civil Rights movement in this country is designed to guarantee the Constitutional rights of all people--including colored people. You may be sure that the peoples of Asia and Africa know what is happening to their brethren in this country. The Russian propaganda machine sees to that. So they are aware of the resistance movement in the South, aware of speeches made in Washington and in the State capitols, aware of the shabby and fraudulent tricks used to deny rights to people of color in the South, aware of burnings, boycotts and bombings.

Let us suppose that the colored citizens of Ghana were simultaneously informed of certain facts. They were told that the United States government had made a grant of some millions to Ghana for the purpose of building a dam. They were also told that a Southern state had refused to admit qualified Negroes into its law school; or that Negroes must ride in the back end of buses in a certain city; or that a city sold its golf course to prevent Negroes from playing on it. Which kind of facts, do you suppose, would have the larger impact upon the minds of Ghana citizens? You and I know that the personal insult to men of color would far out-weigh the national gesture.

Let us here in North Carolina not flinch from the truth. Twenty-seven children in Yancey County because they were Negro and nine children in Harnett County because they were Indian received at the hands of our state--yours and mine--cruel, ruthless, and callous treatment over a period of years. Every state, county, or local official who had a hand in this sordid business gave aid and comfort to the enemies of our country. Surely in the decade of the 60's we deserve better leadership than that.

So the bold and stirring program of aid to the new African nations which President Eisenhower presented to the United Nations may be completely nullified by the official policy of a lone Southern state, city, or school district. The world may be plunged into chaos or holocaust, men by millions may be seared or pulverized, because Negroes are kept out of schools.

The choice may not be between segregation and integration. It may be between integration and disintegration.

Surely, then, upon the political front, pressures, self-created and imposed from abroad, push the South into the main stream of this century.

Upon the legal front the pressures are even more clearly evident with prospective results more imminent.

I need hardly remind you of a whole spate of statutes and constitutional amendments adopted by the resistant states in the wake of the school decision. These were designed to preserve the shaky edifice of segregation. With monotonous regularity, they have been struck down by the courts. Only one survived. It is the pupil assignment act.

You are aware that, under that act school boards may assign pupils to schools upon the basis of certain factors, none of which, of course, is race. The court held that the act is constitutional upon its face, though keeping open the question of constitutionality in application. That decision brought great cheer to the segregationists. "Massive resistance" was gone but there would be only "token integration."

Mr. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, put the matter quite boldly:

"There are indications that it may be legally possible for Southern states to satisfy the Federal courts, keep open their public schools, and yet to hold mixing of the races in the schools at an absolute minimum."

It seems almost presumptuous to give news to a newspaper man, but we have news for Mr. Dabney. He might find it enlightening to consult the New York Times of September 18.

"There is evidence at hand," The Times says, "to suggest that the long patience of the Federal Courts toward Southern delaying tactics on school integration is wearing thin."

After reviewing decisions affecting Houston and New Orleans, The Times reports:

"But perhaps more significant than these judicial stands against open intransigeance have been some less-publicized Appellate Court rulings that could, in the long run, treaten what has so far been the South's most effective legal weapon.

This has been, and is, the use of so-called pupil assignment plans to hold school integration down to a trickle."

"What the recent opinions should indicate to the South is that the process of desegregation is not going to end with a handful of Negroes filtered into white schools. Some day, even if not right away, Negro children will be entitled to enter public school systems without being channeled here or there on account of their race." . . .

In North Carolina the Yancey and Harnett county situations had the quality of drama which focused attention upon them. Of equal significance, however, is the massive abuse which has been made of the pupil assignment law. Six years after the Supreme Court decision and five years after adoption of pupil assignment laws, only one fiftieth of one per cent of North Carolina Negro children enjoy a right guaranteed to them by the Constitution of their country.

Is this a fair expression of the moral sense of North Carolina people? Will they be satisfied with token morality? A paralled would be that one gives token obedience to the Ten Commandments, observing, say, one out of the ten. Or that he gives token obedience to traffic laws, stopping at one out of every ten red lights. Or that he makes token payment on his income tax, giving the government one tenth of what it is due. Surely, we who have been taught to go the extra mile and to give our cloak to one who has taken our coat will not be long content with minimum performance of a legal and moral obligation.

It will be the task of the new leadership taking over our affairs of state to pick up the pieces, bring order out of the shambles of our school system, and set the state again upon an honorable course. It will be your and my task to uphold their hands and give them loyal support in this painful march back toward decency.

Integration of our schools is but one aspect of this march. I should like to mention another.

The governors of all Southern states each year issue "Employ the Handicapped" proclamations. On October 5, 1959, in his proclamation, Governor Hodges said:

"As North Carolina moves ahead in its drive for economic prosperity, it will become increasingly important that the full productive potential of every citizen be utilized. The role of the handicapped worker in our development program should not be minimized, lest we lose the benefits to be derived from a sizable, capable, and unusually dependable segment of our labor force."

Who is a handicapped worker?

I am afraid that what our governors have in mind is one who has lost a leg, or an arm, or an eye, through some accident or misfortune. But this overlooks the most universal and cruel of all handicaps--the handicap of birth. I do not attempt to speak for other states but the case as to North Carolina may be rested upon two pieces of evidence.

In the State's national guard there are 11,000 members who receive annually over $5,000,000. There is not a Negro member. A Negro who may become a general in the army of the United States cannot become a private in the North Carolina national guard. Talk about employing the handicapped!

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission has an annual budget of $5,500,000, every penny of which comes from the federal government. The announced

federal policy is employment of all persons upon the basis of merit, uninfluenced by race, color, or religion.

An yet--

In the state headquarters at the Raleigh office there are only ten Negro employees, ranging from maid to janitor-messenger. Not a single Negro typist, stenographer, clerk, bookkeeper, accountant, or person in administrative capacity. In its operation throughout the entire state, in managerial and professional positions there are 681 whites and 39 Negroes, a ratio of almost 20 to 1. In clerical positions there are 264 whites and only two Negroes. You figure the ratio on that one--I don't have the heart.

Talk about employing the handicapped!

North Carolina each year turns out hundreds of Negro college graduates. What does it say to them? "Take your skill and training and capacity to the North or West and thereby enrich other states, or stay here and, if you are a good boy or girl, you may become a maid or a janitor for the North Carolina Employment Security Commission."

We talk with pride of the billions of cigarettes we export every year. We also export a much dearer commodity, the cream of the intelligence and skill of our people.

These instances of discrimination by government itself could be indefinitely multiplied. The new administration of North Carolina affairs has the opportunity truly golden of erasing all traces of the artifically created stigma associated with race.

Such are among the realities of 1960 with which the State's new leadership--and you and I--must grapple. . .

The year 1960 may have interest to the historian for many reasons. Not the least of these will be because an idea emerged in the South--an idea which had application to the entire region.

You will note that I do not say the idea was then and there evolved. I say it emerged and it had application. For the idea itself--non-violent resistance to tyranny--was old when the pyramids were raised.

It may have been born on the plains of Babylon when Shadrach, Meschach and Abednego refused to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar's golden image and walked unscathed through a fiery furnace.

Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, the idea was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea of February 1, 1960 entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

There is epic drama in the emergence of such an idea at such a time and place. It emerged in the South in the year 1960. There is a jarring contrast between the gentle and humane philosophy of non-violence and the prevailing spirit and mood. A Sophocles or a Shakespeare would have arranged it thus.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate of crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York. More than incidentally, violence has often been the ready tool of some segregationists.

We hear much of "our way of life." I am never sure what our friends mean, but it is the way of violence.

I am quite aware that the segregationist will say: "Oh, yes, but a large part of our crime is attributable to the Negro." For the sake of argument only, let us make that concession. What are the implications?

May I draw an analogy? Here is a child who, all his life, has had orange juice for breakfast (Florida papers please copy), a balanced and nourishing diet, cod liver oil and all the rest. Here is another who has had none of these things, but who has been reared on corn bread and fatback. What right has the well nourished child to say to the other: "You ought to be ashamed of yourself for being stunted and having rickets."

Now, anyone who knows anything in the world about crime knows that there are factors which inevitably produce it. Slum conditions, lack of access to parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, inferior education, exclusion from concerts, art galleries, libraries, even picture shows, and above all else, being branded a second-class citizen--these are among the ingredients of which crime is compounded.

My point is that, tragically often in the South, the Negro has had imposed upon him a regime of intellectual and cultural malnutrition. It comes with poor grace from those who have imposed the regime to disclaim responsibility for its results. Much of black crime has a white origin.

It was against this backdrop of raw, red violence, into this world of bared fangs and claws, that the idea of non-violence entered a Greensboro lunch room on February 1.

So you may see at once how heretical to most Southerners was the idea that, as the race is not always to the swift, victory is not always to the violent.

The Southern states, through a part of the Negro's tax dollar, build roads and sidewalks in front of a lunch counter. These bring trade to the owner. In some instances this trade moves by municipally owned buses, and electricity and water are furnished by the city. Sanitary inspection of premises and medical inspection of personnel are publicly provided. In all of these services a part of the Negro's tax dollar is spent. Do you mean to tell me for one moment that it is fair or honorable to require a man to make a contribution to such services and then be ordered out of the place of business which his dollars have helped to create?

The new leadership in North Carolina faces the truly noble task of changing the climate of public opinion to the point that the last vestige of such inequities will be swept down the drain.

To put it quite bluntly, the Southern states are setting an example in wholesale law-breaking. Someday those chickens will come home to roost.

"In a government of laws," wrote Mr. Justice Brandeis, "Existence of the government will be imperilled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent, teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

These lunch room sit-ins were initiated by Negro brains. We may take pride that it originated in North Carolina and that white students and professors marched in the picket lines with the Negroes.

So the lunch counter struggle was lifted above the ruck of an interracial brawl. It was not whites versus Negroes; it was the decency of whites and Negroes versus indecency and injustice.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in Athens. He replied, "When those who have not suffered injustice are as indignant as those who have." If he were alive today he would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward that high ideal.

Yet, of course, the South is a region of contrasts. (Nature seems to delight in producing contrasts.) So, in the interest of historical accuracy, it must be pointed out that this evidence of groping toward the ideal of complete justice exists side by side with evidence of retreat from all conception of justice, indeed retreat from civilization itself.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this sober process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to reproduce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms. . .

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
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JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, North Carolina
December 28, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Paul:

The air travel card came in on the day of the crash over Brooklyn. Consequently, it has lain fallow in my pocket until this moment. But I am building up courage and hope to use the card in the near future.

Many thanks and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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January 11, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc .
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

What is happening on the University of Georgia campus makes me feel that SRC ought to push as rapidly as possible on Dr. Dent's idea of our putting a special emphasis on attempting to reach white college students. It may be possible that if we had begun this earlier the situation at Athens would not have arisen. To begin it now may prevent similar situations from arising on other campuses.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

maw/rct

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON THE GOALS OF OUR COLLEGES

Address by

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, N. C.

before

Educational Leaders of Southern Negro Colleges

at

Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, N.C.

January 20, 1961

We are obviously having an open season on goals. The football players had no sooner stopped attacking them than the President's Commission on National Goals took up the burden on the grand scale. And now the Southern colleges get into the act. The football players have the simplest task. Year end and year out two chalk lines at the ends of a rectangle, and two vertical posts with horizontal bars, define the task of Norm Van Brocklin and his cohorts. There is never a moment of doubt as to the purpose for which energy should be spent; it is to get the ball across those lines or over the horizontal bar.

I am sure that you educators wish that your task were that simple. The athlete seems to get the best of everything. Even the scholarships in some of our colleges let him live in affluence while the Phi Beta Kappa munches on crusts. While the athlete's objectives to him are as plain as day, you must grapple and agonize with that problem.

I suppose in one sense your own goal remains constant, unchanging. It is the goal of all education, in all lands and under all conditions. Certainly, I am not brash enough to attempt any definition of my own. Even though John Dewey in your circles may be a slightly controversial figure -- you see how lingering traces of McCarthyism make us fearful of such figures -- there is general agreement on the Dewey statement of the educational aim: "The development of all those capacities in the individual which will enable him to control his environment and fulfill his possibilities."

The crucial question is: How? Grand strategy selects and states the objectives. The tactician must select and state the means. The rule makers determine that, to score, the goal line must be crossed, or the ball kicked over the horizontal bar. The quarterback decides how either shall be done. The superb quarterback selects plays dictated by the strength bf the opposition

and by the situation at the moment. To omit either from consideration is to court disaster.

If you have read the report of the President's Commission on National Goals, you will recall that it begins with the statement: "The paramount goal of the United States was set long ago. It is to guard the rights of the individual, to insure his development, and to enlarge his opportunity. It is set forth in the Declaration of Independence drafted by Thomas Jefferson."

These goals have not changed in almost two centuries. But the times have changed. Men have changed. Society has changed. Jefferson was properly concerned with ultimate goals. We are equally concerned with the attainable. The attainable in 1960, due to intervening decades of growth and social evolution, would have lain beyond Jefferson's dreams in 1776.

A point of significance in Dewey's statement of educational purpose is the stress upon environment. The educated man is no mythical ivory tower figure. He is a part of society. That society impinges upon him and he impinges upon society. Education's value is measured, in large part, by the nature of this inter-action. Therefore, education must perforce take account of the nature of the society, the environment in which one is to live. The Eskimo must be trained to capture seals in icy waters -- training of no slightest value to a dweller in the tropics.

Perhaps none of us is fully aware of the pressures of the times. The ideal man, we like to think, walks the earth in undeviating rectitude. He fashions his own standards and adheres to them -- if you will pardon the expression -- come hell or high water. The tides of folly or passion which

engulf lesser mortals do not even lap at his feet. He lives, not merely above the battle, but above life itself, unseduced, unswed, unmolded by the world about him. No one may doubt the grandeur of the conception. But it is an empty dream. None of us is completely master of his fate. The world, always with us, intrudes into the sub-conscious, and, to greater or less degree, determines our attitudes and conduct.

So with the college. It, too, is never completely emancipated. It, too, in a measure, lives under the tyranny of time and place. It reflects the mores and folk-ways of the community in which it functions. The sources of its support and the demands of status impose an intolerable burden upon the spirit of independence.

I believe it would have been beyond mortal power for a college for Negro students in the South until this moment to have fulfilled one of the traditional functions of the college; that is, training for leadership in the broadest sense of that term. Before you throw me out let me elaborate.

With few, if any, exceptions, Southern graduates are trained upon the expectation that they will live in the South. With few, if any, exceptions, leadership opportunities for Negroes in the South have been limited to leadership in Negro affairs. Possibility of Negro leadership of the community as a whole has been almost non-existent. Under such circumstances, it would have required rare faith in community reward for sheer excellence for the college to have trained leaders in the large and non-racial sense. Community or regional attitudes would have, and, no doubt, did chill the colleges normal devotion to the task of developing in its students the fullest capacity for leadership. Negro leaders, of course, but rare would

have been the college with signts elevated to leadership of the total community.

The college has been merely realistic. Its policy has reflected awareness of regional employment practices.

The governors of all Southern states each year issue "Employ the Handicapped" proclamations. On October 5, 1959, in his proclamation, Governor Hodges said:

"As North Carolina moves ahead in its drive for economic prosperity, it will become increasingly important that the full productive potential of every citizen be utilized. The role of the handicapped worker in our development program should not be minimized, lest we lose the benefits to be derived from a sizeable, capable, and unusually dependable segment of our labor force."

Who is a handicapped worker?

I am afraid that what our governors have in mind is one who has lost a leg, or an arm, or an eye, through some accident or misfortune. But this overlooks the most universal and cruel of all handicaps--the handicap of birth. I do not attempt to speak for other states but the case as to North Carolina may be rested upon two pieces of evidence.

In the State's national guard there are 11,000 members who receive annually over $5,500,000. There is not a Negro member. A Negro who may become a general in the army of the United States cannot become a private in the North Carolina National Guard. Talk about employing the handicapped!

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And yet--

In the state headquarters at the Raleigh office there are only ten Negro employees, ranging from maid to janitor-messenger. Not a single Negro typist, stenographer, clerk, bookkeeper, accountant, or person in administrative capacity. In its operation throughout the entire state, in managerial and professional positions there are 681 whites and 39 Negroes, a ratio of almost 20 to 1. In clerical positions there are 264 whites and only two Negroes. You figure the ratio on that one--my IBM machine doesn't deal in such minor figures.

Talk about employing the handicapped!

I refer to North Carolina, not because it is the worst of the Southern state -- I believe it to be the best -- but because I happen to be familiar with the local situation. Throughout the South I am sure the same situation prevails.

These are not pleasant facts. It is not diplomatic to refer to them. I do so only because there are signs we soon may treat them by use of the past tense. The figures I have quoted were developed by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. The study is an indication of the federal government's concern with such inequities. More importantly, it was made and publicized by North Carolinians, a majority of them white. The national concern will not lessen; the local conscience will not harden. The fusion of these two forces spells the beginning of the end of discrimination.

What is the significance for the Negro college?

In its role as trainer for leadership, it may cease to function within racial limitations. The doors of opportunity which now begin to crank will soon swing wide. One hundred years of white leadership have not exalted the Southern states into a position of pre-eminent prestige. Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana and Alabama -- the hard core states where white leadership has had a free hand -- are hardly in the vanguard of American states. The stern logic of events is that new hands be given a chance.

The Negro college, then, may raise its sights. It has larger incentive. It has greater confidence. Boys and girls now on the campus may be called to high station in government, finance, science, education, medicine, -- in any career where superior excellence may take them. Every campus, therefore, should be stirred by these thrilling events. It is completely beyond my competence to translate this generalized statement of enlarged college vision into practical terms. But it may be safe to suggest that curricula, text books, libraries, personnel, campus publications -- every influence upon the developing student -- should be geared to the potentialities of the new day.

In case there were ever any doubt on the point, the Negro youth's capacity for leadership was last year dramatically established. On February 1, a few college boys in Greensboro entered a cafe and ordered coffee. They thereby instituted a social revolution which has swept the entire South. Many people including President -- pardon me, ex-President Eisenhower, habitually say that decades are required to change the customs of a people. You can't

hurry such things. It takes 21 days to hatch an egg -- and all the rest.

Well, let such people take a second look. The eating habits of several million Southerners were changed almost overnight. They were changed by the poise and resolution of Negro college students.

In a region where violence is too often a substitute for due process of law, they introduced the technique of non-violence. They have proven anew that brute force is no match for schooled, channeled, and intelligently directed moral power. In resistance to tyranny they are spiritual heirs of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, Thoreau, Ghandi, and Martin Luther King. The South could profitably utilize leadership of that sort. That is the kind of raw material with which the Negro college may work.

Surely, such material deserves master craftsmanship. Fortunate the region which produces the material. Still more fortunate if its institutions give proper shape and polish to the material.

There is a further point about this youthful material which, it seems to me, the college may exploit.

I think it will be agreed by all students of the Southern region that the principal cause for the lag in cultural development (a lag demonstrated by any set of statistics you wish to examine) is the attachment by present leadership to what is called "our way of life."

The South has proven, what China proved centuries ago, that ancestor worship is the natural enemy of progress. We have been shackled by misguided loyalty to a fictitious entity known as the South. It has no corporate existence -- has had none since Appomattox. Yet it is daily invoked by our politicians as if it had some political vitality. Always

the rest of the country is supposed to be attacking the South, seducing it from ancient principles, ramming something down its throat.

The evil consequences of this sectional loyalty were foreseen as far back as 1882 by one of the South's enlightened spirits, George W. Cable, a Louisiana author. Speaking, of all places, at the University of Mississippi, he said:

> When the whole intellectual energy of the Southern States flew to the defense of that one institution (slavery) which made us the South, we broke with human progress. We broke with the world's thought. We have not entirely in all things joined hands with it again. When we have done so we shall know it by this -- there will be no South. We shall be Virginians, Texans, Louisianians, Mississippians, and we shall at the same time and over and above all be Americans. But we shall no more be Southerners than we shall be Northerners. The accidents of latitude shall be nothing to us. We shall be the proud disciples of every American alike who adds to the treasures of truth in American literature, and prouder still if his words reach the whole human heart and his lines of light run through the varied languages of the world. Let us hasten to be no longer a unique people. Let us search provincialism out of the land as the Hebrew housewife purged her dwelling of leaven on the eve of the Passover.
>
> There is a newly-coined name that most agreeably tickles the ear of the young citizen in our Southern states, but which I would gladly see met with somewhat of disrelish: The New South. It is a term only fit to indicate a transitionary condition. What we want -- what we ought to have in view -- is the No South! Does the word sound like annihilation? It is the farthest from it. It is enlargement. It is growth. It is a higher life.

Obviously, the up-coming young Negro leader does not share this unqualified devotion to a way of life which has served him and his people so ill. Preserve what is best in Southern life, its manners, its spirit of hospitality, its appreciation of the aesthetic and all the rest which is good, but down the drain with its caste system, its raw violence, its use of legal and non-legal means to deprive people of their constitutional rights.

There exists, therefore, in this potential new leadership an essential ingredient lacking in the old, such being devotion, not to a geographical section, but to a set of principles, which have universal appeal to the better elements of mankind.

The Southern Negro college to this point in time has functioned in a society tolerant of racial discrimination. That view of life was in the bones of us all, Negro and white alike. While a few rare and bold spirits here and there struck out against the prevailing lunacy, such men were conspicuous because they stood alone. It is manifestly delicate to single out one for comment; but, as a native South Carolinian, I hope I may be pardoned for reminding us all that a white judge from Charleston rose above the claims of race and station to strike the most telling blows for justice and decency. I refer, of course, to Judge J. Waties Waring.

His, then, was a lone voice crying in the wilderness. Now what august company has rallied to his standard: the Supreme Court, the President, both political parties, national magazines and communications media -- on down to little men and women of Main Street and the cross roads.

So, the college now functions in a society definitely committed to driving out every lingering trace of the stigma associated with race. Hence, the college has a freedom and flexibility long denied it under a segregation pattern. It and its faculty may at last enter upon their normal roles of critic, censor, or merely commentator, upon the passing scene.

The Negro college, then, in the future will no longer merely feel the impact of social change, as our subject suggests; the college will have impact upon society. It will help to <u>produce</u> social change. In that view,

it now begins to fulfill in Southern life a role long withheld. I am, of course, aware that, through graduates and faculty, good influence has always been exerted. But the influence is now multiplied many times. There may now be candor and boldness in college programs and activities.

If the college is competently to fill its new role of critic and commentator, it will, of course, not be merely strident and rasping. It will be factual and logical. It will proceed in the light of established truth. It seems to me this implies two imperative developments.

Research, particularly in the social sciences, must be stepped up; and extension service must be established or enlarged. The truth in every area of human relations must be learned; the public must be informed. Without, I hope, being captious, it may be pointed out that, with important admitted exceptions, research and extension have been the exclusive peragative of the white colleges. Human nature being what it is....

No one admits more cheerfully than I that certain Southern institutions of higher learning have performed conspicuous services in research in the field of human relations. But, to a great extent, that field still lies fallow. Particularly is this true insofar as Negro insights and experience are concerned.

I referred a moment ago to facts developed by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission. Those facts had to do with the National Guard in this state and with practices of the North Carolina Employment Commission. That is the kind of research a college might well undertake. The Advisory Committee is now attempting to establish the facts relating to discrimination in employment by all branches of the state government, by the

federal government as it operates within this state, and by firms holding contracts with the federal government. The Committee operates in an admittedly amateurish way, devising questionnaires and using techniques with which it is unfamiliar.

There remain largely unexplored throughout the entire South such areas of discrimination as housing, recreation, hospitalization and medical services generally, libraries and public facilities. We, of course, believe such discrimination exists. But belief is no substitute for knowledge. Knowledge is established by careful, methodical research.

The development of such facts and their wide dissemination through extension services and otherwise is grist for the college mill.

If it should be objected that for the Negro college to focus its attention upon such matters is to preserve the idea of the Negro as a being apart, my answer is that a research vacuum must be filled and that the day when he will not be considered as a being apart will be speeded by demonstrating to the entire South the heavy cost it pays for the Negro's present isolation.

Legislation, public policy generally, responds to the pressure of facts. So what is here proposed may have the virtue of moving to action those who shape the nation's laws and practices. With a new administration in Washington, with both political parties firmly committed to full extension of civil rights, the times demand that some agency shall document existing inequities, spell out their financial and social cost.

I remind us again of the educational aim as stated by Dr. Dewey: "The development of all those capacities in the individual which will enable him to control his environment".... Not to adapt himself to his environment -- in other words, conformity -- but to adapt his environment to

himself. The jelly fish and the oyster have admirably adapted themselves to their environments. It remains for educated men to make conscious efforts to adapt their environments to themselves.

A college may be comfortable and secure in the abstention from criticism. Risk may be involved in challenging the prevailing order. One pays a price to be free.

"Some times when people pity me,
I tell them with no rancor
That for what it cost me to be free,
I might have bought an anchor."

A bold and independent college, then, will seek to refashion the world in which it functions.

The Southern Negro college seems to me to have one distinct advantage over its white counterpart. (I must always make it clear that the South is not a unit and in it are represented gradations of civilization. What I now have in mind is the deep, hard-core South.)

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, and hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that Nordic or Aryan supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of a community or region. The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the United Nations and the World Council of Churches and all national and international religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melt and dwindle, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach!

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it -- certainly the last to see it -- but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world, from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens.

So the Negro college deals with youth attuned to the cosmos, conscious of his relationship with, and mutual dependence upon, all mankind. The age demands leaders so attuned, so conscious. One whose vision is merely national is no fit captain of the ship of state. One whose vision is merely regional -- even the entire Southern region -- is, in the truest sense, privincial. The fashioning of public policy must be in the

keeping of those who feel united in interest with men everywhere, from Alaska to Rhodesia, from London to Calcutta.

On the campuses of Negro colleges may now be the men and women destined to preserve civilization and save mankind from mass destruction by nuclear weapons.

Let me say, in closing, that only the necessity for clarity has caused me to use the expression "Negro college." I have had a feeling of guilt in doing so. Certainly, it is imperative that we cease thinking and talking in terms of color. The Negro college, as the white college, is an anachronism. We approach, perhaps with all deliberate speed but surely nevertheless, the day when both will have ceased to exist, when higher education will serve all qualified students of whatever race, and when students will seek out institutions whose excellence alone is the magnet which draws them.

The City and the National Image

Address

by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

before

Annual Meeting of Louisville Urban League

at

Louisville, Kentucky

February 16, 1961

I am grateful to you for the opportunity of visiting Louisville and participating with you in this meeting.

Probably if I had never been a member of the Southern Regional Council I would have known something of the Urban League. But my connection with the Council has placed me in position to see at first hand a little of the large contribution you are making toward equal opportunity for all our people. No one can have this insight without marvelling that, with such slender resources, you have done so much.

I must state that a visit to Louisville puts me in an unaccustomed, not to say, an awkward role. During the past several years all has not been sweetness and light everywhere in the South. A person with a fairly critical eye has has no trouble finding objects of displeasure. The critic's role was a natural one for me. I came to think of myself as, like Socrates, a gadfly of the state. Others thought of me as a common scold, fit for the ducking stool. Anyhow, by long practice and diligence, I sharpened my critical faculties.

The embarassment of my present situation is that you here in Louisville give me so little on which to exercise those faculties. Here I am about out of raw material. I stand disarmed of my natural weapons, abuse and invective. Of course, nowhere do we have a perfect society. But it is historically accurate to say that, in meeting the foremost issue of our times, Louisville has been guide and model for the area which lies between the Potomac and the Gulf.

But it would be a gross under-statement to imply that the influence of your example spread no farther than that sprawling and far flung region. It was world-wide. It became abroad a significant part of the image of this nation.

In earlier days, in a less complex and involved society, it was probably true that nations were judged only by <u>national</u> acts. Only such acts reflected

national policy and purpose. The line between the nation and its component parts, states, provinces, was clearly defined. It was possible and natural to make distinctions between policy on the national and on the local level. No responsibility attached to one for acts of the other. For example, in this country we distinguished between Prussia, or Bavaria, and Germany; between Welshmen, or the Irish, and England. Similarly, abroad, no doubt, the foreigner thus distinguished between New York, or South Carolina, and the United States of America. Our states operated in fairly water-tight compartments; responsibility for official acts did not seep from one to the other or from state to nation. Thus, there could be, and was, critical appraisal of state action without involvement of, or reflection upon, the nation as a whole.

Now, however, any single American state can create a national image. Virginia, with its "massive resistance;" Arkansas, with its use of the National Guard to keep a few Negro pupils out of the public schools; Louisiana, with its special legislative sessions; North Carolina, with its "token integration;" Mississippi, with its Emmet Till case; Georgia and Alabama, with their callous mistreatment of Dr. Martin Luther King; South Carolina, with its patrolmen turning fire hoses on peaceful demonstrators--all of these and more besmirch the national image.

Foreign nationals do no think of individual states as perpetrators of these infamies. In view of the dual nature of our citizenship, they are merely practical when they attribute to the nation as a whole responsibility for such outrages.

A favorite phrase of Southern politicians is "Northern meddling in our affairs." The idea seems to be that Yankees should keep their cotton picking hands off affairs that are none of their business. But of course, they are their business. The persons against whom official persecution is directed are, of course, citizens of particular states. <u>They are no less Citizens of America.</u>

Indeed, they are, in a broader sense, citizens of the world. There will come a time when world government will concern itself with injustice done to any citizen of this globe.

But we are here concerned with national images. Such may be created by city action. I mention the names of certain cities-- Little Rock, Arkansas; Clinton, Tennessee; Montgomery, Alabama; Poplarville, Mississippi; Tuscaloosa, Alabama; New Orleans, Louisiana. Those may be lovely and charming cities, but their names evoke sordid memories. In all countries the names are familiar. They and the train of ideas of which they are the core, contribute to the picture we present to the rest of the world. They help to create the national image.

Let no city, then, indulge the fiction that what it does--distinctions which it makes in the treatment of its citizens--have no extra-mural effect. Consequences of municipal action may develop in the world's remote corners. They help to create abroad, not merely an image of a city, but an image of this nation as well.

I hope you will not think I am merely seeking to win your favor when I tell you--what you must already know--that, throughout the world, in your handling of the school crisis, Louisville is a symbol of fair and honorable treatment of all its citizens. In our own nation, you have afforded inspiration, example and guidance to all communities firmly committed to a rightous course.

I speak in complete ignorance of the laws of Kentucky and ordnances of the city of Louisville. I know not what vestiges may remain of the effort of the law to maintain a social caste system in amusements, in public accomodations, or elsewhere. If there should exist any grisly reminders of man's inhumanity to man, surely they will not long survive in the light and warmth of spirit which prevails here. If, to your undisputed leadership in meeting the

school crisis, there should be added primacy in all other areas of human relations, the fame of your city will be secure.

But there is much more to the achievement of such primacy than the mere repeal or enactment of laws. A city's fame will rest upon a foundation of sand if its written laws constitute the only basis for its pre-eminence. There remains its customs and the bent of mind of its private citiecns. The role of the private citizen is the largest of all.

In more than a figurative sense, each of us is an ambassador of his country. We represent, speak for it. The American abroad, viewed by other nationals, carries with him a fraction of his country's essence. And at home, seen in his native habitat by a foreigner, he is part of a composite embodiment of national aim and purpose.

All of us, of course, are not ugly Americans. But the species exists in sufficient number to have impact on world opinion. There is, for example, the hotel clerk determining what guests he will accept; the real estate broker deciding what people shall live in certain sections of a city; the lunch counter operator choosing the color of his customers; the ticket seller passing judgment on who shall see what shows and where he will sit; the taxi driver selecting his fares, and so on--in the keeping of these, in the decisions made by little men and women, rest the nation's name and fame.

Our Supreme Court, of course, announces vastly important decisions affecting men's relations with each other. No one would detract for one moment from the significance of such pronouncements. But they come from men who are no cross-section of the country's thinking, who are aloof and scholarly, who write from chill and distant heights. We will not be wholly judged abroad by the decisions of such men.

I carefully skirt the cliches about the power of the private citizen of which we are constantly reminded. But we may profitably consider for a

moment the expanding significance of private action.

There is a legal phrase to the effect that a certain business or enterprise is "attected with a public interest." The classic illustration would be of a utility company holding a franchise to furnish electricity or transportation. It is a rapidly enlarging conception, even in corporate circles.

But, under conditions of the modern world, may we any longer limit the connotations of the term to corporate action of a commercial nature upon a large scale?

Dr. Ralph Buncho was recently denied membership in a tennis club because he is Negro. It was a private club acting within its legal rights. But that action had repercussions around the world. In a hundred different translations it was blasoned before peoples of color whose friendship this nation needs desperately to win. The simple black-balling of an applicant for club membership was profoundly affected with a public interest.

That would not have been true in simple, unhurried, plantation days. But steel rails have been laid; long strips of macadam bind the nation; wires have been strung; cables laid and the air waves themselves harnessed. Over all there move impulses and ideas. To such, men everywhere react. In today's closely knit world even the most trivial act of a private citizen may affect the destiny of the nation.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, a year or so ago, a photographer snapped a picture of some people surrounding a poised and serene Negro girl on her way to a white school. There was a snarl on the faces of the menacing group. That picture, in addition to publication in this country, won an award in international competition in Amsterdam. It traveled around the world. The mere facial expressions of a handful of people were affected with a public interest.

In the southern school situation we now enter upon a phase in which the role of the private citizen is vastly magnified. The struggle of the Lilliputians begins.

The legal rights of Negro children are now established. The period of quibbling and evasion, insofar as the law is concerned, has run its course. With unparalleled faith in human nature, the court has assumed that the pupil assignment statutes will be fairly administered--that school officials will completely disregard the color of the children in determining to which school they will be sent. The question now becomes one of good faith; in other words, one of morals. Here John Doe and Mary Smith may throw their weight around.

The shift of emphasis from law or politics to morals is one of the striking phenomena of the times. Both lawand politics require special competence. That requirement disqualified the layman from full participation in the making of major decisions affecting the public schools. Necessarily, he was side-lined while the battle raged. But in the struggle's aftermath, in the grass-roots adjudication of the right of a neighbor's boy or girl to go to a nearby school, no one of us is so insignificant that he may not influence the result.

Consider for a moment the import of such adjudications. The school board of Charlottesville, for example, is an arm, or agency, or creature, of the state. It exercices a fractional part of the state's sovereign power. Its decisions, wise or unwise, good or bad, will be regarded in this country as an expression, not of Charlottesville's, but of Virginia's sense of justice. And abroad, no note will be taken of Charlottesville or Virginia. There they will be regarded as an expression of American sense of justice. What happened at Little Rock, for example, is not used by the Russians to discredit that city, or Arkansas, but to defame the United States.

Such, then, is the momentous nature of every decision affecting a lone Negro youth seeking admittance to a white school. If there is a formerly white school near his home, buthe is sent across the city or county to a Negro school, there is a stain upon the national honor. If, however, it should

develop that assignment is made upon the basis of distance and other proper considerations, without regard to race, national prestige is enhanced.

The private citizen, by urging an honorable course upon school boards, engages in action affected with a public interest.

So, without elaboration, whoever hires and promotes employees; whoever builds, leases and sells homes; whoever extends a welcome into church membership--all with a vision which takes no note of color--such a one in only the narrowest sense engages in private action. In the widest and truest sense he contributes to national grandeur. Vastly more important, he strengthens the bonds which unite into the family of man all human creatures.

While it must at times seem to all of us that government is forever regulating our conduct, actually only a small percentage of our acts are regimented. Beyond the pale of law, beyond the reach of government, lies a vast domain of conduct, a kind of moral penumbra, where the citizen is free to act as he pleases. Here are no legal restraints or imperatives, no penalties or sanctions. Here passions and prejudices may be freely indulged, likes or dislikes freely expressed, without other than self-imposed limitation. Here the sovereign authority is not law, but conscience.

Nathlet it not be supposed for one moment that, because the public, through government, does not invade this uncharted area, it is not concerned or involved with what there transpires. On the contrary, from this uninhabited welter of conduct are fashioned customs, institutions, and, ultimately, even government itself.

The business of government, we say, is civil rights; that is, the preservation of privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution. Outside of that field, as broad as it may be, lies a vaster domain. It is the field of civilities. Here the citizen is on his own. Here his conceptions of right and decency and honor find full expression. Here such religion as he may have

may come to full flower. It is one thing to grant grudging obedience to law; it is another and more important to do what is right, not because of law's command, but because of promptings which spring from the heart.

In any community in a single day there are thousands or millions of private acts. There are millions of thoughts, ideas, emotions, expressions, gestures, postures, assertions, laughs, nods, frowns--all of the things which individuals do, consciously or unconsciously, to give outward expression to their inner selves, to indicate their reactions to events and their attitude toward other individuals. The composite, the resultant, the synthesis, of these myriad and fleeting revelations of attitudes is an awesome and potent force. It is the force of community pressure.

The destiny of the community is involved with that force. It may drive talent and skill and genius out, or it may retain and attract men and women of such qualifications.

If the community attitude is hostile to the new and novel; if it places limitation upon advancement; if it assigns fixed status to men and women, drawing lines beyond which one proceeds at his peril; if it exalts a way of life merely because it is venerable--if the community attitude does those things, men and women of spirit, initiative and enterprise will elsewhere seek a more congenial climate. The constrictive force of the community, like pressure which forces cream from a tube, will expel the superior and elite.

That same constrictive force will warp and twist those who remain. Community pressure is a Procrustean bed which fits to its own dimensions those who yield themselves to its clutches. But, so insidious is its operation, its victims do not comprehend the extent to which they have been shaped and molded.

Don't let us delude ourselves for one moment into believing that the only persons who leave are Negroes. Who's Who in America is studded with names of persons, white and Negro, born under Southern skies but whose careers have been carved out in the North and East and West where they have en-

riched other states.

Nor dare we believe that they go only for better pay and that all will be well when our wage scale matches that of the rest of the nation. Admittedly, many move in response to that lure. But your superior man, your man of genius, who doesn't keep pace with his companions here, in Thoreau's phrase, moves "...because he hears a different drummer." He wants to breathe an ampler air, have his being in a freer society. He will "...step to the music he hears, however measured or far away."

There is an unprovable, but, I think, reasonable assumption. That is that, in this migration, there is more than a sprinkling of superior men and women who sought elsewhere a freedom of association and self-expression denied them at home. For a state to have against it a balance of trade in commercial products and commodities is bad enough. To have against it a balance of trade in ideas is profoundly tragic.

No one knows or cares what products moved by boat or camel-back from Athens or Judea or Alexandria. What matters it to us in 1961 that so many tons of olives, or so many hogsheads of wine, or so many bushels of rice, were leased in the channels of trade 2,500 years ago? What does matter profoundly to us is that in Athens and Judea and Alexandria there were evolved ideas and principles of conduct and ethics, which, if they do not wholly govern us, at least have daily impact upon our lives. They evolved in a society in which every man was prodded to think, to express himself, to achieve up to the full limit of his power.

So, in some dim and distant future, men will little note nor long remember what agricultural or commercial products flowed from Louisville in the year 1961. But the attention of men could be riveted to this city, and they could be exalted in spirit, if there were here produced ideas and principles of use and service to mankind.

Perhaps history does operate upon the pendulum rule, move in cycles. The

Dark Ages were followed by the flowering of the Renaissance. It could happen here.

For this development there is present one ingredient heretofore lacking. We may utilize talents and skills of a substantial part of our population heretofore barred by law and custom from making more than minor contributions to the state's development. That part, in addition to natural endowments, has reached its new state by suffering and travail. Out of suffering and travail have sprung the world's great literature, drama, music, all the arts which are the ornaments and evidence of civilization.

Such is only a part of the endowment which the Negro will bring to Southern life.

The cultural lag from which the South suffers is due in large part to a synthetic loyalty we have to something the politicians and White Citizens Councils call "our way of life." Now, the only way of life worth having is one which constantly is changing, for change is the hallmark of growth. Certainly, since there has never been a perfect society, not all of any way of life is worth preserving.

Our Negro citizen has no attachment to those features of a way of life which have served him--and all the rest of us, for that matter, so ill. So he discriminates in appraising the elements of our society. His influence will be thrown behind retaining our spirit of hospitality, our manner, our appreciation of the aesthetic, and all the rest that is good, but down the drain with our legislative evasions, our official half-truths and our caste system with its slammed doors and blind alleys to advancement.

He will bring also a breadth of vision which has been unwittingly forced upon him.

We are now rearing in many part of the South a generation of white citizens who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the

United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

At the same time Negro children are observing that the national government is their natural friend and protector, that the federal courts, the national congress, the national executive, stand between them and the raw tyranny of the states.

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue. The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that white supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of a community or region. The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the World Council of Churches and all national religious groups, while the local church turns him away from its alter.

So, to what a paradox are we drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach! We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his graspt. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it--certainly the last to see it--but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave, new world from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens.

The fame, the renown, of Louisville will be assured if it marches into the future in full comradeship with these battle-tested recruits.

File & forget.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

FEB 20 1961

Miss Marion A. Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Wright:

Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the letter you wrote to President Kennedy.

It was most gracious of you to do this.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver
Administrator

"YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN"

Address by

Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

before

Institute of Religion

at

Baton Rouge, Louisiana

February 27, 1961

There seems to be no end to the do-it-yourself movement. Every man worth his salt, with his little kit of tools, is now his own plumber, his own carpenter, his own electrician. His wife gets her own home permanent. Surely the professionals must be feeling this competition from the thousands who carry no union cards.

It is just a step to being your own psycho-analyst. Two facts about this meeting suggest that now is the time to take that step.

Surely it cannot have escaped your notice that this Institute of Religion is based on Government Street in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. To a rank psycho-analyst it is quite apparent what happened. Some good people got to thinking about government -- abstractly at first. Then about the government of Louisiana. Then, since your fascinating legislature meets here in its rapid-fire special sessions, and from this city solemn pronouncements are made, those good people thought of Baton Rouge. One of the things which seemed to be wrong with the government of Louisiana was that it needed an infusion of genuine religion. So, inevitably, the decision was reached: Have an Institute of Religion and locate it on Government Street in Baton Rouge. The action is pure Freudian symbolism.

The invitation to me is subject to this same clinical analysis. Wade Mackie decided he wanted someone to talk about those things in the old South which are gone beyond recall, to which we cannot return. That suggested the theme, "You Can't Go Home Again." That is the title of one of Tom Wolfe's books. Wolfe was a native of Asheville, North Carolina. I live next door to Asheville. What is more natural than that a neighbor of Wolfe's should discuss ideas suggested by his

title? So here I am. If the title had been "I Will Return," you would have had General MacArthur, or "Moses and the Burning Tree," Mr. Eisenhower.

Wolfe's slightly bitter title apparently derived from the fact that he had changed and his native Asheville had not. As a native, a boy and young man, Wolfe found Asheville satisfying -- indeed gratifying a native's pride in his city. Then came the formative years at the great University of North Carolina and at Harvard. There came travel -- Berlin and Paris -- there came disturbing contacts with superior minds. There came study and creative thought. There came a sharpening of the critical faculties, as a result of all of which the city's imperfections, un-noted when he was a boy, emerged into plain view.

We are not here to talk about Wolfe and Asheville, but about ourselves and the South. This little digression has been inspired by the thought that Wolfe's experience was not unique, but that all over the South, there are natives who share Wolfe's isolation and loneliness because they, like Tom, have become disenchanted. One of the penalties of intellectual growth is its unsettling and disturbing effect upon an earlier scale of values. We should become alarmed when we are <u>not</u> disturbed. Attainment of complacency puts a period upon growth.

Yet complacency seems to be the goal which many seek. How often have we heard it said that race relations in the South were so much better before the decisions in the segregation cases, that all was sweetness and light until the NAACP stirred up our people, that there were no racial clashes. What this really means is that, beneath the calm surface of race relations, resentment seethed and smoldered. It didn't quite reach the boiling point. Following the decisions,

passions reached that point, they became overt and explosive. Race relations under the old regime seemed all right. Obviously, they were not. Since we are dabbling in Freud tonight, may we not say that there is the sound view that indefinite suppression of normal reactions is damaging to personality, and that there is cleansing and purging in forceful expression of one's real convictions.

Dr. Benjamin Mays, writing in The Atlantic a month or so ago, discussed the cliche that communication between the races has broken down. Actually, said Mays, there was no real communication because the parties to the dialogue spoke different languages. The white man spoke the language of the paternalist; the Negro, the language of the suppliant. Now, for the first time, they use the common language of equals. They clearly hear and fully understand each other. The lines of communication, so far from breaking down, are just being established.

Among the things to which we can't go home again -- can't go because they no longer exist and will never again exist -- are the suppression of the Negro's normal aspirations, which created the attractively deceptive facade of peace, and the split level dialogue between the races. Henceforth, they will regard each other with unflinching gaze and both will use words which come from the heart.

How can one speak with such confidence as to the future in Baton Rouge -- of all places? Not too far from this room your legislature meets. (I don't know whether it is in or out of session -- I know one thing, it is out of good ideas.) I speak with the gravity which comes from knowledge that its members seem to feel that they can preserve in Louisiana the old order under which they were reared and which they find so congenial. You and I know they are wrong. You and I

don't want to go home again. They can't.

What the little men under your capitol dome seem unaware of is that they live in the Twentieth Century and in one small world. If, for one inspired moment, they could let their vision sweep beyond the Mississippi, beyond the Gulf, beyond your bayous and pine lands, let it sweep to the ends of the earth, they would begin to comprehend something of their somber isolation. The winds and tides of change blow throughout the world, through Africa and Asia and all the rest. They sweep the world clean of intellectual rubbish and debris. Everywhere else the ancient nonsense of caste has perished in the surge or now undergoes final erosion. Who is the legislature or governor of a state to fancy that their puny strength will prevail, that by a hair they may deflect the swift rush of these cosmic forces?

I suggest that they get brooms and go down to New Orleans and try sweeping back the tide.

It should be clearly understood that the pressures which are remaking the South are not all of foreign origin. Every international agency or organization, from United Nations on down, is, of course, against the extreme Southern position. Nationally, the pressure is equally as intense -- both political parties, the courts, the Congress, the executive, all national religious and educational organizations and all national radio and TV services. And, even here in the South, there is a new and becoming militance in churches, teachers' groups and press. Only one deaf and blind can fail to conclude that the fusion of all these forces spells the end of a segregated society. To that kind of society we will not go home again.

There is a sober thought about legislative and official maneuvers to preserve segregation. They are efforts to deprive

human beings of their constitutional rights. In that view the action is itself a violation of law. Those chickens are already coming home to roost.

> "In a government of laws," wrote Mr. Justice Brandeis, "existence of the government will be imperilled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent, teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

The effect of example moves not merely horizontally -- that is, from one area to another -- but also vertically -- that is from one level to another. It was inevitable that the fulminations of Governor Faubus should have borne fruit in mob action in the streets of Little Rock; that the antics of Governor Davis and the Louisiana legislature should have triggered New Orleans women to snarl and spit; and that the pronouncements of Governor Vandiver--"during my administration not a single Negro"--should have culminated in violence and obscenity around the girl's dormitory in Athens.

Men use the tools with which they are familiar. On the higher levels there is use of the parliamentary and legalistic maneuver. Such are beyond the competence of the unwashed rank and file. But they know fists and clubs and rocks, and with slight effort, they learn dynamite.

Now, I have been making this point for some time. However, it was only on January 17, 1961, that there came official admission of the correctness of that view. As Senator McCarthy would say, "I hold in my hand a paper. (I am not above a little demagogy of my own, you see.)" The Atlanta Journal of January 18, from which I read:

"The Georgia House and Senate Wednesday urged reinstatement of white students suspended for anti-integration demonstrations at the University of Georgia last week.

"House Speaker George Smith, who has spearheaded the reinstatement movement in the Legislature, put down his gavel and left the rostrum to plead for the resolution asking the University to take the students back.

"He said that 'we in politics have taught' the students to resist integration and that Governors Eugene Talmadge, Herman Talmadge, Marvin Griffin and Vandiver all 'hammered on it' in their time. Rep. Smith said he 'can't blame some of those boys and girls 18 to 23 years old' for getting emotionally upset and acting up.

"The resolution passed by a loud voice vote. There was no dissent heard."

So we have the unanimous and official declaration by the Georgia legislature that legislative maneuvers to steal constitutional rights sire the mob action which is the curse of our region.

Our officials piously deplore the dynamiting of a single school while wrecking an entire school system. In the moral scales, which is the greater crime?

Since this is an institute of religion, perhaps we should speak of the moral implications of official action.

The state, as Justice Brandeis observed, is a great teacher. Its lessons are not limited to laws. They embrace also, the field of morals. The state is a teacher of morals.

In the bright lexicon of honor there is no such word as evasion, or misrepresentation. Yet, throughout the South, with noble exceptions here and there, laws have been enacted and official steps taken without a frank declaration of their

real purpose. Their purpose has been to preserve a segregated society, but the assigned reason has been something quite different -- public peace and tranquility, freedom of association, consideration of psychological factors, and all the rest -- you know the jargon as well as I. The pupil, copying the ancient motto, "Honesty is the best policy," may look out of the school window and observe his state laughing at him for being so naive. In the struggle between the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin and the lessons learned at Sunday School with the example of his state and the society about him, the betting odds are heavily against pure and noble ethics. Eminent men, whom he knows or of whom he has read, tell him by deeds that the ancient moralists were wrong. What chance has pure morality against the examples of living men whom his state has exalted to high station?

The influence of the example is not confined to the child of tender years sweating over his mottoes. In our colleges and universities are young men and women preparing for careers in law and politics. What does the state teach them? "The qualities essential for success are slickness, shrewdness, cunning." You and I know better. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick, or shrewd, or cunning; he is profound.

The hope is that our young men and women may observe the monotonous regularity with which our slick, shrewd and cunning lawyers are rebuffed by courts above the level of parish magistrates, and how such politicians are silently ignored or publicly repudiated by both political parties. Minor successes in obscure forums may await the newcomer in law or politics who has heeded the admonition of his state; he will stretch forth his hands in vain for greater prizes.

No longer is it possible for the South to produce a figure of national importance which speaks the language of official Baton Rouge. "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, "Cotton" Ed

Smith, and Tom Heflin were the last of their line. In the last national Democratic convention, such party stalwarts as Eastland, Byrnes, Byrd, and Talmadge were left to wither off-stage, shabby and discredited figures, a little ridiculous, a little pathetic. The more powerful voices are those of Hodges, Collins, Gore, Kefauver, and Lyndon Johnson, who no longer drape themselves in Confederate flags or think in ante-bellum terms.

To the South that produced national figures of primitive mould, we will not go home, because there will be no such South.

But it is putting the argument on the lowest possible plane for us to urge our young people to do what is right merely because that course will pay off in the long run, produce the greater national prizes. Surely, an institute of religion, a group of persons having religious motivations, will seek profounder reasons for following the path of honor.

Such reasons there are. They are wrapped up in that mystery we call the human personality. One who follows a course of exclusion of people from the circle of friendship, who builds walls and erects barriers to shut himself off from others, who drives lines of cleavage between himself and his fellows, who segregates himself from mankind -- such a man shrinks and shrinks with the years. John Donne was right. Whatever diminishes mankind diminishes me. Likewise, I am diminished when I shut mankind out of my life.

But when one extends the range of his interests and sympathies, includes all men within the compass of his friendly concern, seeks for every other man the opportunities and privileges he himself enjoys, he thereby enters into and shares the lives of all mankind. He enlarges himself. So personality grows and expands.

Segregation is doomed because of an increasing awareness that it involves a diminution of moral stature, tends to produce moral infantilism, dwarfism.

But to return for a moment to the violence of New Orleans and other cities where Negro children knock upon school doors: Who among us was not sickened by these crude and violent demonstrations in the streets? We had greater cause for more profound nausea at what happened in the state capitals, upon the parliamentary level. Action upon these heights was the genesis of the violence which swirled and eddied about the schools.

I should like to pose a disturbing moral question. Are we too sure that you and I, as citizens, have a superior ethical vantage point from which to pass judgment upon the mobs? Certainly, we would not stoop to violence. But, if we have sat by, unprotesting, while our chosen agents in governors' offices, in legislatures, upon school boards, upon city councils, upon park commissions, use parliamentary means to preserve a caste system in the South, what right have we to complain that others use the only means with which they are familiar to accomplish the same result? There is no moral virtue in mere sophistication.

Perhaps, because of superior training, education or background, we eschew violence. We should never forget that from him to whom much is given much is required. The minimum requirement of the good citizen is that his powers shall be positively and beneficially employed.

"All that is necessary for evil to triumph is that good men shall do nothing." They are the meanly wise, the feebly good.

But you and I, as Southerners, are concerned with the things to which we can't go home again -- can't go because they no longer exist, or, if they exist, because we have grown away from them, as Tom Wolfe grew away from Asheville.

Perhaps, we may strike at the jugular and say at once that we will not go back to a misguided loyalty to a fictitious entity known as the South. It has no corporate existence, has had none since Appomatox. Yet it is daily invoked by our politicians as if it had some political vitality. Always the rest of the country is supposed to be attacking the South, seducing it from ancient principles, cramming something down its throat.

The evil consequences of this sectional loyalty were foreseen as far back as 1882 by one of the nation's enlightened spirits, Louisiana's George W. Cable. Speaking at the University of Mississippi, he said:

> "When the whole intellectual energy of the Southern States flew to the defense of that one institution (slavery) which made us the South, we broke with human progress. We broke with the world's thought. We have not entirely in all things joined hands with it again. When we have done so we shall know it by this -- there will be no South. We shall be Virginians, Texans, Louisianians, Mississippians, and we shall at the same time and over and above all be Americans. But we shall no more be Southerners than we shall be Northerners. The accidents of latitude shall be nothing to us. We shall be the proud disciples of every American alike who adds to the treasures of truth in American literature, and prouder still if his words reach the whole human heart and his lines of light run through the varied languages of the world. Let us hasten to be no longer a unique people. Let us search provincialism out of the land as the Hebrew housewife purged her dwelling of leaven on the eve of the Passover.
>
> "There is a newly-coined name that most agreeably tickles the fancy of the young citizen in our

> Southern states, but which I would gladly see met with somewhat of disrelish: The New South. It is a term only fit to indicate a transitionary condition. What we want -- what we ought to have in view -- is the No South! Does the word sound like annihilation? It is the farthest from it. It is enlargement. It is growth. It is a higher life."

Now, this ingrowing and pathological loyalty to a set of emotions, summed up in the phrase "our Southern way of life," is responsible in large part for our cultural lag, most evident, by the way, in the "hardcore states." We have proven, what China proved centuries ago, that ancestor worship is the natural enemy of progress.

The best hope for reducing, and, ultimately, eliminating, this cultural lag lies in the emerging Negro leadership. Obviously, the up-coming young Negro leader does not share this unqualified devotion to a way of life which has served him and his people so ill. Preserve what is best in Southern life, its manners, its spirit of hospitality, its appreciation of the aesthetic and all the rest which is good, but down the drain with its caste system, its raw violence, its use of legal and non-legal means to deprive people of their constitutional rights.

There exists, therefore, in this potential new leadership an essential ingredient lacking in the old, such being devotion, not to a geographical section, but to a set of principles, which have universal appeal to the better elements of mankind.

The integration movement, then, has the possibility, if not the certainty, of introducing into Southern life a new type of leader, or a new element of leadership, heretofore lacking and which the region sorely needs.

This is one of the positive boons flowing from integration which you and I should recognize and frankly acclaim.

Not only will the Negro bring into Southern public affairs a lack of devotion to the worst features of "our way of life;" he also brings a demonstrated capacity to marshal and channel his moral strength to combat the raw violence sometimes employed against him.

The sit-in movement is just slightly over a year old. It has shaken the South to its foundations. It is the product of Negro brains and character.

The South has a sordid tradition of violence. Criminal statistics show the tradition is grounded in fact. There is epic drama in the emergence of the idea of non-violence into this world of bared fangs and claws.

Surely the South can use an infusion -- a double portion -- of the spirit of peaceful protest. Too long has that spirit been lacking in our councils and activities.

The Negro will bring into Southern public affairs the broader national and international outlook which has been unwittingly forced upon him.

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions

the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with neglible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that Nordic or Aryan supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of a community or region. The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the United Nations and the World Council of Churches and all national and international religious groups, while the local white church turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox we are drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach!

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it -- certainly the last to see it -- but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new world, from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens.

So the Negro college deals with youth attuned to the cosmos, conscious of his relationship with, and mutual dependence upon, all mankind. The age demands leaders so attuned, so conscious. One whose vision is merely national is no fit captain of the ship of state. One whose vision is merely regional -- even the entire Southern region -- is, in the truest sense, provincial. The fashioning of public policy

must be in the keeping of those who feel united in interest with men everywhere, from Alaska to Rhodesia, from London to Calcutta.

On the campuses of Negro colleges may now be the men and women destined to preserve civilization and save mankind from mass destruction by nuclear weapons.

Such are among the qualities and attributes which the Negro has demonstrated he possesses. These are qualities and attributes which we should not greet grudgingly or reluctantly but which we should hail with enthusiasm as offering the best hope for the regeneration of our section.

- : -

February 1961

March 1, 1961

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Harold has written you concerning the letter from the Rev. Roberts Bailey in which he ctiticizes your NEW SOUTH article. Rev. Bailey has consented to our printing his letter along with comments from you, if you are willing.

If this is all right with you, I would appreciate your sending your comments. Enclosed is a copy of his most recent letter. Needless to say, I disagree with him that Mr. Sprayberry should be immune to action from the students.

While we are on the subject of NEW SOUTH, do you think you could possibly see your way clear now or in the near future to writing the earlier proposed article on the Commission on Civil Rights. There of course is no dead line for this, and you would be the proper person to do such an article. I would appreciate your considering it.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

file - New South.

MEMORANDUM February 28, 1961

TO: JC

FROM: HCF

John,

I suggest we go ahead with this if MAWright is willing.

Grace Church

THE REV. ROBERTS BAILEY
RECTOR

TELEPHONE
GAINESVILLE

431 EAST
WASHINGTON ST.

LE 4-7035
GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1961

February 24, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

If you think my letter is worthy of publication, I have no objection. Since the subject was introduced by an article, I believe that a letter in dissent, rather than another article, would more effectively exploit the issue. By all means, go a head with it.

Your letter prompts further comment on my part. I grant the logic and validity of the suggestion that none of us should expect an absolute immunity from the consequences of immoral community custom and practice.

I don't know Mr. Sprayberry, but Iam sure that he did not originate the practice of segregation in restaurants. In the interest of a profitable business, he acquiesces in a well established custom, knowing that not to do so would jeopardize his livelihood. His action is legal, and so far as we know, without malice. He may be insensible to the moral issue involved. Maybe if he were enlightened on this, he might be willing to change his practice.

It would seem that the first thing to have been done would have followed such a course, rather than callously walking into his place of business and exposing him to possible injury.

I believe the whole sit-in philosophy is founded in impatience. I don't condemn impatience with intolerance. It is often necessary to corrective action, but there is, I believe, a reasonable and an unreasonable impatience.

The public school desegregation process is a product of such impatience carefully contained within the legal processes. Now, however, this impatience has overstepped the bounds of legality. The action is accordingly rendered much more critical, and so the responsibility has become much more critical.

Every move in the area of "non-violent civil disobedience" must be taken with the utmost discretion and consideration. When this tactic encounters private enterprise, I believe it should be abandoned, because there is in this set of circumstances grave danger of violating the very principle sought - the principle of individual freedom.

I doubt whether there is an absolute solution to this problem. We live in a sinful society, and it is the insidious nature of sin that in the effort to undo it we cannot avoid further sin. However, I think there is this in favor of my position: that there are other channels which, though more time-consuming, do offer relief without the same likelihood of injury to those not immediately involved.

I am grateful for the opportunity for this exchange. The next time I am in Atlanta, I shall try to stop by and see you.

Faithfully yours,

Roberts Bailey

Roberts Bailey

Grace Church

THE REV. ROBERTS BAILEY
RECTOR

TELEPHONE
GAINESVILLE

431 EAST
WASHINGTON ST.
LE 4-7885
GEORGIA

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1961

February 17, 1961.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing you in reference to the article entitled, "The South and Civil Disobedience," by Marion A. Wright, published in the January 1961 issue of New South.

First, let me state my position. I am unconditionally opposed to racial segregation. I believe it is a violation of God-given, individual freedom. In my ministry, I am trying to hasten the day when this evil will no longer exist. However, I, with all others enlisted in this cause, am increasingly conscious of the complexities involved. All the issues are not nicely black and white.

Let me illustrate my concern. To quote Mr. Wright, "The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. ..... he(a man) has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt."

I am in complete sympathy with this as a principle. But I am not sympathetic when the application involves the injury of a third person who is outside the basic conflict. For example, in the recent sit-in demonstration at Spreyberry's Cafeteria in Atlanta, the action of the demonstrators forced the proprietor to close his establishment to the detriment of his livelihood. Thus he was injured by the action of these "non-violent" demonstrators.

If the objection is raised that his closing the cafeteria was not necessary, I would answer that the proprietor had to do this topreserve his business. We must extend to him the same sympathetic interest which we are asking for the deprived group.

He is caught in the middle. It may be immaterial to him personally whether he serves an all-white or mixed clientele, but from the viewpoint of his livelihood he must go along with existing social custom or jeopardize his business. It would be naive to believe that integrating his establishment would not jeopardize his livelihood. The protesting group have no right, anyhow, to

force him into this risk. But they did exactly this, and so he had to close up to avoid the hazard. In such closing, he was injured in fact.

We cannot justifiably fight for a principle if in the course of the fight we deliberately violate the same principle. What is the answer? My conscience and reason tell me that no matter how much I may deplore the practice of segregation in private enterprise, I cannot sanction the attempt to abolish it by injuring those who, in following it, operate entirely within the law. This cannot honestly be called "non-violent" civil disobedience. I grant the right to attack the law, but it must be done in such a way as not to injure those not involved in the contest.

I haven't the slightest idea of how this can be done in the area of private enterprise. That is the problem of those who seek relief and those who participate with them. When the issue moves into the domain of public enterprise, I am in accord with the policy of "non-violent civil disobedience." I see no injury here, only gain, but private enterprise is an entirely different matter.

I would very much like to hear from you, or Mr. Wright, or both, on this question. I think I have stated an unassailable principle here. Since it is a matter of conscience with me, I would like to be shown where I am wrong, or else see your honorable publication clarify its stand on this specific issue.

Faithfully yours,

Roberts Bailey

Roberts Bailey

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 1, 1961

Dear Miss Wright:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter. He is glad to know that you approve his selection of Honorable Robert C. Weaver for the post of Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

With the President's best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Larry O'Brien

Lawrence F. O'Brien
Special Assistant
to the President

Miss Marion A. Wright
Vice President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JC -
Shouldn't NRC consider writing the other papers that published Workman.
HCA

March 7, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Harold is away for several days -- therefore, we aave gone ahead with your request. Enclosed are copies of your statement and the Workman article.

Unfortunately, Workman seems to have become quite popular. We have seen copies of the article in question from the Stamford, Connecticut Advocate, and the Lynchburg, Virginia News.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mf
Enclosures

3-2-51

Harold:

Can you get the enclosed letter re-typed, making me six copies, as well as six photostatic(?) of the Workman article.

Many thanks.

Will you keep you posted. Dabbs has already unlimbered. They asked for it.

M.A.W.

March 2, 1961

To the News and Courier:

In your issue of Feb. 24, you had an article by Mr. W. D. Workman, which develops what he seems to regard as an inconsistency in positions which I have heretofore taken.

He says, rightly, that I was critical of violence and boycotts employed by whites against Negroes because the latter attempted to assert rights which the courts had declared were theirs. He also says, and rightly, that I am not critical of Negroes who non-violently picket places of business which discriminate against Negro customers.

In Mr. Workmans view, the situations are entirely parallel; hence my two positions cannot be reconciled.

Since Mr. Workman feels that the positions are parallel and since he is highly critical of the Negro activity, he should, of course, have been equally critical of the white activity. On the contrary, his silence as to white boycotts and intimidations has been deafening. It is only when the Negro retaliates that Mr. Workman becomes vocal. Talk about the "double standard".....

The News and Courier itself has suffered a sea-change on the segregation issue. In 1897, when the issue was first raised, the editor wrote:

> "We care nothing whatever about Northern or outside opinion in this matter. It is a question for our own decision according to our own idea of what is right and expedient. And our opinion is that we have no more need for a Jim Crow system this year than we had last year, and a great deal less than we had twenty and thirty years ago." In his view such a law was "unnecessary and uncalled for" and furthermore it would be "a needless affront to our respectable and well behaved colored people."

So much for consistency.

But I do not equate the two situations.

The Negro is a citizen. (Oh, yes he is, Mr. Workman.) As such he has certain rights. These are no more and no less than the rights of the white citizen. Among these are the right to vote, to attend school and to use publicly provided facilities upon the same terms as every other citizen. But when the Negro attempts to exercise these rights, in some areas he is met with intimidation, reprisal, violence. These do not seem to shock Mr. Workman. If they did not shock me, I would feel that I should see either my pastor or my psychiatrist.

So much for the white activity.

Now, as to the Negro:

A part of his tax dollar goes to build a highway and a sidewalk in front of a lunch room. These bring customers--trade, profits--to the owner. A part goes to provide police and fire protection. A part to provide sanitary inspection of premises. A part to provide medical inspection of personnel. And so on. But the Negro can't eat there--solely because he is a Negro. If you were a Negro, Mr. Workman, would you like that? Would you think it fair to be required to support by taxes a business you couldn't patronize--to stand outside and look through the window at white people enjoying the end results of a business you had helped to build?

No, Mr. Workman, you would picket that business and so would I. And you and I would have contempt for the Negro who did not picket.

But, you may say, the law protects such places of business in discriminating against Negro customers. You no doubt said that about bus transportation, inter-state travel and bus stations and airports, restaurants and golf courses and all the rest. But you have been proven wrong. Your wrongness has been established by the Negro's use of

non-violent demonstrations. That is the civilized way of revealing error.

All of this seems quite clear to me. If Mr. Workman can see no difference between use of intimidation, violence, and economic pressure to deprive people of constitutional rights on the one hand and use of non-violent demonstrations to secure such rights on the other, there is no way this side of heaven to grant him light.

Mr. Workman should read the story of Shadrach, Meshack, and Abednego, Thoreau on "The Duty of Civil Disobedience" and Sophocles' Antigone. He would find that there is more in non-violent demonstrations than is dreamed of in his shallow and flippant philosophy.

M. A. Wright

Linville Falls, North Carolina

W. D. Workman

The Double Standard

BOYCOTT a Negro, and be a heel.

Boycott a white man, and wear a halo.

This is the twisted logic of today's professional liberals.

'Tis a ludicrous spectacle, this business of trying to apply reverse English to the pious preachments against economic pressures.

It was not long ago that the integrationists and fellow travelers were raising the roof about the "unfair, un-American, and un-Christian" treatment of Negroes who were being subjected to boycotts.

BUT NOW the Negroes are themselves applying the boycotts through sit-in demonstrations, pickets, and pressure — and a new set of lyrics is being fashioned to the race-mixing melody.

NOWHERE is this lyrical about-face more apparent than in the psalm book of the Southern "moderates," a little monthly publication bearing the misleading title "New South."

COPIOUS TEARS were shed in this crying towel of the Southern Regional Council when white persons began retaliating against those Negroes who sought to force their way into white educational, religious and civic circles.

The laments continued when white farmers in Tennessee decided they could forego the services of the Negro tenants.

BUT ALL THIS weeping and wailing has made it difficult to justify the same kind of pressure now being applied against white merchants, who now are being victimized by organized Negro boycotts. The changed situation called for a reversal of propaganda, and it must be admitted that the liberals have proved equal to the task.

LET US TAKE for example, one of the chief psalmists of race-mixing in the South, Marion A. Wright of North Carolina, vice-president of the Southern Regional Council.

In November of 1957, after the citizens of Little Rock had shown defiance of federal court orders to integrate Central High School, Mr. Wright was aghast at this "disrespect for law."

Southern political leaders in general were charged by Mr. Wright with "evasion and subterfuge" in failing to carry out federal school integration decrees. He observed:

"Suffice it to say that the objective of all of them is to abet and encourage the citizen to fail in his first duty — observe the law . . . Now, our political leaders without exception deplore violence . . . They have no truck with the Ku Klux Klan. But my contention is that they set in motion forces which bred the Klan and the very violence they now condemn. What they advocate, in essence, is disrespect for law. They choose to limit such advocacy to one law— that relating to the public schools. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads."

Then, with heavy sarcasm Mr. Wright asked:

What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? They choose to flout school law. I may with as much right choose to flout the law which protects life and property of the man who disagrees with me."

Mr. Wright was more prophetic than he intended to be. Today, he is seriously, and without sarcasm, urging the flouting of laws which protect those who disagree with him.

LET'S SEE WHAT he says in the latest issue of "New South" about breach of the peace laws by sit-in demonstrators:

"The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. It, of course, does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt."

THIS LINE of "reasoning," if it can be so described, was never invoked by Mr. Wright in behalf of the myriad white Southerners who find compulsory race-mixing offensive to their religion and conscience.

But listen further to Mr. Wright in 1961:

"To refuse to submit (to offensive laws) is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he (the Negro) submits there can be no test."

VERY WELL, Mr. Wright. You favor pressuring the owners of stores who prefer a white clientele. You take your stand for sit-in demonstrations, and you call it injustice for a store-owner to be selective in the class of persons he serves. In your view, all justice rests with the agitator, and none with the proprietor.

The store-owner who faces loss of white patronage, and incurs economic ruin thereby, merits none of your sympathy. "Serves him right," you would say.

BUT DO YOU remember saying this in 1957? — "Everyone deserves protection in the exercise of his rights. We should inform our police officials that they have our full support in guarding the persons and property of Negro children and parents involved and that they will be held accountable for failure to do so."

Would you, Mr. Wright, in the interest of fair play and impartial justice, substitute the words "white proprietors" for "Negro children and parents" in your earlier pronouncement?

News & Courier 8/24/61

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

March 9, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

A room has been reserved for you for the night of Friday, March 17, at the Piedmont Hotel.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

THE WRIGHT COMPANY
CONWAY, S. C.

3-11-61

Harold:

Please have the enclosed carefully checked and edited. Then, if possible, have 4 or 5 copies typed for me. Thanks.

Will see you on the 18th - I hope the evening before.

M. A. W.

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

M. T. Purvear
List of St.

March 13, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wofford:

The Meriweather appointment was one of the most serious errors which President Kennedy has made. There are aspects about the appointment which he may not have considered and which he should have in mind.

Those of us in the South who are trying to secure compliance with the school decisions have been making the point that southern segregationist politicians can no longer hope for national recognition. Men of the stripe of Eastland, Thurman, et al, have lost all influence, whereas, the "liberals" such as Collins, Hodges, Lyndon Johnson, et al, are important figures in national councils. This is by way of encouraging our young and potential leaders to follow a liberal course. The larger rewards--to put it upon no higher plane--seem to gravitate to leaders of that type.

The Meriweather appointment seriously undermines that position. Of course, all of the Southern Negro leadership feels that it has been betrayed by the naming of an avowed and violent segregationist to high office.

The President's flirtation with Governor Vandiver was also alarming.

Many of us are also working in the field of merit employment urging governmental and private employers to consider only the merits of the applicant. The example from so high a source of departure from that principle in order to repay a political debt completely nullifies our arguments.

I place these considerations before you because other appointments are in the offing. A repetition of the President's action as to Meriweather would be shocking to his every liberal southern supporter. I hope you may have a chance to get these views considered by the appointing power.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

maw/rct
bc: Harold Fleming

Linville Falls, N.C.
3/13/61

Please send my
Who's Who to Prof.
Arlin Turner, 1115
Woodburn Road,
Durham, N.C.
Thanks.

M.A.W.

Sent
3-14-61
mt.

March 17, 1961

Mr. Marion Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have just read your excellent answer to Workman. We here wonder if you should not also send answers to the other papers which published Workman's column. To date we have clippings from: Newport News (Va.) Times Herald; Jackson (Miss.) News; Columbia (Tenn.) Herald; Lynchburg (Va.) Advance; Jacksonvillen(Fla.) Florida Times-Union; Greenville (S. C.) News.

I still haven't received your answer to Rev. Bailey, and I do believe it needs answering as much as does Workman's piece.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

THE STUDENT AND A CHANGING SOCIETY

Address

by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

before

Student Body of North Carolina College

at

Durham, North Carolina

March 20, 1961

Whatever else I may do today, I shall try to avoid giving you advice. This isn't especially out of consideration for you; it is out of consideration for myself. Like everybody else, I am concerned with what you think of me. Everybody agrees with the maxim "Old people like to give advice." So if I gave you any, you would conclude at once that I am old. That would be so near the truth that I shy away from it. If I were younger, you see, I wouldn't care what you thought about my age.

Most of us would also agree with Philip James Bailey that "The worst of men often give the best advice." Now, I don't want to be thought any worse than I am--that is bad enough--so I play it safe.

But, of course, Alice in Wonderland put her finger on my real trouble:

"You are old, Father William," the young man said,
"And your hair has become very white;
Yet you incessantly stand on your head--
space → Do you think, at your age, it is right?"
"In my youth, " Father William replied to his son,
"I feared it might injure the brain;
But now that I'm perfectly sure I have none,
Why, I do it again and again."

If I were younger, I would probably feel that I was qualified to instruct you. With every year I become less confident, more aware of my inadequacies. As far as I now go is to say that, if you won't advise me, I won't attempt to advise you.

But if I were looking for advice I would turn to this group and others like it--young people in our colleges. I would not be seeking primarily for information. That is not too hard to come by.

I would be seeking for a spirit, an attitude, a bent of mind, a ~~source~~ sense of adventure. That is rare and priceless. A few really great men, such as Justice Holmes and Winston Churchill, manage to keep a glow in the heart and mind until the end. But, for the generality of mankind, the flame grows dimmer as youth recedes. Youth is the period of rebellion and rejection of the status quo.

In her "Revolution of 1848" Robertson points out that in one year university students spear-headed uprisings in Austria, Prussia and Bavaria which altered the entire character of governments.

Students in the military and technical schools of the Ottoman Empire led the Young Turk Movement in the years 1896 to 1908, a movement which compelled the Sultan to restore constitutional guaranties.

The nationalist movement in Germany in the early years of the 19th century, culminating in the War of Liberation, had its origin in the students bodies of Berlin and Breslau.

So with the Cuban revolution of 1933 and the abortive 1956 uprisings in Poland and Hungary. The list is long and honorable.

But one does not have to thumb the pages of history, or leave American shores to document student leadership of revolutionary movement.

Revolutions are not always characterized by gunpowder, blood and barricades in the streets. Perhaps the more profound and lasting revolutions have not had any of these features. Revolution in the classic or historical sense seeks the overthrow of government. Revolution, minus its violent manifestations, seeks the overthrow of custom--a much more difficult task. Physical force only is required to overthrow government. Intellectual and moral force, the force of reason and persuasion, is required to overthrow custom. We in the South have been witnessing the application of such force

in a social revolution of the first magnitude.

It has often happened that those who lived through great events were unaware of their historical significance. Another generation with increased perspective begins to grasp their importance and, ultimately, to realize that they were mile-stones in human progress. What was merely an exciting episode to a participant may, upon later examination, turn out to have been one of the pivots upon which history turns.

A dozen or so citizens of Massachusetts clamber at night upon a ship at anchor in Boston harbor and throw some bags of tea overboard. As they slipped furtively back to their homes, probably not a man of them ever dreamed that his descendants would some day boast that Grandpa had taken part in the Boston Tea Party, or that his action had sparked the creation of a new nation. The determination of Bostonians to drink tea without paying a tax to the British crown, a few minutes of daring action--and History begins a fresh chapter.

Now, behold a parallel. On February 1, 1960, a few college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, enter, not a ship at anchor, but Woolworth's 5 and 10 cent store. They do not throw tea out on the street; they order coffee to be drunk sitting down. (Instead of standing up for their rights, they sat down for them; in other words, they were sitting on their Constitutional rights.) They were refused service. You know the result. The movement has spread electrically throughout the entire South, forcing every community to re-examine its segregation practices.

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea--I am a Bourbon and branch water man myself--but I suggest that in History's long view the Greensboro Coffee Party may loom as large as the Boston Tea Party. Lipton and Maxwell House may fight out that issue between themselves.

Neither has given me any payola, and I give them no plug.

The historical significance of the sit-ins arises, in part, from the facts that, for the first time in the life of our nation, the view of a minority group was clearly, intelligently and powerfully expressed and it affected law and custom. It beneficially influenced public policy.

If we may, for a moment, grow mildly philosophic about government, we must, as usual, go back to the Greeks. In "The Suppliants," Euripides had his characters in dialogue develop the essential difference between tyranny and demonracy. One of them, Theseus, speaks:

> "Naught is more hostile to a city than a despot; where he is, there are first no laws common to all, but one man is tyrant, in whose keeping and in his alone the law resides, and in that case equality is at an end. But when the laws are written down rich and poor alike have equal justice, and it is open to the weaker to use the same language to the prosperous when he is reviled by him, and the weaker prevails over the stronger if he have justice on his side.... Again, where the people are absolute rulers of the land, they rejoice in having a reserve of youthful citizens, while a king counts this a hostile element, and strives to slay the leading men, all such as he deems discreet, for he feareth for his power. How then can a city remain stable, where one cuts short all enterprise and mows down the Young like meadow-flowers in spring-time?"

Tyranny has the fatal weakness that the tyrant destroys all strong men who might become his competitors. In this generation we have seen that policy followed in Germany, Italy, Russia and Cuba. This insures rule by the weak which ultimately means national disaster.

In a democracy, however, such as the Athens of Euripides' day, the ideas and opinions of all men tend to fertilize government, hence to ma ke it strong and vigorous. To the extent that the opinions, insigh s, intuitions, and experience of any individual or group are not taken into account, government approaches tyranny, and, hence, weakens itself.

It took us a long time in this country to learn what was evident

to Euripides 2500 years ago. It was only in the year 1920 that the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, conferring rights of citizenship upon women. We want for 144 years of our national history deprived of the contribution which women as citizens could make to the national strength and purpose.

The 14th Amendment was adopted, in 1868. After 93 years we have not entirely given it full effectiveness. Meanwhile, society suffers

from an unbalanced diet of opinion and experience.

This has been a prosperous nation. As compared with the rest of the world, we have had it easy. If you will pardon a personal reference, we may have become a little fat and soft. Laws, customs, and social values may tend to reflect the point of view, and protect the status of, the highly privileged. It is my thesis that, if a sense of balance and proportion is to be attained, we must, also, in law, custom and social values, give ear and heed to those who have not had it so easy.

"It is not learning, grace nor gear,
Nor easy meat and drink,
But bitter pinch of pain and fear
That makes creation think."

We must always remember that most of the world's great literature, song, philosophy, religion--all of the arts-- have come from the hearts and minds of those who have suffered. Out of their travail, from the womb of their experience, have issued the fresh and new-born ideas which glorify mankind. We build a greater edifice when the brick have passed through the crucible.

Society tends to become anemic when it excludes from full participation in all of its concerns and activities those who have endured struggle and want.

Since we are in the South and most of us, I hope, will remain here, may we mention briefly a characteristic malady of the region.

~~Even~~ Anyone who examines with clear vision the relevant tables of statistics must admit that our section experiences a cultural lag when compared with the rest of the country. It is strangely fascinating to observe that this lag is greatest in the so-called hard-core states of the South.

I think it will be agreed by all students of the Southern region that the principal cause of this lag in cultural development is the attachment of our present leadership to what is called "our way of life." The South has proven, what China proved centuries ago, that ancestor worship is the natural enemy of progress. We have been shackled by misguided loyalty to a fictitious entity known as the South. It has no corporate existence--has had none since Appomattox. Yet it is daily invoked by our politicians as if it had some political vitality. Always the rest of the country is supposed to be attacking the South, seducing it from ancient principles, cramming something down its throat.

Obviously, there are many who do not share this unqualified devotion to a way of life which has served us so ill. Preserve what is best in Southern life, its manners, its spirit of hospitality, its appreciation of the aesthetic and all the rest which is good, but down the drain with ~~the~~ its caste system, its raw violence, its

use of legal and non-legal means to deprive people of their constitutional rights.

The ingrowing and pathological loyalty to a mere geographical area is felt most strongly by the old and uneducated. Young people, coming from colleges such as this, must apply the needed corrective.

There is another malady from which the South suffers. I am afraid it has become chronic, since this year it celebrates the centennial of its earliest symptom.

I listened recently to a radio program re-creating the occasion of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the Confederacy. Now, every historian, probably everyone except members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, knows that the Confederacy was created to defend the institution of slavery. Yet, in all of that long and platitudinous address, there was no mention of ~~slavery~~ that purpose, nor was it set forth plainly. ~~A historian friend tells me that it was not mentioned~~ in the Confederate Constitution. So the distinguishing characteristic of the new and short-lived regime was--to put it mildly--a certain lack of candor.

If that characteristic had perished with the regime, had died at Appomatox, it would have had a niche in history as a transitory, but inglorious, phenomenon. Unfortunately, the disease, like cancer, spread to all members of the original organism. The states, which composed the Confederacy, became infected. Like planets, they carry with them material from their parent ~~soil~~ sun.

So we in 1961 observe this same lack of candor concerning an issue which flows from slavery. In all of the furor about our schools, certainly in the welter of legislation and constitutional amendments, there is never a frank statement of real intention and motive. There are a multitude of <u>assigned</u> reasons--psychological factors of pupils, public peace and tranquility, health, scholastic and moral standards a

and all the rest--you know the jargon as well as I. That is a species of dishonesty as contemptible as avowed deceptions.

There are schools and schools. The greatest school of all is the state. It teaches all of its people by force of its example. As Justice Brandeis pointed out some years ago, if the state sets an example in law-breaking, it thereby encourages all citizens to become law-breakers. If it sets an example in deception, it encourages all citizens to deceive.

Sometime and by some generation this sinister trend must be halted, this unholy link with the past be broken. The generation now being fed by our colleges into the main stream of our society faces no nobler task.

There is another phase of Southern life in which your influence may be properly asserted.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths times the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York.

I know of one Southern state in which a lieutenant-governor, a district attorney and a chief justice of the supreme court, each killed a man. They lost no status.

College students throughout the South have demonstrated that violence is no match for non-violence and that moral and intellectual power, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable victor

over mere brute force.

Our society can stand much greater infusions of that spirit. It must flow from campuses such as this. The struggle must not go by default to creatures of the jungle.

This group needs no authority from ancient or modern sources to strenthen their resolve. But some others may require enlightenment. I am in favor of compulsory education for legislators, magistrates, and recorders. They could learn-from the Greeks, of course,- that man-made laws should never conflict with natural, or moral, or divine law.

In "Antigone" written 500 years before Christ, Sophocles tells of an edict by the tyrant Creon, forbidding on pain of death the burial of a slain soldier, directing that the body be left to dogs and birds to devour. But the soldier's sister Antigone defied the order and gave decent burial to her brother. She was brought before Creon to have sentence of death imposed. Creon addressed her:

"Now tell me thou--not in many words, but briefly--knewest thou that an edict had forbidden this?"

"I knew it; could I help it? It was public."

"And thou didst indeed dare to transgress that law?"

"Yes, for it was not Zeus that had published me that edict; not such are the laws set among men by the Justice who dwells with the gods below; nor deemed I that thy decrees were of such force, that a mortal could override the unwritten and unfailing statutes of heaven. For their life is not of today or yesterday, but from all time, and no man knows when they were first put forth.

"Not through any human pride could I answer to the gods for breaking these. Die I must,--I knew that well (how should I not?) --even without thy edicts. But if I am to die before

my time, I count that a gain: for when any one lives, as I do, compassed about with evils, can such an one find aught but gain in death?

"So for me to meet this doom is trifling grief; but if I had suffered my mother's son to lie in death an unburied corpse, that would have grieved me; for this , I am not grieved. And if my present deeds are foolish in thy sight, it may be that a foolish judge arraigns my folly."

Lectures from the bench in imposing sentences an demonstrators and pickets usually inform the offenders that "they have acted foolishly." It may be that in 1961, as 2500 years ago, a foolish judge sometimes arraigns folly.

over mere brute force.

Our society can stand much greater infusions of that spirit. It must flow from campuses such as this. The struggle must not go by default to creatures of the jungle.

The eagerness of the better South to adopt and follow enlightened leadership, from whatever source, is amply demonstrated by the sit-in movement. It originated on a college campus in Greensboro--for which all North Carolinians may be proud. But immediately it was taken up by other colleges, your own, and similar institutions throughout the South. Men and women from Wake Forest, Duke, the University of North Carolina, Randolph-Macon, and a host of others sat with you, picketed with you and went to jail with you--and still do, for that matter. There was no asking: Who originated the idea?; no timidity because of racial overtones, no reluctance to follow leadership not self-created.

There seems to be a lesson in all of this. Fewer and fewer among us are inclined to examine the source of an idea; more and more are concerned only with its merit. Fewer and fewer are content to view an act of injustice as being another man's problem or misfortune; more and more identify themselves with another's woes.

The Southern college man or woman, ~~then~~ now has the assurance that, if his thinking is sound, he will be heard; if his example is noble, he will be followed. The quality of his thought and conduct will increasingly be appraised by a society which is ready to be enriched by any man's contribution.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in Athens. He replied, "When those who have not suffered injustice are as indignant as those who have." If he were alive

today he would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward that high ideal.

You come of age at a time and upon a scene of complete revolution in men's attitudes. The change is all in your favor. The tide runs with you.

We are not merely probing outer space.. We are probing the human heart.

We in the South have learned a hard and bitter lesson. We have learned that one who follows a course of exclusion of people from the circle of friendship, who builds walls and erects barriers to shut himself off from others, who drives lines of cleavage between himself and others, who segregates himself from mankind--such a man shrinks with the years. John Donne was right. Whatever diminished mankind diminished me. Likewise, I am diminshed when I shut other men out of my life. That lesson has been hard and bitter.

But we have also learned a lesson which is warm and benign. We have learned that when one extends the range of his interests and sympathies, includes all men within the compass of his friendly concern, seeks for every other man the opportunities he himself enjoys, he thereby enters into and shares the lives of all mankind. He enlarges himself. So personality grows and expands.

The reception given the President's Peace Corps plan on college campuses throughout the nation shows the vast reservoir of concern of educated youth with the plight or state of all men everywhere.

You will recall that Marcellus and Horatio were together when the ghost of Hamlet's father appeared on the balcony. Marcellus, gibbering with fear, exclaimed, "Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio."

When the baffling, the unknown, the apparently insoluble, con-

fronts society, society turns --immediately or ultimately--to the scholar.

The South has its share of ghosts. They mutter their incantations. They frighten the unlettered. But to the informed and serene intelligence, these are mere insubstantial wraiths.

They appear formidable. But, at wise and courageous words, which some of you here may utter, they will retreat into the chilly dark whence they came. And when these ghosts are laid, when the South has rid itself of fear of these fictitious perils, then shall the walls which keep men asunder come tumbling down. Ancient hatreds and suspicions shall wither and perish in the light and warmth of a new day.

And there shall be rejoicing in the streets.

CWD

MF file

March 22, 1961

Mr. Harris Wofford
Executive Offices
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wofford:

I am using you as a convenient and, I hope, willing channel, to get my views across to the administration. I am never quite sure whom I am trying to reach but you will have that information.

The Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier on March 12, carries a story about the creation of a committee by the South Carolina legislature which will apparently duplicate, as to that state, the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee. As you know several Southern states already have such committees which have become ready instruments for persecution of de-segregation advocates.

The South Carolina committee is to investigate "the philosophies and aims, and methods of those who would destroy the American way of life." This language is not reassuring as to the committee objectives. The "American way of life", accordingly in the South Carolina legislative view, is the way of a segregated society.

Many able and dedicated Southern citizens have already suffered at the hands of such committees. The infection will now spread to South Carolina.

Among agencies which have felt or will probably the wrath of such committees are the Southern Regional Council, the various state and local Councils on Human Relations, Penn Community Services, Highlander Folk School, the State Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission, and others. These groups, and the individuals who compose them suffer only because they are endeavoring to accomplish compliance with desegregation decrees.

Such organizations or individuals should not be left to their own resources in defending themselves from this type of inquisition. It seems to me that the Department of Justice should advise all such groups that, if informed of hearings to be conducted, it will have counsel present as an observer, with authority to intervene if circumstances warrant. I believe that the mere indication of national interest would have a salutory affect but the Department should be prepared to express

that interest legally and effectively if these investigations follow the usual pattern of brutal persecution.

Without going through my files, I am under the impression that at Senator Javits' meeting in Buffalo and the Kennedy meeting in New York, which you and I both attended, this same idea was suggested. It also appears, by implication, in the Southern Regional Council's excellent statement on the use of Executive authority.

Incidentally, I read with great admiration your article on Civil Disobedience in some small pamphlet which I received yesterday.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

maw/rct

cc: Courtney Siceloff
Harold Fleming

Paul:
Please attend to this. Thanks.
M.A.W.

~~Briefing~~

MR. AND MRS. JULIAN G. GRIGGS
1326 N. W. 12TH STREET
BELLE GLADE, FLORIDA

April 3, 1961

Mr. M.A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright,

Mailed 4/11/61 MF

We are happy that you will be speaking at the April 30th Public Meeting of Inter-racial Council!

I am going to do a newspaper article to advertise the program and invite the community to come. Could you please send me a picture of yourself, a biographical sketch, and any information on your topic which would be helpful in publicity.

Sincerely,

Ruth Griggs

Mrs. Julian Griggs
Secretary, Program Committee

rg

April 11, 1961

Mrs. Julian Griggs
1326 N. W. 12th Street
Belle Glade, Florida

Dear Mrs. Griggs:

Mr. Wright has passed your letter of April 3 on to us for reply. As requested, I'm enclosing a biographical data sheet and a photograph of Mr. Wright for your purposes.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosures - 2.

April 21, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In Harold's rush to clean up his office so that Les can move in, he asked me to return the enclosed material to you and express his thanks to you for having shared it with him.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosures

PRN
PAV
MF

April 25, 1961

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Guy:

At a recent meeting of the Southern Regional Council executive committee we heard with great interest your encouraging letter about the possibility of holding at Chapel Hill an Institute on the effect of Southern segregation practices upon this nation's foreign relations.

Since the idea originated with me, I was assigned the task of being a liason man from SRC to deal with you or other appropriate University people. This letter will indicate my eagerness to be of service.

Actually the long experience and innate felicity of Chapel Hill people in staging events of this kind under consideration render any effort on my part completely unnecessary. It has occurred to some of us, however, that the University might not be able to finance such an Institute out of its normal budget, making a grant necessary.

It is entirely possible that, if a grant should be deemed necessary, the University is already aware of sources from which funds might be secured and would need no help or advice on budgetary matters.

If you entertain doubt on any of these matters, I should like you to know that we would be prepared to make suggestions to the University as to prospective sources of funds and prepared also to give you our ideas, such as they are, for incorporation into a proposal for a grant.

On the important matters of program, personnel of participants, and invitees to the Institute we will be glad to confer if it seems advisable.

I hope you will understand that what SRC would prefer is to fade out of the picture entirely and confidently leave the entire matter

in University hands. But we are completely at your disposal for any services you feel we may be qualified to render.

I have a Rambler station wagon which is still relatively strong in wind and limb, so that I could run down to Chapel Hill at anytime when you feel a conference may help the cause.

I must tell you and Mrs. Johnson that a couple from Philadelphia was recently at my house. They had driven 200 miles out of the way to go by Tryon to observe the migratory flight of the Myrtle Warblers. As old bird watchers, I am sure both of you will be refreshed at this evidence that the commercial instincts of this age have not in all hearts stifled the zeal for seeking out the ivory-billed woodpecker or finding the nesting place of the bristle-thighed curlews.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

MAW/rct

May 2, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

It strikes me that the Penn-Claflin study of racial relations in South Carolina is an extension of the Southern Regional Council's old and beloved idea of community self-surveys; you will recall, I am sure, how the Council once encouraged such surveys in Greenville (S.C.) and Jacksonville. Although you contemplate the appointment of a salaried research director you do, as I understand it, propose as an integral part of your plan the enlistment of local skills in the gathering and interpretation of data. In this way, the study ought to make a contribution not only to knowledge but also to the development of the many persons who will be involved in performing the work. It is especially gratifying to note the proposed centering of the work at Claflin.

A thorough examination of one state, particularly one so interesting as South Carolina, will provide a reservoir of facts and insights which should be of

interest throughout the region. For this reason we are most hopeful that you will be successful in locating a qualified person to direct the work.

If there are ways in which the Council can be of help to the Penn-Claflin study or its distribution, I hope you will let me know. I cannot promise that we shall always be able to assist as much as we would want, but we shall certainly be attentive to any suggestions you may have.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

LWD. ✓

Temporary address: 2401 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

May 1, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your correspondence with Max Hahn concerning the proposed Penn-Claflin College research project has come to my attention through Les Dunbar and through Mr. Hahn, with whom I talked the other day.

I am sure you will forgive my candor in voicing a strongly felt objection. In your letter to Max Hahn, you argue with considerable validity that a study carried out in South Carolina by South Carolinians might have greater impact on opinion in that state than one tainted by "outside influence." I have no quarrel with that thesis; nor do I have any reason to suppose that SRC is eager, or even willing, to sponsor the proposed study.

I do feel strongly, however, that your argument in support of this point of view is unfair to SRC and possibly injurious to its standing with a major grantor. I refer particularly to paragraph three, page two. To have said that rabid segregationists discredit SRC's findings and assail its integrity, would have been one thing. But to cite, as examples of a widely prevailing condition, that a North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee member and a South Carolina minister -- neither identified as to attitude -- find SRC disreputable, is quite another matter.

I am sure you intended no derogation of SRC. But the effect of your letter on those less spphisticated about the South than you or I could be very damaging. Coming from a past president and current vice-president of SRC, such statements are doubly hurtful.

The notable thing, of course, is that SRC's reports and releases have a substantial and growing impact

upon the conservative South. Anyone who doubts this has only to look through the SRC files and see the commendatory letters and orders for material received from mayors, police officials, school superintendents, and the like in some of the backward cities of the South. (For one example among many, the School Superintendent of Charleston ordered additional copies of an SRC publication for distribution to his board members.) Nor is it only the Washington and New York press that treats SRC material with respect; SRC has a bulging clipping file of major coverage in Southern papers -- including some in South Carolina.

Of course, SRC is attacked by the die-hard segregationists, as is every other spokesman for a civilized viewpoint on race. But its products are less and less ignored by realistic conservatives, and even the extremists are not above citing SRC's material as authoritative when it suits their purposes.

You know all this, I am sure. But your letter would hardly make it clear to persons lacking intimate acquaintance with the South and SRC. When such persons control funds on which SRC's existance depands, a casually deprecatory statement can have serious consequences.

My apologies for writing at such length and with such emphasis. But I speak out of a concern for SRC which I know you share, and I feel secure enough in our relationship to write you fully and frankly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF/mf

cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Mr. Courtney Siceloff

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

April 25, L961

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Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I enclose letter from the Field Foundation to me under the date of April 19th and copy of my reply.

I hope to be in Atlanta the last of this week for a discussion of this matter with you.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/rct

April 25, 1961

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max Hahn:

I have been greatly interested in your letter of April 19th and am impressed with the careful thought given by your board to Penn's proposal. I am glad that you raised with me the questions which you are concerned about since it gives me the opportunity to present my views on these substantial matters.

No one, of course, has a higher regard for the Southern Regional Council than I. Mr. Dabbs, Courtney Siceloff, and I are all members of this Council. The relationship between the Council and Penn has always been intimate and mutually helpful.

Among the consultants brought to Penn for their advice as to its program were Harold Fleming, Paul Rilling, Mr. Dabbs, and I. It was the unanimous consensus of the group that the project should be undertaken by Penn and having a base at a South Carolina college. Later conferences among knowledgeable South Carolinians were of the opinion that Claflin has distinct advantages over all other South Carolina institutions.

So the proposal submitted to The Field Foundation is the outgrowth of careful thought by informed people of the entire South, supplemented by the careful thinking of informed South Carolinians.

There is no question in my mind that any conclusions of value, expressed in the form of written reports, will be exploited and eagerly publicized by the Southern Regional Council with the influence, prestige, and skill of that organization behind the reports. This is a practice of long standing followed by the Council.

While, under Leslie Dunbar, there has been research of a high order, fully 50% of the Council's publications are based upon the research and thinking of others. Ben Muse's excellent L reports are based almost entirely upon expression of others.

So there is ample precedent for the conviction that whatever may have value in the research done at Claflin will, through normal channels, reach the public served by the Southern Regional Council. The publication will finally get to the public with the complete approval of Penn, Claflin, and Southern Regional Council.

While I am not insensitive to the undoubted value of SRC's excellent relations with the New York Times, Washington Post, Time Magazine, and other reputable media, my point is that in the method which we now propose to follow we retain all of the values in such relationship. There is the additional advantage that the South Carolina public is initially the public which we hope to reach and convert. With some awareness of the innate suspicion of South Carolinians of "outside" influences, I think there is merit to the view that research done in South Carolina by South Carolinians will have the largest possible impact.

While you and I and all other intelligent people entertain the highest regard for the Southern Regional Council, we must admit that in some quarters it is suspect. A fellow member of the North Carolina Advisory Committee stated at a public meeting of the Committee that he would not believe anything said by that organization. A South Carolina minister with whom I correspond cautions me not to use SRC envelopes in writing him.

There is a fringe benefit in the use of Claflin which may, in the long range view, overshadow in importance the immediate goal of ascertaining facts. What I have in mind is that in no South Carolina college is research of the kind now contemplated being conducted. Among the Negro colleges there is not even a rudimentary school of Social Science. What we now propose will bring to a South Carolina Negro college its first taste of participating in an endeavor of this kind. Its faculty and advanced students will have their first experience in the research process. From that exposure could develop the creation of a school of Social Sciences with impact upon South Carolina practices extending far into the future.

Another and important fringe benefit, aris es from the involvement of white and Negro Southerners in a joint expedition in search of truth. One may be only mildly philosophic to feel that from such mutual involvement there will arise mutual respect and regard for the rights of each other.

You may be assured that all of the facts disclosed by the research will be placed before every governmental agency concerned with the areas explored or to any degree capable of using governmental leverage to relieve discrimination.

I think your point as to the composition of the advisory committee is quite well taken. There may be the danger which you point out, that groups having less obvious crusading zeal might well be represented in the personnel of that committee. The situation is still fluid and is in Penn's hands. As Chairman of the Penn Board, I think I may assure you that attention will be given to this point

with a view to strengthening the advisory committee along the lines you suggest.

My apologies for writing at such length. The points raised by you were of such obvious validity that I felt they should be discussed in some detail.

I do not wish to intrude the presence of Courtney Siceloff and myself into your office but would like you to know that we are quite prepared to go to New York to talk to you if you feel that a conference would have value.

You will be interested to know that we have already begun exploring the field for a possible director of the project.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion Wright

M. A. Wright

cc: Courtney Siceloff

bc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

MAW/rct

Return to M.A.W.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 19, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

The Penn Community Services-Claflin College request for funds for a state-wide South Carolina fact-finding project was discussed at length at our board meeting this week. The consensus seemed to be favorable to what was proposed, but there was strong feeling that some group with status was needed to assure that the findings would get the public attention which would not happen automatically, given the present attitude of some Southern newspapers and radio stations. One thought was that if the Southern Regional Council were the sponsor, there would be greater attention given by the Southern and the New York channels of communication, and it would be less easy for unsympathetic organs to ignore the study.

There was some opinion that the studies would be less palatable with an advisory committee composed of representatives of crusading organizations. Some of the group wondered whether the United Church Women could be brought into the picture. The directors assumed that some of the data could be put before the government committee on employment with telling effect. Although the Foundation can give no guarantee that the money will be available provided that the project is strengthened along the suggested lines, nevertheless I am hopeful.

Would you please share your reactions to the foregoing with me?

Sincerely,

Maxwell Hahn

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

cc: Mr. Courtney Siceloff

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PA
PRV
MF file

May 6, 1961

Mr. Max Hahn
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max Hahn:

Upon rereading my letter of April 25 to you, I have the uneasy feeling that it may tend to imply some downgrading of the work of the Southern Regional Council. Having been connected with that organization for 15 years, of course, nothing could be further from my thought. And I am quite sure that your own knowledge of the Council's work would completely offset any erroneous impression which I might unwittingly have made.

Nothing has been more gratifying to those associated with the Council than its enormous growth in prestige and influence throughout the South as well as in the rest of the country.

The skepticism which may have one time existed in Southern quarters is being steadily eroded. Only in the minds of those irretrievably committed to preservation of a segregated society are there lingering traces of skepticism to be found. Men of intelligence and an open mind have come to regard it as the South's most powerful exponent of fairness and decency. I am sure it is unnecessary for me to say these things to you but I did not want to run even slight risk of leaving an unintended impression upon your mind.

I am sure you will be interested in Dr. Dunbar's letter of May 2 to me. It is herewith enclosed.

At the risk of burdening you with reading I am taking the liberty of enclosing copy of a talk which I made at Johnson C. Smith University on January 20. You will observe from the marked pages 9-11 that I made in that talk precisely the same points which I made in my letter of April 25.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion Wright

cc: Courtney Siceloff
bc: Drl Leslie Dunbar
Mr. Harold Fleming

May 8, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
The Patomac Institute
2401 "H" Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I am admittedly obtuse, but I had not for a moment felt that my letter to Mr. Hahn might adversely affect the interests of SRC.

My correspondence here is conducted without opportunity for consultation with anyone or for revision. I drive 12 miles to dictate and the first draft is also the final word. These circumstances may, and no doubt do, cause me occasionally to lapse.

I do not wish to argue my position further than to say that I think there is validity to the following considerations: SRC loses nothing by conceding that it is finite; that there are limitations upon its capabilities; that these arise in part from geography and from the varying degrees of prejudice and skepticism with which it has to deal; and that facts developed by natives are more palatable and productive of result than facts developed by persons relatively remote.

Such was the under-pinning of my approach to Mr. Hahn. I am quite sure that both you and Dr. Dunbar concede the validity of such considerations. I also feel that such validity will be obvious to Mr. Hahn.

Looking back upon it, perhaps I should have been meticulous in making quite clear in my letter my great faith in the growing prestige of SRC even in the South. But it is my thought that Mr. Hahn is perhaps as aware as I am of the expanding circle of Southerners who look to SRC for wise leadership in these times.

I hope my second letter to him, which I did not feel was necessary, may have relieved your mind.

All of us connected with SRC should, however, keep in mind that

in some highly placed quarters, our organization is still suspect. Only a few weeks ago Mr. Workman's column attacking the organization and me individually found a ready market in newspapers that were widely scattered throughout the country. Mr. Waring makes a career of such attacks and I'm sure that is true of other papers which I do get to see.

These attacks have now so diminished that I feel we may give up the mother hen complex which sees a hawk in every falling leaf.

With best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/rct

cc: Courtney Siceloff
cc: Leslie Dunbar

May 10, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for sending me a carbon of your letter to Harold of May 8. Harold let me read his letter to you before it was mailed and I did so with some misgivings. I wish now that I had paid more attention to those misgivings. I believe that you and I, on your visit to Atlanta, said all that was necessary about the matter. I left our dinner together knowing that you and I were in complete agreement.

Thank you for sending me the reprint of the statements of 1942 and 1943. I had been planning to re-read these at the first opportunity. You have reminded me of what I should do. Thank you also for the minutes of the Equal Opportunity Committee of A.C.L.U.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

BELLE GLADE INTER-RACIAL COUNCIL

BELLE GLADE FLORIDA

May 22, 1961

Dear Mr. Wright,

Enclosed is your picture which we used in the newspaper story about I.R.C.'s public program and your address.

We thank you sincerely for your fine address! I think you are right in plugging for a facing of the facts and the problem. The affair in Birmingham and Montgomery is most distressing. We discussed it in our Youth Sunday School class last Sunday. There was evidence of prejudice aplenty, I am sorry to say. Yet maybe some of them were influenced a bit for a more moderate viewpoint. I used your story of Gov. Almond and the badges for foreign Negroes! They saw the ridiculousness and laughed. Maybe that's a start for these born and bred Southerners!

Sincerely,

Mrs. Julian Griggs

TRV
PA
MF. file

May 22, 1961

Mr. Howard K. Smith
Columbia Broadcasting System
R C A Building
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Smith:

A few days ago I wrote you urging more effective use of T.V. in the South's current de-segregation crisis. A day or so later you put on the hour-long show "Who Speaks for Birmingham?"

This is one of the most effective T.V. performances I have ever witnessed. My suggestion now is that some means be found by which this film could be shown in as many Southern cities as possible. There are organizations in the South which could probably arrange for showings of the film.

"Operation Abolition" has saturated this entire region. Hereabouts it is skillfully tied in with de-segregation with the result that the impression is subtly conveyed that Communism is back of the integregation effort. I think your film would be an effective antidote for "Operation Abolition".

Could you possibly inform me of the names and addresses of Southern stations which have carried your film.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

B.C.:
Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Dr. Leslie Dunbar

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

MAR file

6-15-61 MA

copies to BM + Bagwell w/note saying by request of MA Wright

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

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6-13-61

Dear Dr. Dumbar:

The enclosed editorials mark a distinct change in policy. Col. House might be interested.

Will you be good enough to have copies run off for William Bagwell, American Friends Service Committee, 1818 South Main St., High Point, N.C. He is interested in the Asheville situation.

Thanks for copies of my Greensboro talk, which were received yesterday.

M. A. W.

Marion Wright, speeches -

MET ✓
MV ✓
MA ✓
~~FH~~ ✓
file

THE MINISTER AND THE STATE

Address
by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

before

Meeting of North Carolina Negro
Ministers

at

N. C. Agricultural and Technical
College

Greensboro, N. C.

June 15, 1961

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to participate with you in this meeting. All of my life I have been on the other side of the pulpit and have been lectured and preached at by scores of good men. I am not sure that it did me any good, but, at least, it kept me out of mischief while I was listening. Now I have a privilege which seldom comes to a layman, of lecturing you. Surely, preachers never get into mischief anyhow but, if they ever do, I will do my best for a while to keep you out of it.

It seems significant that you bring in a layman to talk to preachers. There was a long period in Church history when the more orthodox among your predecessors felt that the church had little concern with lay affairs. Its mission was to prepare men for an eternal hereafter. Their entry into that blessed estate depended entirely upon their adherence to certain doctrinal beliefs. Under that view there was little, if anything, which the temporal world could say to the spiritual.

Well, men's minds have broadened with the centuries. The accent today is not so much upon the hereafter as upon the here and now. The church has come to realize that, while man may not live by bread alone, he cannot live without it. One whose stomach is empty is in no condition to listen to any preaching, however profound and orthodox.

The idea may be illustrated by the difficult and pressing problem of juvenile delinquency. Carefully kept records confirm the conclusion of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover that the city which provides parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, concerts -- in short, opportunity for decent recreation -- has gone far toward keeping the adolescent boy and girl from drifting into careers of crime.

Certainly, then, a church would be insensitive to its duty if it did not exert itself to the limit of its powers to see that decent recreation is provided. By the same token it would be insensitive to its duty if it did not involve itself with every activity of government which steers and tugs and pulls men and women this way or that, toward good or toward evil.

The idea which I am trying to advance has been far better expressed in THE DEVIL'S ADVOCATE, a profound and moving book which I hope many of you have read. In that book an Italian bishop talks to a priest of the Roman Church:

> "I believe that the Church in this country is in drastic need of reform. I think we have too many saints and not enough catechisms, too many medals and not enough medicine, too many churches and not enough schools. We have three million workless men and three million women living by prostitution. We control the State through the Christian Democratic Party and the Vatican Bank;
>
> yet we countenance a dichotomy which gives prosperity to half the country and lets the other half rot in penury. Our clergy are undereducated and

> insecure and yet we rail against anticlericals and Communists. A tree is known by its fruits - and I believe that it's better to proclaim a new deal in social justice than a new attribute of the Blessed Virgin."

Certainly, the church of the present day is concerned with social justice, if for no other reason, because the kind of justice which we have in the world affects so profoundly the characters of men and women. To their fate the church cannot be indifferent. As George Bernard Shaw wrote, "The worst sin toward our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: that's the essence of inhumanity."

The church is concerned with society because society is the great teacher. I do not speak in any figurative sense. The school, which impinges upon the child's life for a few hours a day for nine months of the year, tries to teach him correct English. But in his home he daily hears incorrect English used and certain radio and T.V. personalities, among his idols, butcher the language. How can you teach him to say "as" when almost every hour on the hour, in the form of a jingle, he is told "Winston's taste good <u>like</u> a cigarette should?" A world famous evangelist concludes his radio service by wishing that "God will keep you real good."

So there is then the omni-present school of the state. As Justice Brandies wrote some years ago:

> "In a government of laws existence of the government will be imperilled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omni-present teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crume is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

Whatever the old-fashioned view may have been, there is no longer any doubt in the minds of rational men that the church is concerned with government. Since government, as Justice Brandies observed, is the great teacher of men and since the church is concerned with men's lives, it cannot be indifferent to the lessons which government teaches. Depending upon the state's own observance of law, those lessons tend to make men law observers or law violaters.

You and I live in the State of North Carolina. For the moment let us focus our attention upon certain aspects of the law of our state.

Seven years ago the Supreme Court of the United States declared that public school segregation of pupils by race was a denial of constitutional rights. That was the unanimous decision of nine white justices interpreting a constitution written entirely by white men.

Every public official of North Carolina is under oath faithfully to uphold that constitution.

Today only 1/50th of 1 percent of the Negro children of North Carolina enjoy a right the court declares is theirs. I spare you the details as to how this denial has been accomplished except to point out two facts about it:

There was enacted what was known as a Pupil Placement Act which makes every pretense of complying with the court's ruling while actually refusing to comply, and

It places upon every Negro child the emotional and financial burden of going into court to assert a right which is clearly his.

When he goes into court he has arrayed against him the massed legal and financial power of his state which unblushingly asserts that the child's race was not a factor in assigning him to a school.

We are here in the mixed field of law and morals. If ministers of the Gospel should feel that they are not concerned with law, surely no one of them will deny that he is concerned with morals. There is no minister in North Carolina, whatever his color may be, who is not under the heavy moral obligation to protest this infamy.

There have been episodes of church history of which none of us may feel proud. There have been occasions when the church danced attendant upon corrupt regimes, granted divorces to libertine monarchs, and, even in our own South, upheld the corrosive blight of slavery.

The image which we like to keep alive in our minds is that of stern and fearless men who challenged the corruption of their day and risked the stake and the cross in defense of their faith.

The church of today, by silence and inaction, by remaining supine, may condone, if not approve, an immoral policy.

If religion is actually to be a force in the lives of men, it cannot retreat when confronted by a moral crisis. To do so is to abdicate its authority in the field of ethics. When, later, it seeks to set up standards of conduct in other fields, it may be reminded of its failure in this particular area. More, it will be haunted and its effectiveness blunted by its own consciousness of failure.

But let us return to the example set by a state. The effect of example moves not merely horizontally -- that is, from one area to another -- but also vertically -- that is, from one level to another. It was inevitable that the fulminations of Governor Faubus should have borne fruit in mob action in the streets of Little Rock; that the antics of Governor Davis and the Louisiana Legislature should have triggered New Orleans women to snarl and spit; and that the pronouncements of Governor Vandiver -- "during

my administration not a single Negro" -- should have culminated in violence and obscenity around the girl's dormitory in Athens.

Men use the tools with which they are familiar. On the higher levels there is use of the parliamentary and legalistic maneuver. Such are beyond the competence of the unwashed rank and file. But they know fists and clubs and rocks, and, with slight effort, they learn dynamite.

Our officials piously deplore the dynamiting of a single school while wrecking an entire school system. In the moral scales, which is the greater crime?

The state, as Justice Brandies observed, is a great teacher. Its lessons are not limited to laws. They embrace, also, the field of morals. The state is a teacher of morals.

In the bright lexicon of honor there is no such word as evasion, or misrepresentation. Yet, throughout the South, with noble exceptions here and there, laws have been enacted and official steps taken without a frank declaration of their real purpose. Their purpose has been to preserve a segregated society, but the assigned reason has been something quite different -- public peace and tranquility, freedom of association, consideration of psychological factors, and all the rest -- you know the jargon as well as I. The pupil, copying the ancient motto "Honesty is the best policy," may look out of the school window and observe his native state laughing at him for being so naive.

In the struggle between the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin and the lessons learned at Sunday School with the example of his state and the society about him, the betting odds are heavily against pure and noble ethics. Eminent men, whom he knows or of whom he has read, tell the pupil by deeds that the ancient moralists were wrong. What chance has pure morality against the examples of living men whom his state has exalted to high station?

The influence of example is not confined to the child of tender years sweating over his mottoes. In our colleges and universities are young men and women preparing for careers in law and politics. What does the state teach them? "The qualities essential for success are slickness, shrewdness, cunning." You and I know better. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick, or shrewd, or cunning; he is profound.

The hope is that our young men and women may observe the monotonous regularity with which our slick, shrewd and cunning lawyers are rebuffed by courts above the level of parish magistrates, and how such politicians are silently ignored or publicly repudiated by both political parties. Minor successes in obscure forums may await the new-comer in law or politics who has heeded the admonition of his state; he will stretch forth his hands in vain for greater prizes.

It is to North Carolina's shame that it brought into common

usage the expression "token integration." What the phrase implies is that the state will so conduct itself as to fool the court into believing that it has de-segregated its schools, while, in sober fact, it has not. This is a form of obtaining credit by false pretenses. It is a species of ethics which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade. Surely there is not a minister in this state who feels content and undisturbed in the evolution of such a policy. Particularly is this true in view of the state's powerful example spread before all of its citizens.

Consider for a moment some logical extensions of the token integration idea. I will stop at only one red light out of ten, as a token of my obedience to law. I will pay one tenth of my income tax, and serve only one month of my enlistment in the Army. Finally, as evidence of my devotion to honorable living, I will observe only one of the Ten Commandments.

Not merely ministers of the Gospel, but all North Carolinians, were taught that, if a man sues you at law and takes away your coat, you should give him your cloak also; and if he requires you to go with him one mile, you should go with him twain. Can people so taught be long content with the view that, if the law and good faith require the de-segregation of a hundred pupils, we shall de-segregate only one?

I address my remarks not to Negro ministers or white ministers, not even merely to Christians. There is not a religion taught anywhere on this globe which does not condemn such intolerable hypocrisy. And even men professing no religion -- atheists or agnostics, if you please -- have consciences and their consciences must reject such a policy.

Certainly, I hold no brief for the State of Virginia. But its policy of massive resistance was at least honest and forthright. And, when its inevitable failure occurred Virginians began with much more sincerity than North Carolina to comply with law. The first year they integrated 100 Negro pupils and this fall, the third year, they will integrate 800. Meanwhile, after six years, North Carolina has integrated 60. Thus leadership in honesty slips from our own to our sister state.

My thesis is that ministers of the Gospel bear a special and heavy responsibility for trying to influence the moral tone of a state's policy. Its laws reflect only a part of policy. Its customs and manners have equal significance.

Years ago Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected .. but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it ..."

A short while ago, an African diplomat stopped at a Howard Johnson restaurant in Hagerstown, Maryland. A waitress refused to serve him because he was a Negro.

Earlier Dr. Ralph Bunche was denied membership in a tennis

club for the same reason.

Possibly the waitress and the club were within their legal rights. But their judgment was at least questionable and their manners were atrocious. There were repercussions throughout the world. Dr. Bunche and the emissary were persons of prominence.

But displays of bad manners affecting little known persons have likewise involved us. There have traveled around the world pictures of a serene and poised Negro girl in Charlotte, North Carolina, being heckled by a mob, and, more recently, Africans were edified by glimpses of New Orleans white women who screamed at little children on their way to school.

Our manners then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?

Negro Southerners and the African diplomat may be light years removed from each other in the social scale or in what the world designates as important. But I am sure that the diplomat would be the first to admit that his humiliation differed in no degree from that endured each day by millions of persons of his color in the South.

That humiliation, whether inflicted by law or by the crassness of private citizens, has no place in the Twentieth Century. No state has the moral right to present the citizen with the intolerable dilemma of preserving his self-respect or obeying the law.

With the world engaged in a grim cold war and teetering over the void of nuclear destruction, this nation can no longer afford the luxury of the studied insult. So conscious is President Kennedy of the somber consequences of incivility that he wrote the Southern governors urging precaution that distinguished visitors from Africa and Asia be not subjected to indignity. You will remember that Governor Almond of Virginia warmly applauded the idea and suggested that such visitors wear some identifying insignia. Whereupon the Washington Post bitterly -- and truthfully -- observed that one must establish he was not an American citizen in order to be treated with decency and respect!

The effort to make the best possible Southern impression on visiting dignitaries carries one back in memory to the days of Catherine, the Great. You will recall that her Prime Minister, Potemkin, at a time when Russians were starving, constantly represented to her that the picture everywhere was bright. The Queen took a long trip by coach through the provinces. Potemkin, all along the route, hastily erected only the outer walls of neat buildings and had thousands of children scrubbed and fitted out in warm clothes to greet the Queen. "Potemkin Village" has become a synonym for mass deception as to real conditions.

Surely diplomats can read. When passengers are dragged from buses and beaten up on the streets of Birmingham because of their

color, a diplomat of the same color will appraise the fine treatment given him as an exceptional performance designed only to delude.

Everyone of us, of course, applauded Governor Hodges' correct and courteous entertainment of President Toure of Guinea. Of course, President Toure must have had appreciation, but he could not have been unaware that few, if any Negro private citizens of North Carolina could have enjoyed a similar experience.

But is it government's primary function to impress visiting dignitaries, to run a good show for their benefit? Governement's chief concern is the welfare of its own citizens. No carefully contrived show can equal in impressive quality, in its impact upon the observer, a universal and convincing day-to-day demonstration of good manners and the good will from which good manners flow. We hear much of civil rights -- and we should. But in a proper scale of values they do not rank as high as civilities. Civil rights are matters of mere law; civilities have their origin in the human heart. And out of the heart are the real issues of life.

As important as our international relations may be, admittedly we do not place the discussion upon its highest level when the argument runs that a state should watch its law, its morals and its manners because outsiders may be so impressed by them that our national safety may be imperilled. This is in the same category with the position that the bank cashier should be honest because he will go to jail if he isn't. It is suggestive of the definition of conscience as "that still, small voice which says 'this will go hard with you if you get caught.'" Certainly the reason is practical but it lacks ethical content. The point should not be left dangling.

Let us approach the matter by observing that, cultural differences aside, Dr. Ralph Bunche and a raw Negro freshman have identical rights and identical capacity to suffer. If they jointly approached a waitress, or ticket agent, or room clerk, or real estate broker, or usher in a church, they pose precisely the same moral problem. It becomes snobbishness to discriminate as between them. If they are rebuffed, probably the suffering of the student would be more acute, because he would not be sustained by Dr. Bunche's justified awareness of his own impeccable status.

Such rebuffs, inherent in a segregated society, are daily and callously inflicted upon millions of our fellow citizens. The profound question arises: Should the force of a state be lent to a business or enterprise, operating under governmental sanction or license, which thus needlessly mortifies people because of their color?

The whole issue may be epitomized in the lunchroom. There are laws and regulations carefully drawn to assure that a member of the public is not temporarily nauseated by some foreign object in a slice of pie. These laws and regulations are evidence of government's legitimate concern that no one serving the public shall

needlessly inflict injury upon any of its members.

There is no scale to measure the degree of suffering endured by one whose stomach is upset as compared with one who has just been told, in effect, that he is a second class citizen, unfit to eat with his white superiors. So that question must be left unresolved. But surely only the purblindness of government enables it to see its duty in the one instance and fail to observe it in the other.

Twenty-eight American states and an unknown but large number of cities now have laws which forbid discrimination in public accommodations. Such laws will be enacted here. When no one may guess. Until their enactment the Negro dilemma persists: Submission to personal indignity or non-violent resistance.

Why do I talk to ministers about these ancient discriminations? What special concern is it of theirs?

If religions have any mission or purpose on this earth, it is to refine and ennoble men, to make them just, generous and compassionate. The tenets and precepts of religions and the lives and examples of their founders and heroic figures are set against harsh and brutal, or subtle and sophisticated, injury to any of God's creatures. Our segregation practices daily inflict such injury. Surely, no minister may ignore them and preserve his self-respect.

North Carolinians take proper satisfaction in the fact that the Voice of America will soon begin broadcasting from our own coastal plain. The Voice will penetrate the world's remote corners. In some of these areas are millions of persons of color. They will hear our message. What shall we say? What dare we say?

How moving and uplifting everywhere would be the message, spoken with truth:

"The tower from which this broadcast comes has its base in the soil of the old South where men once were slaves. They have long since been set free. They enjoy freedom, not merely in the sense of physical liberty, but freedom also in the larger sense that the society in which they move is rid of all embarrassing and humiliating reminders of serfdom.

"The state of which they are citizens has pride that nowhere within its borders is there discrimination in employment, in housing in education, in enjoyment of any of its institutions or facilities, or in right of association.

"Here in North Carolina no doors, including school doors, are shut in the faces of the aspiring and deserving. The only conditions for advancement are such as inhere in merit and worth, to which race and color are unrelated."

Is this Utopian?

Well, heaven itself is a kind of Utopia. It is the business of ministers to try to get us there.

June 19, 1961

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Welch:

I forwarded your recent letter to Harold, and you may be hearing from him.

I agree with you about the editorial in the Auburn Plainsman. And thank you for the copy of Marion Wright's speech: it is one of his typically good efforts, and we may order some.

Frankly, I know little about SCEF, though I have been for 20 years (i.e. since my college days, when I helped support myself on NYA) a distant and warm admirer of Aubrey Williams. I doubt that SRC leadership has been, however, the source or even the channel of allegations that SCEF is "pinko." I used to observe that Harold was awfully careful about how he spoke of SCEF, and I assume that our officers are equally considerate. I do suspect that some people's uncertainty about SCEF reflects this fact: that they are not fully aware of what its programs are. But I would like for both you and Mr. Williams to know that SRC staff is not pinning labels, even though we may sometimes not agree with or understand SCEF's tactics.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:a

June 6, 1961

To: Harold Fleming

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

I'll do a reply to the attached. I am forwarding it in case you also want to answer.

C O P Y

NAT WELCH
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Harold--

I enclose an editorial from the Auburn Plainsman--which is the best piece I've seen on our Alabama Mob Violence. The Birmingham News had a fine editorial, front page, May 21.

Also enclosed is a reprint of Marion Wright's speech made to ACHR in February. We had 2,000 copies reprinted. If you want 100 or 200 or so suggest your request from our Birmingham state headquarters.

I had a good visit with Aubrey Williams, my former employer and Pres. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He has been disturbed down thru the years at reports that seemed to come from SRC leadership that SCEF is pinko, etc. He said we have a common objective and let's not swing at each other. I agree. Please look into this.

Personal regards,

Nat

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

PR ✓

JM ✓ Flowed as we have!

want to order copies Wright speech? no

ML ✓

MF - file

THE POSITIVE APPROACH

Address by

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C.

before

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

at Talladega College, February 4, 1961

I appreciate the opportunity of meeting with the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Frankly, I think the Southern Regional Council likes to send someone down here about once a year to see if you have survived all the attacks made upon you. You will remember that Carlyle tells of a French clergyman who was asked "What did you do during the Revolution?" He replied "I survived." It is encouraging to me, and I shall so report that you have survived and look hale and hearty.

You will remember the famous statement by Marshal Foch in World War I: "My left flank has been destroyed and my right flank has been driven back. I shall attack with my center. "It is about that spirit and that method that I would like to talk with you for a short while today.

We are, in my opinion, entering upon a phase of the struggle for equal rights in which our tactics may be profitably re-examined. The times have changed within the last year or so. Massive resistance has crumbled in Virginia and Georgia. Technically, only South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi remain as die-hard and completely segregated states in the public education area. A whole series of court decisions and the reception greeting the sit-in demonstrators show the gathering force which is on our side of this question. We may now move, serene

in the knowledge that the national power and the national conscience are on our side, pointing up the utter futility of opposition.

Under such circumstances, if we have ever been disposed to be hesitant or apologetic, we may now abandon that mental attitude. I am sure that none of us has been consciously apolegetic but it has been easy to urge no stronger view than that law should be observed and that integration will not be so bad, once we get used to it. If any of us have had that kind of spirit, I purpose that we now throw it out of the window and adopt a more robust and aggressive attitude.

Our position from this point on should be that the white South has paid a high price for the luxury of segregation and that integration, so far from being a status to be approached reluctantly, contains elements of positive value which may well regenerate the entire Southern region.

Even the most ardent segregationist who examines with clear vision the relevant tables of statistics must admit that our section experiences a cultural lag when compared with the rest of the country. It is strangely fascinating to observe that this lag is greatest in the so-called hard-core states of the South.

I think it will be agreed by all students of the Southern Region that the principal cause of this lag in cultural development is the attachment of our present leadership to what is called "our way of life." The South has proven what China proved centuries ago, that ancestor worship is the natural enemy of progress. We have been shackled by misguided loyalty to a fictitious entity known as the South. It has no coporate existence--has had none since Appomattox. Yet it is daily invoked by our politicians as if it had some political vitality. Always the rest of the country is supposed to be attacking the South, seducing it from ancient principles, ramming something down its throat.

The evil consequences of this sectional loyalty were forseen in 1882 by one of the South's enlightened spirits, Louisiana's George W. Cable. Speaking at the University of Mississippi, he said:

"When the whole intellectual energy of the Southern States flew to the defense of that one institution (slavery) which made us the South, we broke with human progress. We broke with the world's thought. We have not entirely in all things joined hands with it again When we have done so we shall know it by this--there will be no South. We shall be Virginians, Texans, Louisianians, Mississippians, and we shall at the same time and over and above all be Americans. But we shall no more be Southerners than we shall be Northerners. The accidents of latitude shall be nothing to us. We shall be the proud disciples of every American alike who adds to the treasure of truth in American literature, and prouder still if his words reach the whole human heart and his lines of light run

through the varied languages of the world. Let us hasten to be no longer a unique people. Let us search provincialism out of the land . . . There is a newly-coined name that . . . I would gladly see met with somewhat of disrelish: The New South. It is a term only fit to indicate a transitionary condition. What we want--what we ought to have in view--is the No South! Does the word sound like annihilation? It is the farthest from it. It is enlargement. It is growth. It is a higher life."

Obviously, the up-coming young Negro leader does not share this unqualified devotion to a way of life which has served him and his people so ill. Preserve what is best in Southern life, its manners, its, spirit of hospitality, its appreciation of the aesthetic and all the rest which is good, but down the drain with its caste system, its raw violence, its use of legal and non-legal means to deprive people of their constitutional rights.

If we had ever been disposed to treat gingerly or timidly the White Citizen's Councils this attitude should now give way to aggressive exposure of the somber results of their activities.

These councils were formed for the sole purpose of "keeping the Negro in his place," of preserving racial segregation. They were not effectively rebuked. Many Southern politicians nestled close to them. They achieved a certain respectability. But not too long a time elapsed until synagogues were bombed, and, in all of the area which they infest, in the recent political campaign religious bigotry was most intense and virulent. Examples of racial intolerance move the suggestible to demonstrate intolerance in religion, and indeed, in the whole realm of thought and conviction.

Intolerance moves not merely laterally--from one area to another--it also moves vertically-- from one level to another.

Was anything more inevitable than that defiance of law by Governor Faubus would mean mob action in the streets of Little Rock? Or that the raucous pronouncements by Governor Davis and the irresponsible antics of his legislature would bear fruit in women who snarled and spat? In both instances mobs were only following examples set in high places.

Who among us was not sickened by these crude and violent demonstrations in the streets? We had greater cause for more profound nausea at what happened in the state capitals, on the parliamentary level. Action upon those heights was the genesis of the violence which swirled and eddied about the schools.

I should like to pose a disturbing moral question. Are we too sure that you and I, as citizens, have a superior ethical vantage point from which to pass judgment upon the mobs? Certainly, we would not stoop

to violence. But, if we have sat by, unprotestingly, while our chosen agents in governor's offices, in legislatures, upon school boards, upon city councils, and upon park commissions, use parliamentary means to preserve a caste system in the South, what right have we to complain that others use the only means with which they are familiar to accomplish the same result? There is no moral virtue in mere sophistication.

Perhaps, because of superior training, education or background, we eschew violence. We should never forget that from him to whom much is given much is required. The minimum requirement of the good citizen is that his powers shall be positively and beneficially employed.

"All that is necessary for evil to triumph is that good men shall do nothing." They are the meanly wise, the feebly good.

So I think we should lose no convenient occasion for impressing upon the public the dire social consequences which have flowed from this mass attack upon the rights of our fellow citizens.

Not only will the Negro bring into Southern public affairs a lack of devotion to the worst features of "our way of life" to which we referred a moment ago; he also brings a demonstrated ca pacity to marshal and channel his moral strength to combat the raw violence sometimes employed against him.

In a real sense the culminating drive against segregation had its birth at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when some Negro college students ordered a cup of coffee.

The year 1961 may have interest to the historian for many reasons. Not the least of these will be because an idea emerged in the South--an idea which had application to the entire region.

You will note that I do not say the idea was then and there conceived. I say it emerged and it had application. For the idea of nonviolent resistance to tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, but Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, That we will not serve thy gods ,nor worship the golden image thou hast set up. "And so they walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery,

Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea of February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

There is epic drama in the emergence of such an idea at such a time and place. It emerged in the South in the year 1960. There is a jarring contrast between the gentle and humane philosophy of non-violence and the prevailing spirit and mood. A Sophocles or a Shakespeare would have arranged it thus.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths times the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York. More than incidentally, violence has often been the ready tool of some segregationists.

We hear much of "our way of life." I am never sure what our friends mean, but it is the way of violence. I am aware that it is said all over the South, "Oh, yes, but most of that bad record is made by Negroes."

Let's examine that for a moment. Consider an analogy: Here is a child who, all his life, has had orange juice for breakfast, a balanced diet, cod liver oil and all the rest. Here is another who has been reared on fat back and corn bread. What right has the well nourished child to say "You should be ashamed of yourself for being stunted and having rickets"?

Now anyone who knows anything in the world about crime knows that there are conditions which foster it. Slum neighborhoods, lack of parks, play grounds, and swimming pools, exclusion from libraries, concerts and art galleries, inferior education and above all else, being branded as a second class citizen--these are among the ingredients of which crime is compounded.

The Negro in many parts of this country, not exclusively in the South, has lived under a regime of intellectual and cultural malnutrition. It comes with poor grace from those who have imposed the regime to disavow responsibility for its inevitable results.

It was against this backdrop of raw, red violence, into this world of bared fangs and claws, that the idea of non-violence entered a Greensboro lunch room on February 1, 1960.

Here, then, for the resistant South, is a completely new concept,

certainly a completely new tactic, in securing social change.

It is an exclusively Negro conception. The movement that rocked the South was the product of brains of Negro lads in a college dormitory at Greensboro. Inevitably the insistant question will be asked throughout the South: If Negro brains can conceive and execute so unorthodox and masterly a campaign, could not such brains be profitably utilized in all other phases of Southern life?

So,then, we may positively proclaim undying hostility to the form of tyranny over the minds of men epitomized in the White Citizens Councils. So we may positively proclaim that the young Negro citizen will bring to Southern life this lack of attachment to its worst elements and the capacity to use non-violent means to secure his ends. We may also proclaim the broader national and international outlook which has been unwittingly forced upon our Negro citizen.

We are now rearing in many parts of the South a generation of white children who are being taught by words and deeds that the government of the United States is something foreign, alien, hostile. How will their loyalty to that government be later affected? And who is a subversive if it be not one who spreads the doctrine of disloyalty?

Much more than government is involved. The Negro child sees both major political parties on the national level standing firmly for his rights; the white child sees as his champions the small, dissident, splinter groups which constantly threaten to bolt over the civil rights issue.

The Negro sees the national press, radio and TV, with negligible exceptions, giving eloquent expression to his normal and legitimate aspirations; the white finds that Nordic or Aryan supremacy is upheld only by the communication media of a community or region. The cause of the Negro is endorsed and supported by such respected bodies as the United Nations and the World Council of Churches and all national and international religious groups, while the local white churches turns him away from its altar.

So, to what a paradox we are drifting! As the world shrinks in size and the significance of local boundary lines melts and dwindles, we are conditioning our white youth to the narrow, provincial and parochial approach to public affairs, and our Negro youth to the broader, vaster, more all-encompassing approach.

We are at that period in human affairs when world government is within man's dreams and not beyond his grasp. The segregationist would probably be the last to admit it--certainly the last to see it--but he is helping to withhold citizenship papers for tomorrow's brave new

world, from tomorrow's white citizens, while bestowing them freely upon tomorrow's Negro citizens.

So the Negro college deals with youth attuned to the cosmos, conscious of his relationship with, and mutual dependence upon, all mankind. The age demands leaders so attuned, so conscious. One whose vision is merely national is no fit captain of the ship of state. One whose vision is merely regional--even the entire Southern region--is, in the truest sense, provincial. The fashioning of public policy must be in the keeping of those who feel united in interest with men everywhere, from Alaska to Rhodesia, from London to Calcutta.

On the campuses of Negro colleges may now be the men and women destined to preserve civilization and save mankind from mass destruction by nuclear weapons. The Negro has shown qualities which we should not greet grudgingly or reluctantly but which we should hail with enthusiam as offering the best hope for the regeneration of our section.

I think we should proclaim quite boldly that the resisting Southern states are setting an example in wholesale lawbreaking. As Justice Brandeis wrote: "In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperilled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our government is the potent, the omnipresent, teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

The lunch room sit-ins were initiated by Negro brains. We may take pride that they originated in the South and that white students and professors marched in the picket lines with the Negroes.

So the lunch counter struggle was lifted above the ruck of an interracial brawl. It was not whites versus Negroes; it was the decency of whites and Negroes versus indecency and injustice.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in Athens. He replied, "When those who have not suffered injustice are as indignant as those who have. "If he were alive today he would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward that high ideal.

Yet, of course, the South is a region of contrasts. In the interest of accuracy, it must be pointed out that this evidence of groping toward the ideal of complete justice exists side by side with evidence of retreat from all conception of justice, indeed retreat from civilization itself.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the

golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have inriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth,--that circle has been racially constricted. We too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter and better world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PA. file copy

Linville Falls, N. C.
June 24, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

At the request of a Duke professor, I am furnishing him certain biographical material on myself. He is particularly interested in my activities in the Civil Rights field.

I enclose copy of pages 14 through 18 of material sent the professor. My Southern Regional Council connection appears on 17 and 18.

You will note that there are certain blanks as to dates and places. I think from SRC records it will not be difficult for you to get those blanks filled in for me. I shall greatly appreciate your having this done and returning the paper to me as soon as convenient.

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

raj

July 17, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was very sorry to hear from Paul today that you will not be at the Executive Committee meeting. There may be matters before the meeting on which everyone would benefit greatly from your counsel, and I had looked forward in addition to a chance to talk over some ideas with you. If it would be possible for you to stop off in Atlanta on your way home from Albuquerque, we could still do the latter.

I hope the trip to Albuquerque is a vacation for you. Good camping!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

Dallas Airport
7/26/61

As you probably know, my plane was an hour late from Asheville, so I had to run from United to Delta at the Atlanta airport.

Sorry I did not get to see you, and hope you were not inconvenienced.

In emergency can be reached care Frank W. ~~Olivard~~ Clinard, Jr. 2719 Garfield S.E., Albuquerque. Phone is in his name.

M. A. Wright

August 10, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Across the street as I write pickets are walking by the Journal-Constitution building, carrying signs which read, "Red Ralph Speaks for Moscow, Not For White America," and "Atlanta Newspapers, Inc. Aids Communism." They are distributing a newspaper, The White American (Issue Number 1) and the front page streamer is

Kill Whites Negroes Told
Train Behind Iron Curtain
Jewish Fiend in Charge

With all this in my view, you will understand, I am sure, that it is hard for me not to see our differences regarding the Freedom Ride report as even less wide than they in fact are.

Receipt today of your letter of August 8 prompts me to answer without further wait yours of June 16. I have not delayed a reply to that because of either indifference or disapproval. As I read and re-read the letter, and as I read your later one, I gathered that your chief concern is that the Report will damage our relations with our friends. I did not think that would be the case. Rather obviously, however, neither you nor I could be sure. I thought I had better postpone, therefore, a reply to you until the evidence was in, or at least an unmistakable trend of it.

Let me say at once that the evidence is not as conclusive as I would like, but I am naturally cautious in evaluating evidence. I think, however, there is a trend, and it is this: with some of our allies, the Report was received with quiet gratification. With newer agencies, and you and I are both especially concerned on this point, the Report was not welcome. However, --and that

is a very emphatic "however" -- there is no resentment that we have encountered nor any diminution of respect. Paul Rilling and I, both in New York and in the South, have gone to special pains to discuss the Report with persons who might have inferred some criticism of them or their organizations from it. Of course they have regret that we did not support the Ride unreservedly. But I have found--and I hope this will be your experience too--that we are respected for having spoken honestly. John Wheeler and I recently participated in a day long conference on the voting question with CORE, SCLC, and student leaders; I think there was an awareness on all sides that SRC had differed on the Ride, but a concession also of our right to have differed, and confidence in our comradship.

I remember your statement at Little Rock that you agreed fully with the analysis in the Report, except that you would not have issued it. Your letter of June 16 indicates a similar appraisal. You do, however, mention several points of partial disagreement, and I would like to comment on them.

As a principle, I agree that seeking a right for others is more commendable than seeking it for one's self. The statement in the Report ("Many of the participants do not themselves apparently need or intend to use the services demanded.") was made purely as an observation of fact, and the only use made of it in the interpretation that follows was in regard to the question of whether the Ride would succeed, as the sit-ins did, in "opening the eyes of whites." I think that this also involves a question of fact.

The reference to non-local planning is in the same context. I do not "look askance" at this fact; we simply reported it.

The question of the Yale professor. In the first place, I have learned, from you among others, to use whatever needles there may be lying around and Yale University is a juicy target; Will Campbell, incidentally, tells me that the little dig reached home and hurt. Secondly, in reference to one of your points, a professor has certainly as much control over appointing practices at his institution as over bus terminals 1,000 miles away. Thirdly, I don't clearly see the case of Harry Ashmore is comparable.

You say, finally, "I am not prepared to pit my judgment against theirs (the riders)." I believe that one of SRC's central and most valuable functions is that of interpretation. We could not have

resisted longer than we did the pressures on us to issue an analysis and interpretation. This is expected of us; if we don't do it, we really give up ground we have won. To give you some idea of the pressure, three reporters--from two national and one Atlanta press--sat in our office all afternoon the day the Report came off the mimeograph, reading a page at a time. We had to say something, and I think our responsibility and role is to say it honestly and according to our best lights.

Schism is always to be avoided, and we in the civil rights campaign have been and are remarkably free of it. The case was and is, that if you speak at all on the Freedom Ride you take a step or so toward a side, because there are sides. I am sure you have not overlooked, for example, various public comments by Roy Wilkins and Bishop Spottswood.

As for Mr. Shad Polier, I have no intention--although I am open to persuasion--to recognize his comment by a reply to him. Mr. Polier assumes a pontifical role, impartially pointing out the error of SRC, the Riders themselves, and Judge Mize. We and the Riders "disappoint" Mr. Polier; Judge Mize is true to bad expectations. If Mr. Polier did in fact read our Report such is not apparent from his rendering of it. If these remarks betray arrogance, and if you are kind enough to regard that as uncharacteristic, it is because Mr. Polier's cute remark about our funds seemed to the staff here in squirmy bad taste.

Your letter of August 8 suggests a second report. You will be interested to know that the next issue of New South, now at the printers, will be devoted largely to the Freedom Ride. There will be three articles: one by a Negro student who took part, recounting his experiences; a report on foreign press coverage, based on materials which we obtained from USIA (this source told to you in confidence); and a short interpretive article by me (copy enclosed). Please let me know, after you have received this New South, what your reaction is.

I am enclosing also examples of editorial and other reactions to the Report; some you have seen already, no doubt. You may find those from the Negro press especially interesting.

Now, in all this long letter, I have talked only about our Report on the Ride, and given that some measure of defense. I have not talked about the Ride itself, and I want to make clear that I deny that defending the Report is equivalent to attacking the Ride. There are grounds for believing that the Report conveyed our basic sympathy with the Ride. It expressed some and implied some other reservations, and those so astonished some that they dominated their reading of it. I believe that many other readers have found in it a balanced interpretation.

I have also your letter of June 24, and your note of June 27. I am familiar with Perez v. Lippold; it was a state case (California). The Virginia case (Naim v. Naim) did get to the U. S. Supreme Court, and on appeal not certiorari, and seemed to confront the court with the necessity of decision. The Court, however, managed to dismiss it (March, 1956) and, so far as I know, has escaped further importuning. I think there is little doubt that someday the federal courts will have to meet the issue, and that when they do they will follow the lead of California and other states and outlaw the miscegenation statutes.

I think you were wise in declining the invitation to Washington.

With best regards. You were missed by everyone at the Executive Committee meeting. Hope you had rest and pleasure in New Mexico.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Enclosures:
"The Freedom Ride," by LWD, for Forum Service, London
"Injunction in Alabama," New York Times ed., June 4, 1961
"A Liberal View on 'The Freedom Ride'" Nashville Times ed., June 2, 1961
"Freedom Rides--May, '61," Louisville Defender ed., June 8, 1961
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"The Truth Needn't Be Characterized," Atlanta Constitution ed., Eugene Patterson, June 1, 1961

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

August 8, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have an idea which I pass on to you for your consideration with no firm opinion on my part that it has merit.

It may be entirely possible that we erred in the report on the Freedom Rides. I expressed that view to you in a letter. Others, whose opinions are more valuable than mine, have subscribed to my views.

If it should be true that we erred, I am sure we should like to undo any harm that we may have unwittingly inflicted. It occurs to me that a graceful method of accomplishing that result would be to issue a second report. This would follow the pattern of our handling the lunchroom sit-ins which we covered in a series of reports. The Freedom Rides seem to me to be equally news worthy and equally entitled to full treatment.

If a second report should be issued, while unprecedented, I think a frank statement of responsible opinion contra to our views as expressed in the first report should be included .

Solely by way of illustrating what I have in mind, I enclose a suggested outline of a second report.

If SRC is to cooperate fully with CORE and other groups on the registrating and voting drive, reasons of diplomacy, if no others, might suggest that we might give this evidence of our open-mindedness as to methods the other groups have pursued.

Please feel entirely free to reject this entire idea or to modify it in any matter you please.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. W.

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PA ✓
LD ✓

August 8, 1961.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I had practically made up my mind to go to Washington to participate in the Braden Clemency hearing until I had my phone conversation with you. I had not known the organization which volunteered to pay my expenses.

Upon learning from you the name of that organization I promptly decided not to accept.

I am now very glad that I called you about the matter.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
June 24, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have great admiration for your letters to Mr. Healy and Mrs. Starr, copies of which you were kind enough to send me.

As a matter of future reference, it is my distinct recollection that a case from California declared unconstitutional a statute which forbade inter-marriage between a Caucasian and a Mexican, and a case from Virginia declared unconstitutional the same kind of statute involving a Caucasian and a Chinese.

Presumably both of these were Federal cases since, apparently, they would have invoked the 14th Amendment.

I am sure Mr. Haas could locate these for you without too much trouble and you might like to read them.

The Negro's lack of interest in inter-marriage has always seemed to me to be quite obvious. All of the statutes against inter-marriage, in my opinion, would be declared unconstitutional anytime the point was raised. While the Negro tests the constitutionality of practicality every other form of discrimination, so far as I know, he has never had sufficient interest to attack the bar on marriage.

You might be interested in fortifying yourself on that point.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M.A.W.

Marion A. Wright

raj

INTRODUCTION

Refer to first report on Freedom Riders dated _____.

Exception taken to certain inferences deducible from the report by persons whose opinions are highly valued by SRC.

ADVERSE VIEW

In its effort to be completely objective, and because of the significance of these criticisims, certain of them believed to be representative, are here reproduced.

(Here quote
Jewish Committee - Shad Polier - letter
Florida SRC woman letter to The Times
Others)

SIGNIFICANT ENDORSEMENT OF FREEDOM RIDES

Expressions by church groups
Editorials
Pres. Kennedy's press conference
Others

THE CHANGING PICTURE SINCE FORMER REPORT

Any de-segregation effected
Decrease of violence
Arrests
Governmental action:
Federal - IC Commission
Intervention
Amicus Curiae
Direct suit
Other

State
Local

STATUS OF THE LAW AS TO TRAVEL

Inter-state
Intra-state
Seating arrangements in travel
Waiting rooms
Lunch counters & dining rooms
Rest rooms
Other
Effect of federal loan or grant in construction or maintenance or operation of facilities.

~~June 16, 1961~~
June 16, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

As I intimated to you at Little Rock, while I have great admiration for the thoroughness and scholarship exhibited in "The Freedom Ride", I ~~had~~ have some reservations about the comments on the <u>method</u> pursued by the "riders" and on the <u>personnel</u> of the groups. I had not intended to pursue the matter further. But the letter from ~~the~~ The Times, which I mailed you on June 16, indicates that other staunch friends of SRC entertain those same reservations. This circumstance emboldens me to a fuller statement of my

Wright
Stern
Pettigrew
Polier

views.

Those views have no value insofar as the past is concerned. They may have relevance for future SRC policy.

Let me state quite frankly that, if I had been consulted in advance, I would have advised against such rides. I have serious doubt of their value. But, as to such matters, events have so often proved me wrong that I have developed a becoming modesty in urging my own opinions. Still having grave doubts as to ~~their~~ value of such rides, I have given

doubts of the wisdom of ~~it~~ criticism of them by SRC. (The criticism is much more implied than expressed, but the Florida lady who wrote The Times sensed it, as I do.)

Your comparisons between the "sit-ins" and the "rides" hardly leave doubt of your approval of the one and disapproval of the other. Privately I concur but the reasons you advance, to me are not persuasive.

You approve of the sit-ins because demonstrators actually planned to use the service, had need of it, while the riders did not. Character seems to

me to have its finest expression in seeking a right for <u>others</u>. This right was sought at considerable personal risk as events proved.

You look askance at the rides because they were not locally planned.

This seems to put us in the position of objecting to "outside interference" in our affairs - a position we have long and properly deprecated in the segregationists. Interstate travel is not a local affair. Every citizen, North, East or West, has a concern that no burdens or restraints be placed

upon it.

In this fight we need all the help we can get. I am not disposed critically to examine the source. If the question arises as to whether or not the riders are actually helping, I am not prepared to put my judgment against theirs on that issue. It is fatal to a cause to have allies fall out over strategy.

In a footnote on Page 4 there is oblique criticism of a professor because his faculty has no Negro member. This seems quite gratuitous. He may have

no control over the employment policies of his institution. The segregationists used to attack Harry Ashmore because his paper had no Negro reporter. No insincere person would take the risks and criticism entailed in freedom riding. Argumentum ad hominem is not persuasive.

I write thus fully because I deeply regret to see schisms created between those groups having the same objective. SRC may have doubts about methods and tactics of others. We are well advised, in my opinion, to limit our criticisms to our own policies. Sincerely, M.G.W.

OVER

Please excuse writing. No stenographer.
The tone is far more belligerent than
I intended. My apologies
M.A.W.

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

PAV
MMB-BC

Linville Falls, N. C.
August 19, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

You need not have gone to the trouble to reply so fully about my comments on the report on the Freedom Riders. I merely wanted to get a point of view before you.

Your article, herewith returned, prepared for FORUM SERVICE, when it appears in NEW SOUTH, should remove any resentment about the report.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

MAW/jep

Enclosure: 1

THE FREEDOM RIDE *

Leslie W. Dunbar

The sit-in demonstrations began in the South early in 1960. The device was simple: Negroes, most of whom were students, violated local customs by seating themselves at lunch counters and asking for service. The tactic spread contagiously, though least in the so-called Deep South, i.e., the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. By the year's end, more than 100 cities and towns of the South had responded to the sit-ins by opening to Negro patronage at least some of the eating places formerly for whites only.

No other method had ever achieved as much in so short a time as had these non-violent protests. Moreover, not the least of their results was the effect they had on the white South. At first annoyed, then angered, then confused, white Southerners in scores of places came fairly rapidly to a grasp of the rightness of the protest. For almost the first time in their history, they yielded on a racial issue without being compelled by the federal government to do so.

Because many Africans, Asians, and Europeans visit the office of the Southern Regional Council, I know that the above statement hides a question eternally puzzling to them: the nature of our federal system of government. Indeed, I have sometimes wondered, when my explanations have proven helpless, whether we Americans believe in federalism firmly enough to make it sound credible to others.

The sometime impotence of American federalism has been revealed clearly by the Freedom Ride, which since May 4, 1961 has been the most prominent form of the Negro movement. Unlike the sit-ins, the Freedom Ride is an attack on laws, not customs -- laws which are plainly unconstitutional under rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States and yet still are enforced by some state governments.

* written for Forum Service, London, England

The Ride is an assertion of a clear federal right to travel freely and peacefully from one state to another; yet only most clumsily can the federal government protect this right against state obstruction. In short, the benefits of decentralized government do not come without pain. The inability of the federal government to shield private citizens, in all circumstances, from deprivation of rights by state and local authorities is one side of a coin, whose other is the limited power of Washington to interfere in the private lives of citizens.

Federalism works poorly without a general consensus amon the parts of the country. On the racial question, that consensus has come slowly between the South and the rest of the nation The victory of this generation is that we now are moving toward it with a sure pace. The Freedom Ride will help perfect American unity. That will be, in sum, its historical accomplishment. The sum, as it now is in late July, has five parts.

First, the Freedom Ride brought the Negro protest movement to the heart of the Deep South: Alabama and Mississippi. The latter had been the only state to have no sit-ins; Alabama had been the one state where governmental power had wrecked the sit-ins of 1960. Yet into these two citadels of caste the Ride penetrated daringly. This is likely to be a telling defeat for Alabama and Mississippi, just as it would be for any tyranny whose fearsome myth of invincibility had been defied, and the defiant not destroyed.

Secondly, in the three Alabama cities where there was violence, the mob did its work with official toleration. The nation -- and the world -- had seen this before; mobs can be, in the American South as well as in totalitarian nations, the instruments of official policy. Each spectacle, however, hastens the conquering revulsion.

Thirdly, the arrests of Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi affords another, and the clearest, opportunity to test juridically the anti-trespass laws passed by several southern states as a defense against sit-ins.

Fourthly, lunch counters in the bus terminals of Montgomery, Alabama have been desegregated as a result of the Ride. This was not only a defeat for segregation, but also a humbling setback for the Governor and his policies of bitter-end resistance to reform.

And finally, the national administration has requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to prohibit by effective regulations the practice of segregation at any stations where interstate buses stop. Non-Americans will be baffled that a Commission which the President cannot order, but can only appeal to, has the responsibility to regulate interstate travel; such, however, is the complexity of this government, a complexity which Americans also do not widely understand, but only get used to.

These I would say are the achievements of the Freedom Ride, and they add to a contribution to American popular unity. I have said nothing of the moral witness which the Riders have offered against racial injustice. Here it is doubtful that they have widened or deepened that already given so magnificently in recent years by Negro Southerners. More than any previous protest, however, the Ride has enlisted both white people and non-Southerners for direct action in the South. Thus, the Ride has given its distinctive witness to the savagery of racism, but also to the unstilled surge of the free spirit throughout American democracy.

BLIND COPY: LWD

August 30, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Marion:

We are returning your list of school officials, as you request. We are putting them on an appropriate mailing list for some of our materials.

I have suggested to Bill Bagwell that Brewbaker would be of considerable service in this effort.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR:mm
Enclosure

BLIND COPY: LWD

August 30, 1961

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

Your 1961-62 school desegregation program seems to me to be practical and realistic. The two emphases hit directly on what seem to me the most important tasks.

As to how we could help, I feel strongly that Brewbaker could be of assistance and would be willing to visit with the school people in these communities. You would invite Brewbaker's help through Ben Muse. I assume you sent Ben a copy of your proposed program.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

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Linville Falls, N. C.
August 8, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

You will recall that American Friends Service Committee sponsored a meeting in Greensboro several weeks ago which was attended by, among others, Ben Muse, Paul Rilling and myself. The conclusion there reached was that 17 mountain counties of Western North Carolina, having insignificant Negro population and presenting much the same picture as Yancey County, should be the object of fairly concentrated effort to desegregate their public schools.

Without going into too much detail it is hoped to have a meeting of the school officials of those counties at which the arts of persuasion would be employed.

I have induced my friend, Chester Davis, of the Winston-Salem Journal, to write an article on the price paid by Yancey County for its resistance. It is hoped that we may give this fairly wide distribution in the area.

AFSC has sent me lists of names and addresses of the school officials concerned. This is enclosed. Will you please have a copy run off, returning the enclosure to me.

I hope that you might consider it proper policy of SRC to put the persons named on the enclosed lists on a free mailing list to which New South and other selected material might be sent. The idea would be that, in advance of the planned meeting of these officials, they might be educated as to the wisdom of the course we recommend.

As you know, Asheville moves in token fashion this Fall. That step will have influence throughout the mountain region. With so few Negro pupils in each of the 17 counties, token integration is hardly possible. If our idea succeeds, we will propose establishing in this state the precedent of full compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

I hope you will find it possible to give us this help. We would also like to have any ideas that you or Rilling may have. Whatever you write me will be passed on to AFSC.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright

cc: Miss Sarah Herbin

Return to M.A.W.

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

To: Marion Wright

Date: Aug. 1, 1961

From: Marion Holbrook (Sarah's Secretary)

Subject:

Enclosed is a list of the superintendents of the 17 western N. Carolina counties and the principals of the city schools, and superintendents of the city schools.

Hope this is the information you wanted. I got your request second hand so couldn't be sure this was exactly what you had in mind. This information came out of the N. C. Educational Directory, 1960-61.

Kind regards.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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September 19, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I think with the July - August issue New South begins to come of age. I strongly approve of the new format and the trend toward using original, rather than reproduced material.

The section "Struts and Frets" seems to fall midway between humor and straight reporting. It takes near genius to do this successfully. My hunch is that this department will have to choose between humor and factual reporting.

I miss the page of brief quotes. It seems to me that that page offered a vehicle for picking up brief and sometimes witty sayings which caught the attention and which, perhaps, created a certain good will in the author whose remarks were picked up.

These are trifling and captious comments. The net effect of the new issue is good.

Best regards,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

File Board – MA Wright

THE MINISTER AS CITIZEN

Address

by

Marion A. Wright

Linville Falls, North Carolina

Delivered at

Goldsboro, North Carolina

October 12, 1961

I appreciate the opportunity of meeting with you on this occasion. To tell the truth, I think the Southern Regional Council likes for me to attend meetings of this kind so that I may observe how you have withstood the attacks made upon you. You remember that Thomas Carlyle, in his History of the French Revolution, tells of a clergyman who was asked "What did you do during the Revolution"? He replied, simply, "I survived".

Well, at times it is no small accomplishment to survive. I shall be happy to report to the Southern Regional Council that you have survived and seem quite hale, hearty and well-fed.

But surely, in times of revolution, mere survival is no cause for pride. One may survive, save his hide, by dodging the battle, by remaining neutral, on the sidelines. In the eye of such a man there will be no gleam when he tells his grandchildren that, in a struggle which involved their welfare and the welfare of all mankind, his major accomplishment lay in slinking away from the conflict.

One of Shakespeare's characters (I can't be sure which one, because I do not have access to a public library), one of them told another, "Go hang yourself. A great battle was fought and you were not there." Surely none of us would want to have that kind of comment made about himself.

There are all kinds of revolutions. They do not all involve fire, brimstone and barricades in the streets. Perhaps the most enduring of all revolutions involves none of these. It involves, not introducing bullets into bodies, but introducing ideas into brains. I need not remind a group of ministers that Roman society

was shaken to its foundations by a mere handful of men who carried no weapons except the truth and who sought no victories except over the minds of men.

Perhaps every age has presented mankind with a moral issue as to which only the coward may remain neutral. Slavery posed such an issue in the Nineteenth Century. Its offspring, segregation, poses such an issue in the Twentieth Century. Certainly no Minister of the Gospel can live serene with his conscience if he blinds his eyes and deafens his ears to the spectacle and clamor which rage about him.

Resistance to tyranny has always been a distinguishing feature of religion. Tyranny means a denial of right, a suppression of the individual's instinct for growth and expression. Religion seeks, above all things else, the right of the individual to grow in stature and in grace. Hence, the age-old conflict between religion and tyranny.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "At what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the King hath set up." But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, Oh King, that we will not serve thy gods nor worship the golden image thou hast set up." And so they walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

But it would be mere vainglory for us to assume that resistance to unjust law is a peculiarly Christian doctrine. It was known to paganism. Five hundred years before the birth of Christ, Sophocles, in his great play Antigone, tells of an edict by the tyrant Creon, forbidding on pain of death the burial of a slain soldier, directing that the body be left to dogs and birds to devour. But the soldier's sister Antigone defied the order and gave decent burial to her brother. She was brought before Creon to have sentence of death imposed. Creon addressed her:

"Now tell me thou - not in many words, but briefly - knowest thou that an edict had forbidden this?"

"I knew it; could I help it? It was public."

"And thou did'st indeed dare to transgress that law?"

"Yes, for it was not Zeus that had published me that edict; not such are the laws set among men by the justice who dwells with the gods; nor deemed I that thy decrees were of such force that a mortal could override the unwritten and unfailing statutes of heaven. For their life is not of today or yesterday, but from all time, and no man knows when they were first put forth.

So for me to meet this doom is trifling grief; but if I had suffered my mother's son to lie in death an unburied corpse, that would have grieved me; for this I am not grieved. And if my present deeds are foolish in thy sight, it may be that a foolish judge arraigns my folly."

Within recent months many Magistrates and Justices of the Peace in Mississippi, Alabama and elsewhere, in imposing sentence upon brave ministers and college students, have told these offenders how foolish they were. Perhaps, in 1961, as in the days of Creon, a foolish judge sometimes arraigns folly.

Now, I have gone to all of this trouble to bolster two points, but those are points which seem to me to give significance and meaning to the career of a minister. They are that resistance to unjust law is historically and traditionally the duty of the Christian minister and that this is a duty which transcends the limits of any particular faith but is the hallmark of all of the world's great religions.

If we may move now from such lofty and philosophic considerations, let us come at once to the matter of the duty of the North Carolina minister in the year 1961.

Let us say that nowhere in the world is there a perfect society. One does not have to be cynical to observe the imperfections of the world in which he lives. Indeed, recognition of these imperfections is the first step toward their elimination. Ministers have a duty, above and beyond that of ordinary mortals, to nudge society in the direction of the perfect state.

One would be bold indeed to attempt a definition of such a state but Aristotle hinted as it when he wrote:

> "Only he who has the power to take part in the deliberative and judicial administration of any state is said by Athenians to be a citizen of that state."

There is a phrase which I should like to see disappear from current speech. It is "second class citizen." Under Aristotle's view, there are no gradations of citizenship. One is a citizen or he is not. If he does not have the power to participate in the administration of a state he is not a citizen.

I have recently had occasion to examine some figures showing the extent to which Negro residents of North Carolina, composing 30% of the total population, participate in the formation of state policy under which they live. Those figures, and the conclusions drawn from them, reflect the judgment of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights. Neither the figures nor the conclusions have been challenged.

The North Carolina National Guard has approximately 12,000 members, every one of them white. Thus, a Negro, who may be drafted into the United States Army and become a general, under present law and practice, cannot be a buck private in the North Carolina National Guard.

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission, which spends five and a half million dollars of Federal funds each year, has in its central office in Raleigh only ten Negro employees, none above the rank of janitor-messenger, which means no typists, stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers, accountants or persons in administrative or executive capacity. In managerial and professional capacities within the Commission in the state as a whole there are 681 whites and 39 Non-whites, and there are 264 white clerical employes and only 2

Negro clerical employees. So much for the staffing of an agency supported by Federal funds and, ostensibly, concerned with merit employment.

In the year 1959 this Commission secured jobs of a professional and managerial nature for 1,851 whites and 25 non-whites; in skilled positions, 12,824 whites and 1,315 non-whites. But in menial, or service jobs, it placed 8,109 whites and 29,376 non-whites.

A survey of the employment practices of all of the state's agencies shows the same picture - - non-use of Negro employees in positions above the service.

What a shocking waste of Negro talent and skill when we put men and women with college degrees to digging ditches and waiting on tables! How far are we from reaching Aristotle's conception of the ideal state in which every citizen has the power to take part in the deliberation and judicial administration!

While such discrepancies are matters of concern to every citizen, they are, I submit, of special and pecular concern to ministers. They condemn people because of color to an inferior status. They tend to brainwash such people into a conviction of their inferiority. Religion is concerned with the development of the potential of every human being to the limit of his capacity. No religion worthy of the name will remain indifferent to social forces which consign men and women to low levels of living.

But it is in the handling of our school situation that the morals of state policy are drawn most clearly into question.

The Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, seven years ago, held that the segregation of public school pupils by race was a denial of their constitutional rights. Every public official in North Carolina has taken an oath to uphold that constitution. But seven years later the decision less than one-fourth of one per cent of the Negro children enjoy the right the Court has said is theirs.

This deprivation has been accomplished by what is known as the Pupil Placement Law, North Carolina's peculiar contribution to legal skullduggery. That law has given us what is known as "token integration," by which we mean that we appear to be observing the law when actually we are not.

This is a form of obtaining credit by false pretense. It is a species of ethics which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade.

Let the state beware. It is an expert and omnipresent teacher. Its citizens will be quick to learn and they will practice what they have been taught.

In other states already chickens have come home to roost. The fulminations of Governor Faubus produced violence in the streets of Little Rock. The pronouncements of Governor Davis and the shenanigans of the Louisiana Legislature triggered New Orleans women to snarl and spit at little children on their way to school. And Governor Vandiver's solemn assurance - "During my administration not a single Negro" - inspired violence and obscenity around the girl's dormitory in Athens. The line of action runs straight from state capitols and highly placed men to mobs who move like puppets.

North Carolina, fortunately, has been spared that type of utterance. Our public figures, out of innate dignity and self-respect, have not stooped to vulgarity. But, upon the parliamentary level and behind their suave phrases, they have launched the state upon a massive effort to deceive the courts as to their real intentions.

Our leaders seem to be inspired by Mark Twain's advice: "In statesmanship get the formalities right; never mind about the moralities." The child deprived of a constitutional right will experience great comfort from the fact that those who robbed him behaved like perfect gentlemen.

The raucous and vulgar speeches of public officials elsewhere have logically and inevitably produced violence elsewhere. The clever and fraudulent maneuvers practiced here will inspire here the general practice of deception and misrepresentation.

Let us pursue the idea of token integration to its logical conclusion. As a token of my observance of law, I will stop at one red light out of ten. I will pay one-tenth of my income tax. I will serve one-tenth of my enlistment in the Army. And, as evidence of my devotion to a code of morals, I will observe one of the Ten Commandments.

In the class room the child painfully copies the ancient motto "Honesty is the best policy." But if he should raise his eyes and look out of the window, he will observe his native state laughing at him for being so naive. What chance has the pure

morality taught at school and Sunday School against the example set by men whom the state has exalted to high station?

Is it the role of the state to corrupt its youth, to contribute to the delinquency of minors?

I lay these matters upon the hearts and consciences of ministers, not white ministers, not Negro ministers, but ministers of the Gospel. They negate everything for which religion stands. Indeed, men of no religion - atheists and agnostics, if you please - have consciences, and conscience is offended by an immoral policy. Voltaire and Thomas Paine were not religious in any orthodox sense, but no two men ever lived who fought more valiantly for equal rights for every citizen.

So the path and the duty of the minister in the imperfect state are clear.

All of what I have said relates to the legal policy of a state. But a state's character and genius are revealed as much by its manners as by its laws. Emerson remarked: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected but are awarding and denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

About a year ago Dr. Ralph Bunche was denied membership in a tennis club because of his race. More recently African diplomats, representing their countries at the United Nations, have been publicly insulted by waitresses. Perhaps the club and waitresses were within their legal rights. But their judgment was poor and their manners were atrocious. So ominous are the consequences of

this kind of action that our State Department has requested the State of Maryland to adopt laws forbidding such discrimination. Mr. Edward R. Murrow, head of the United States Information Services, has appealed to all Americans to treat all citizens alike in their provision of public accommodations.

You will remember that President Kennedy wrote to all Southern governors asking that they take precaution to see that foreign visitors were not subjected to indignity on account of their race. Governor Almond of Virginia warmly applauded the idea and suggested that such dignitaries wear some distinguishing insignia in order to guard against unfortunate incidents. This led the Washington Post to remark bitterly - and truthfully - that one had to establish that he was not an American citizen in order to be treated with respect.

We are at that juncture in history when the conduct of a waitress, or a ticket agent, or a real estate salesman, may determine whether mankind survives or perishes in the flames of nuclear war. But back of the waitress, the agent, and the salesman stands the state which tolerates a policy of denying service to people because of their color.

Now, it is, of course, pure snobbishness to distinguish between foreign diplomats and American citizens of humble station. If Dr. Bunche and a raw Negro freshman present themselves at a lunch counter, they pose precisely the same moral problem. If

they are rebuffed, the suffering of the freshman would probably be more acute because he would not be sustained by Dr. Bunche's knowledge of his own impeccable status.

Cities and states adopt all sorts of laws and regulations designed to see that one does not become nauseated by eating a moldy slice of apple pie. There are no scales yet designed by which one may measure the suffering of a person temporarily nauseated as compared with one who has endured public humiliation. Only the purblind state may see its duty in the one instance and fail to observe it in the other.

Today the City of Charlotte becomes host to an international fair. African and Asian visitors will be guests of the city. Charlotte may set the moral tone for the country if it now takes steps to see that, not merely foreign diplomats and businessmen suffer no indignity, but that any citizen of North Carolina may experience the same even-handed and courteous treatment.

Let us recur for a moment to Aristotle - "Only he who has the power to take part in the deliberative and judicial administration of a state is a citizen of that state."

The American system of government is unique in that there are two citizenships. One is a citizen of his state; he is also a citizen of the nation. There may be a great gulf between the quality of these two citizenships.

As to his national citizenship, there is little, if anything, about which the Negro may complain. There his influence in the

deliberative and judicial administration daily expands. In one week the Interstate Commerce Commission outlaws segregation in bus travel and the President names Thurgood Marshall as a Circuit Judge. Events may hardly move more rapidly than that.

I should like to keep politics out of this - no doubt many good Republicans are in this audience - but it is only fair to remind you that, since the present administration took office, a Negro has been elevated to cabinet rank, - Federal marshals aided the orderly opening of New Orleans schools; Vice-President Johnson's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity or which North Carolina's John Wheeler is a member, has brought about the employment of thousands of Negroes at higher levels, and young Bobby Kennedy - bless his little heart - has resigned from the Metropolitan Club.

In all of these actions the President has shown the contempt, felt by all decent citizens, for the Southern congressional bloc - I almost said block heads.

This progress has not come of itself, automatically. It has come because, on the national level, the Negro wields political power. Again, it is only fair to say that the NAACP, by its intelligence, skill and persistence, has channeled that power, brought it to bear upon the great issues of our times.

The moral seems plain. The imperfections of North Carolina's policy will yield only to political power, intelligently, skillfully, and persistently applied. For that application this organization is the ready, available and appropriate instrument.

For eight years the national executive stood inept, mute, paralyzed, while the human rights issue seethed and fermented. Dramatically, overnight, all of that is changed.

North Carolina, too, has had its period of masterful inactivity, its temporizing, its quibbling, its evasion, its puerile appeals for "voluntary segregation," its bland pronouncements from Raleigh that thirty per cent of our people were quite happy with their second class status and wanted only to be let alone.

Governor Sanford and the men who surround him should as well know now as later that they are being watched - their utterances, their policies, their appointments to boards and commissions. The times demand a change here as dramatic as the one which occurred in Washington. If that change should be made, those responsible will receive their reward in political currency - approval and votes. If we continue to hear the ancient platitudes and to observe adherence to the ancient traditions, swift, and certain and drastic will be the repudiation.

The heroes of the church were not men who dodged a moral issue. They were gaunt, shaggy, craggy men, who confronted corrupt regimes and risked the stake and the cross for what they knew to be right.

Every age has produced them. They are here now, in Montgomery, in Birmingham, in Charlotte, throughout the entire South.

To be sure they suffer, but they also follow the great example of the Founder of their faith and thereby secure a measure of immortality.

You recall the speech of the Irish patriot in Joyce's Ulysses in which he replied to an Englishman's appeal for Ireland to give up her independence. The patriot imagined a similar appeal by the Egyptians to the Israelites:

> Why will you Jews not accept our culture, our religion, and our language? You are a tribe of nomad herdsmen: we are a mighty people. You have no cities or no wealth; our cities are hives of humanity and our galleys, trireme and quadrireme, laden with all manner of merchandise, furrow the waters of the known globe. You have but emerged from primitive conditions. We have a literature, a priesthood, an agelong history and a polity. You pray to a local and obscure idol; our temples are majestic and mysterious, the abodes of Iris and Osiris, of Horus and Ammon Ra. Yours serfdom, awe and humbleness; our thunder and the seas. Israel is weak and few are her children. Egypt is an host and terrible her arms. But, ladies and gentlemen, had the youthful Moses listened to and accepted that view of life, had he bowed his head and bowed his will and bowed his spirit before that arrogant admonition, he would never have brought the chosen people out of the house of bondage nor followed the pillar of cloud by day. He would never have spoken with the

Eternal amid lightnings on Sinai's mountaintop, nor ever have come down with the light of inspiration shining in his countenance and bearing in his arms the tables of the law.

The North Carolina minister of today will find little material inducement to volunteer his support for the cause of human rights. But, if he should steel himself against the seductions of those presently in authority and in majority, and give himself unreservedly to that cause he will enjoy the companionship of the elect spirits of the earth and have a part in elevating man an inch nearer to the stars.

11-12

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 16, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Speech mailed 1st class to Rose on Oct 4 - PR

Dear Les:

I presume that your stenographic force did not have the time to make the copies of my Goldsboro speech, since they have not yet been received. If you have the copy I sent I will appreciate your returning it to me for my file.

The suggestions made in your letter were eminently valid and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in that regard.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

Pennsylvania
6 copies of speech

note: Mailed to Courtney Siceloff
Frogmore, S.C.

October 3, 1961

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have no acid comments regarding your Goldsboro speech - just a few little scratches, all of which deal with page eleven.

No Negro has been appointed to the Cabinet; Robert Weaver doesn't yet have cabinet rank. Federal marshals were in New Orleans about sixty strong; they were not, however, in evidence and apparently were never called out. Mr. Johnson's committee is the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities and deals not only with contractors but with federal employment. I would not be able to document your statement that it has as yet brought about the "employment of thousands of Negroes at higher levels". Did you really mean to deprecate Robert Kennedy by speaking of his "little" heart?

As quickly as our always busy stenographers can do the job we shall send you six copies of your address with your inserts made and the name of the committee corrected.

Thank you for your good remarks about the July-August New South. I am sure that for a while we shall, with an open mind, be trying out various ideas.

I am enclosing a letter from Guy Johnson. I believe you will find it self-explanatory and disappointing. Rather than bring this matter up again at the Executive Committee meeting I think there would be value and purpose in you and Paul Rilling and I talking out the whole question of an international seminar at length, to the end that our own thinking and objectives may be clarified. I wonder if when you are next in Atlanta you could plan to reserve a few hours for this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

9-28-51

L.S.:

Please make these insets in the Goldsboro speech sent you.

Would it be possible for you to run off six copies of the revised speech for me?

Thanks.

H.A.W.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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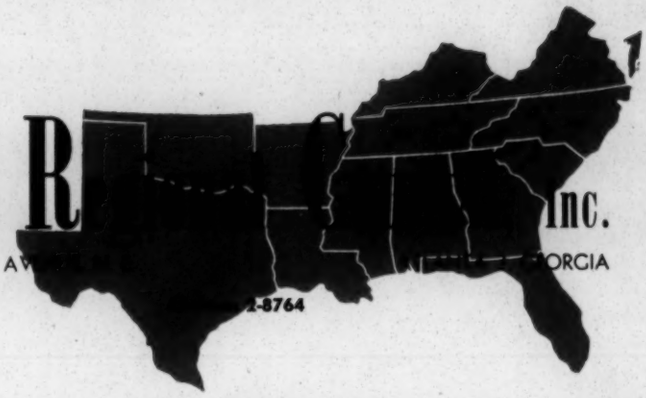

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

For your aid comments and return.
Thanks

M.A.W.

Kennedy P 91
P 11 - 1st cabinet member
[illegible]

Marion Wright article. 1961

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH?) 24 Cheltenham 65661 New South NOVEMBER

President's Address, SRC; November 9, 1961

10/11 TR 14 picas

Othello, on the verge of taking his own life, begged of his lieutenant Cassio, "Speak of me as I am. Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." I should like to speak of the South as it is. I don't think it intends like Othello, to commit suicide, though some of its gestures are rather frantic. I do think that in the modern world, into which it is rushing, it may lose its life without ever having ~~before it has~~ found it.

On the surface it seems to have found it. I came into the world with Plessy v. Ferguson, and never since that to me halcyon day has the South been so aware of itself as now. The Southerner, like a true horseman, is forever mounting and charging off--~~but~~ into ~~several directions at once.~~ Paul Revere without the message. We must set our backs to the wall, said a defiant South Carolinian recently. Sure, I said, and with our hands out: "gimme, gimme." ~~"Gimme, gimme."~~

We have the emotions but what do they mean? We are aware of the South, but what is it we are aware of? I'm afraid it would be one thing for whites, another for Negroes. For the whites something to be defended, for the Negroes something to be attacked.

The South cannot achieve greatness so long as it harbors such a basic division. There was a time when the voice of the Negro didn't have to be considered; in fact, he had no voice. That time is past. The world has now become for the Negro resonant; his voice reverberates beyond the region, beyond the nation, around the globe.

If the white South had ever really understood itself, it would be in a far better position now to hearken to this new voice and accomodate itself to it. The old South, however, was destroyed before it came to an assured sense of its identity. It is impossible, therefore, for us to go back, and, lifting into memory some moment of the past, say, Here is the image of what we were trying to do. Here is ourself. History holds no such moment.

With a strong sense of being Southern, we lack a vision of what the South is. I imagine that the Negroes are less ~~aware of~~ confused in this matter than the whites. ~~confusion~~. Having never been received frankly into the life of the South, and having received directly from the Nation certain large benefits, the Negroes of the South are far less aware than the whites that they are Southern. It is my belief that they are; that, often unknown to themselves, they are drawing sustenance from Southern soil. If this is not so, if it should turn out that the Negroes of the South

are simply Americans, with no regional ties and traits, then, the possibility of the South's remaining a living region are slim indeed; the Negro population is relatively too great. For my part, I can imagine the South, under the impact of the modern world, ceasing to be the South, but I can't quite imagine this happening as a result of the Negroes of the South not being Southern. How they are Southern, we shall consider later.

All I have said indicates the need in the South for creative vision. It is hard for us to realize this. For we have lived largely by custom, as Tennyson said, "From precedent to precedent," and our chief concern has been to rally round the flag, boys, floating there above the battlements of the status quo. Speaking to my Aunt Alice, my uncle, a true Southerner who died too young partly perhaps from mixing too little branchwater with his bourbon--my uncle said, "Ideals are a sin, Alice, we should love God."

But there's a difference between ideals and vision. Ideals lie in the future; vision is of the present; this is the way things are now--though many may not see it. Vision reveals the truth, the pebble of quartz shining at the bottom of the well when the water is clear and the sun right. (But who looks into wells any more?

We have filled them up. They are dangerous nuisances.)

We have already in the South one or two partial visions but nothing that encompasses the whole, What we need is insight into the total and unique South. I'm not speaking of the "solid South". Politically there's none. In South Carolina next summer a Republican may make a good race for the United States Senate. Regardless of this, I still think it feels somehow different to be a Southerner.

Let's consider briefly two of the partial visions. The first--which I am disposed to call a nightmare, and from which we are at last happily awakening--the first is segregation, and all the racially discriminatory practices connected with it. Some Southerners have called this "our way of life". Even the Southern historian, Francis Simkins, college-mate of mine, coming, interestingly, from the Ben Tillman section of South Carolina, suggests that if the present race pattern goes, the South is dead. So far as I'm concerned, then, the South is dead, and I, for all my present--what shall I call it? joie de vivre?--am a ghost.

However much the institution of segregation may have expressed at one time the vital life of the South--and I don't know how much it did--that time is gone, the life-blood seeps from the

institution, Negroes cease to obey it, whites cease to enforce it. It is pathetic how some Southern segregationists, admitting by their actions a dependence upon the nation that by their words they often deny, try to persuade other Americans to adopt segregation. The Editor of the News and Courier makes forays into the North, trying to sell segregation there. So far there have been no takers. There's plenty of segregation in the North--but not bought and sold across the counter--it's all bootleg stuff. It may be as common as bootleg liquor was under Prohibition, but it's still bootleg, without state or federal stamp.

Come to think of it, there's an added pathos about these Northern trips. In spite of all the South's verbal defiance of the North, there is, deep down, a simple desire to have something to contribute to ~~the good of~~ the Nation. We know we are Southerners; we want to be Americans; we can be sure we are Americans only when the Nation accepts and uses what we have to offer. And so, not realizing we have anything else, we offer ~~them~~ the Nation the gift of segregation. This is the ultimate pathos of the Lost Cause, and perhaps should not be spoken about further.

The other partial vision I shall consider has much more vitality, but is still partial and unsatisfactory. This is industrialization. The vision that Henry Grady saw and that we are now realizing. This is the vision--if you can call it that--seen by politicians and chambers of commerce. I am in favor of further industrialization. Only thus can our standard of living be raised; and that standard is too low. However, the more we simply industrialize, the more we become thereby a copy of the rest of the Nation, and the more we may lose the chance of contributing, out of our history and our culture, something unique to the Nation.

Furthermore, as important as I think man's way of making a living is, I do not see industrialization as a cause that can command the devotion of the South. It's probably a good thing, we'll have more money to spend; but not only is it not rooted deep in our hearts, it is foreign to the non-industrial life we have lived so long; and, though we may not be clearly aware of this, much of our present uneasiness, which we are inclined to attribute to changing race relations, is really attributable to changing productive relations.

These changing productive relations are undoubtedly changing our race relations. In some ways bringing whites and Negroes

together, in some ways pushing them apart. It therefore at least touches what I consider the heart of the South. What is this heart? The fact that whites and Negroes have lived together here for several centuries, each group somehow a burden to the other, each somehow a solace. If this is the heart of the South, industrialization touches it but glancingly. It cannot be truly called a vision of the South, because a vision must lay bare the deep desires of the heart. In some strange, and perhaps tragic fashion, in the heart of the South whites and Negroes are together.

How shall I describe this? What are the words? Fortunately, now, there are deeds. If I'm not mistaken, the vision I'm trying to describe is already taking form. The question is, ~~whether we~~ can we recognize the Southern meaning of what is happening? Can ~~Whether~~ both we the actors and we the observers ~~can~~ say: "At last the heart of the South is speaking."

I am talking of course about the sit-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins, and even--as Marion Wright has called them--the "drive-ins". This movement, with the possible exception of the "drive-ins", seems to me primarily and essentially a Southern movement. I could be mistaken in this, and still be correct in my feeling that a true

vision of the South must see the whites and Negroes together. However, if I'm not mistaken, it means that we are closer to great possibilities than we had thought. For the vision necessary for such possibilities is already taking form.

Can we recognize the actions of these Southern youngsters as an expression, however unconscious, of the dawning vision? As for the ~~people engaged in this movement~~ youngsters themselves, it isn't necessary for them to understand the deep significance of what they are doing, though it is advisable. I think they would be both inspired and hardened for the long pull if they realized the depth from which they draw their strength and the implications of their actions. I recognize that there might be strong resistance on the part of Negro youth to accepting the view that they are also Southerners in their actions. A Negro leader said to me recently in regard to this suggestion, "I think they would tend to disagree with you in their minds, but in their hearts many would know what you are talking about." I should hope they would. I understand their disagreeing in their minds. Southerners have always been white people. The whites themselves said so. Therefore these young Negroes, protesting against the treatment accorded them by the whites, naturally think

of themselves as protesting against Southerners. They are Negroes. They are Americans. They are not Southerners. I understand the protestations. I still feel that deep in their hearts, they are more Southern than they think.

But if it's hard for them to admit that they are Southerners, it's far harder for white Southerners to admit it. It's the old cry, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" Are we going to be led by what we've told ourselves for centuries ~~was~~ is an inferior race? Well, if it comes to that, it won't be the first time that God has used the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. Maybe we have the chance here, if we have the faith, to see God at work. But it's hard to have the faith. We whites didn't intend for it to come out this way; and we always understood God was backing us up. As a religious people, we should hearken to the voice of the prophet Jeremiah, as heard by Franz Werfel, "It is not good to be too sure of God."

Let's put it another way. I believe that there was and is something that may be called Southern culture. I believe that a living culture is creative, not merely carrying on the past but continually remoulding the past to suit the needs of the present. I

believe that the great creative moment of Southern culture, perhaps within my lifetime, is the movement primarily of Negro students that began in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960. This is the growing edge of Southern culture. I suppose I am selfish. I should hope that this moment is rooted in the total life of the South, the product somehow of Negroes and whites. Let us see how this may be possible.

But first, two cautions. I don't mean that these young people have been influenced by nothing beyond the South. Of course they have, as most of us have. I mean only that their main roots are in the South, that they have grown out of the South. Again, I don't mean that the several traits I shall discuss as Southern are possessed by Southerners only. Of course they are not. It's a matter of greater or less emphasis and of the weaving of the several traits into the culture in question.

In the first place, then, these young people have shown great courage. The South has boasted, and with some reason, of its courage. It is a virtue we have stressed, as against prudence and planning. It is the virtue of a once aristocratic and still conservative society. The more showy part, of course, has been our military

courage; and it is probable that the memory of Jeb Stuart of the sash and plume has blinded us to the more daily courage that Southerners have often shown. There's the story, told by Celestine Sibley, in This Is The South, of the old country-woman, writing to her son after Appomattox: "Don't be shamed cause you got licked. You fit bettern you knowed how. And if ole Abe's folks offer you a mule, take it and come on home. It ain't too late to git a crop in the groun." This is moral courage: to face without flinching the problems of the day.

It is this moral courage--physical too--that our young people are showing. But they're bringing to it something new: the non-violence of its expression and the excellence of their cause. The South has been unfortunate in defending godly mixed causes. As regards the Civil War, it is indeed true that, after the invasion began, the South was fighting to defend its land and its homes. Many Southerners also felt that they were fighting to defend constitutional liberties. The fact remains that at the heart of the matter there was the enslaved Negro--the economic base of the plantation South, the cloudy fear of the non-plantation South--and Southerners were fighting to keep him under some sort of undemocratic control. In contrast to this moral con-

fusion, the cause of our young Southerners today is just. Not absolutely just; there's no such thing, but largely.

When you compare their cause to that of the segregationists, you realize the moral edge they have. Many segregationists think they are as committed to segregation as these students are to desegregation--or, as they may say, to integration. Since man is a moral being, and also to some degree a realist, this is impossible. The segregationist is fighting for supposed interest and for pride; and even his bad weather-eye tells him that the sky grows increasingly dark. Yet, being a Southerner, he may still feel committed; these young people, also Southerners, are committed more deeply to the purest cause the South has so far discovered.

In the second place, these young people have come out of a long defeat. So has the South been defeated. Vann Woodward points out that this is the distinctive quality of the South. We are that section of the United States that has been defeated, occupied, colonized. We are the Americans--the only Americans--who know how this feels. Because Southern Negroes were defeated for different reasons than Southern whites--and indeed largely by these same Southern whites--we are slow to realize that the wisdom that may come from defeat does not depend upon the cause of the defeat.

defeat does not depend upon the cause of the defeat.

Southern whites have learned some wisdom from their defeat, but Negroes have learned more. Southern whites have learned, at their best, a healthy scepticism, a distrust of blue-prints, an abiding sense of the possibility of failure despite the excellence of the cause. But I'm afraid most of this knowledge is incidental; it has not been woven together to become an intrinsic part of our religion. For the Negroes generally it has. It is enshrined in the spirituals. Here all the harshness and frustration of life is woven together and presented to God, and the gist of the long argument is that if we admit and accept our troubles, he will give us strength and patience to bear them. And so these young Negroes, trained in the same harsh school we whites attended but trained better and perhaps better equipped to profit by their training, now, having settled their quarrel with God, sit down at lunch counters and open their quarrel with us. In this quarrel we haven't a chance. We're still quarreling with the Yankees abouts states rights: we haven't even faced God on the issue of human rights; and while we argue with the students, He's going to take us from the rear.

So these young Negroes, having understood better than we the deep implications of our common history, now stride toward a success

which can come to all of us as we too understand.

In the third place--as I have just implied--these young people are religious. The South is religious. With the possible exception of California, which claims to excel in everything, the South is the most religious section of this country. As my reference to California implied, this doesn't mean the South is necessarily the best part of the country--though I think it is. It's religious quality may or may not be an asset. I simply say that Southerners tend to agree that religion has a place in life. Probably the Ku Klux Klan feels undressed without a chaplain.

The innovation is in the nature of the religion these young people have. They have been brought up in a world where the best people talked of kindness and mercy, and where, even interracially, the best white people revealed these virtues but where few talked about justice for Negroes and fewer tried to achieve it. Yet the Christian religion, upon which they were nurtured, contains the writings of the great prophets--flaming evangels of social justice. These young people were brought up in a world where the name of love was used to cover injustice, and now, in a radical understanding of the Christian faith, they sit at lunch counters in the

reality of love, seeking justice. They have taken the words of the South--a great land for words--they have taken kindliness and love, and now they say to the white people of the South, "See, you said you loved us. Well, we are showing that we love you; so much, indeed, that we can no longer let you be unjust to us."

Of course, this describes the best among them. Doubtless many are bitter, and for them this is just another form of the power struggle. Regardless of these, I'm indicating the growing edge of Southern culture, the present creative moment. It lies in the hearts and the actions of the best of these youngsters, who took what life gave them, the limited Christianity and the beautiful words of the South, poured meaning into those words and redirected, out of the Christian tradition itself, the religion of their childhood. This is social invention, this is cultural creation.

In the fourth place--as again I have implied--they haven't gone back on the words, they have kept the forms, they have revealed good manners. If this isn't Southern, I quit. Even James Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, and one of the most intelligent segregationists of the South, was impressed by this. As much as the presence of the Negro students at white lunch counters disturbed him,

the bad manners of whites bystanders disturbed him more

~~he was more disturbed by the ill-mannered whites who stood by and jeered.~~ The contrast seemed to him total. At the counter, quiet, studious, neatly-dressed youngsters, behind them, youhg gangsters. He felt so bad about it that he fell into Latin. "Eheu", he cried, which, as I remember my Caesar, means "Alas!".

Of course, this aspect of the matter is complicated by the fact that we have stressed in the South both manners and racial etiquette. The essential purpose of racial etiquette is to keep the two races apart no matter how close they come together. These youngsters are walking right through racial etiquette--or, more aptly, sitting down on it. The point is, however, that they're not doing this brutally, without any regard to the means used. They are doing it quietly, reservedly, in the best manners of the South. Again I say, race has little to do with it. These are our young people, created out of the hardship and the ease, the tenseness and the relaxation, the sorrow and the joy of the South. The culture which whites and Negroes created together is today expressing itself in the actions of these young people. This is the South speaking. Can Southerners hear the voice?

The essential problem suggested by all I have said is the problem of the relation of the spirit of life to the forms. No one can question the fact that the forms of life in the South are changing. It may be of course that the essential spirit too will change, the South will cease to exist, and Harry Ashmore's "Epitaph for Dixie" will be all we have. It may be, on the contrary, that the inner spirit, the style of life, may impregnate and master the new forms, and the South remain a living region still. There is one thing that we cannot change. Our history. So long as that has a living meaning for us--as surely it still has today, though most of us misread the meaning--so long will there be something Southern in our way of life.

I said in the beginning that the South has a strong sense of its identity but only a confused understanding of it. I said also that we cannot fulfill one of our deepest desires until we know better what we are and what we have to offer. We desire to make our contribution to the Nation and the world. What is it we have to offer?

I have said so far that our culture is the product of the common effort of whites and Negroes. I have also shown how this

common effort has found expression in certain traits and attitudes. Is it possible to generalize still further and find at the heart of these several traits one basic attitude? I do not know, but I will risk it.

Perhaps it is something about the value of personal life, the value of people. Just people. I know the critic can say immediately, if you Southerners value people, why did you set up segregation, which dis-values people? The answer is too long for the present occasion. But it is worth pointing out that even within segregation, which could have been ~~made~~ completely cold and utilitarian, personal relations were retained, though distorted and truncated. I believe the important fact is, not the the South established an institution that dis-values persons, but that it tried to retain even within this institution at least the shadow of personal relations. Maybe this was just a Southern substitution of the form for the fact. I think it was more.

We live in a world where the position of the person grows increasingly precarious. Urban, industrial life tends to obliterate him; totalitarian government tends to obliterate him. Beyond these present dangers, lies the ominous future, in which, if we do not destroy ourselves, we shall inevitably build units far greater than our

January 8, 1962

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am afraid I have not given you the service I would have liked to have. Your address for the Mobile occasion of December 31 did not reach here until the Christmas holidays, which means I did not open it until December 27. Just about everything that could happen did happen that week and I simply, without further excuse, did not get to it. As you will see from the enclosed memo Marge Manderson did.

It is a typically good Wright speech. I have nothing to offer, in addition to Marge's comments, except a couple of the smallest of quibbles. Without disputing the vigor of English monarchy today it is not "pristine". (Page 3) The investigating apparatus in Georgia has not in recent years been active. (Page 9) If, on the other hand, you meant to include states whether or not now active, then I would suggest that you also include Virginia, which had one of the most damnable of all investigating committees - in fact, two of them.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
December 22, 1961.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3,
Georgia

Dear Les:

I enclose copy of remarks I am planning to make at an Emancipation day celebration on December 31 for your scrutiny and comments. Marge Manderson's views would also be appreciated.

Please return copy to me.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

Marion A. Wright.

MAW/jep

Enclosure:

January 15, 1962

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for calling my attention to what Mr. Justice Douglas said in Garner v. Louisiana. It is remarkably similar to your analysis in your Civil Disobedience speech. I know that you find this gratifying, not through any personal pride, but because Justice Douglas' concurring opinion gives hope that this reasoning may become law.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

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January 16, 1962

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

In the interest of time, Les has asked me to write you about the Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process. It has developed that he cannot go and Ben Muse has accepted the invitation to represent SRC staff.

If you feel a second SRC representative is called for, we will take care of the expenses - the decision we leave with you.

Incidentally, the Executive Committee will meet on February 20, and it looks as if it will be unusually well attended. We look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mbb

file MAW (Board)

January 9, 1962

Mr. Alan Reitman
Associate Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 5th Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Reitman:

The invitation extended in your letter of January 4th appeals to me quite strongly. I would not, however, be able to attend this conference at my own expense.

It seems to me to be desirable that the Southern Regional Council be represented. I am hopeful that its Director, Dr. Leslie Dunbar, or Mr. Rilling, of its staff may attend. Dr. Dunbar now has that matter under consideration and will advise me of his decision.

If a member of the staff cannot attend and if Dr. Dunbar feels that SRC would be justified in meeting my expenses, I shall be glad to substitute for him.

Obviously the times demand the kind of conference you are planning.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

Enclosing Mr. Reitman's letter, program, and list of invitees.

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January 4, 1962

Mr. Marion Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

The concern over the growth of the ultra-right organizations has been the subject of serious discussion among various national organizations with whom the Union cooperates. It was decided that an unpublicized conference should be held in late January to consider this problem and hopefully to work out a program that would help to relieve the situation.

The conference has been structured to cover much of our civil liberties concern, under the title "Conference to Protect the Democratic Process." Invitations have been extended to persons of both liberal and conservative persuasion who share this concern, and no more than 75 to 90 people are expected. I am enclosing a tentative subject outline of the conference along with the names of people who have said they will attend.

The membership committee of the conference -- the arrangements are being handled informally -- have asked me to invite you to attend. From the ACLU ranks, there will be James O'Gara, John McKnight of Illinois, Howard Dixon of Florida, Jack Pemberton, our new executive director, and myself.

The date of the conference is January 25-27 and the site is a motor lodge in Greenwich,Connecticut. I realize the problem of expenses, but unfortunately there is no general fund on which to draw; so participants are footing their own bill. The registration fee is $12.50, the room $11.00 per night; the only other expenses would be your food. I do hope that you can see your way clear to attend this conference. All of the persons invited have been asked because of their interest, knowledge and concern about the rise of the ultra-right groups. We hope that by a joint exploration of the problem we can discover ways and means of dealing with this threat to freedom.

Would you let me know as soon as possible if you could attend.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman

AR'ks
enclosure

Alan Reitman
Associate Director

TENTATIVE PROGRAM NO. 3

CONFERENCE ON PRESERVING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Thursday, January 25, 1962

4:30 P.M. Registration

5:30 Reception

6:30 Dinner

7:30 OPENING SESSION.....Brendan Byrne, Chairman

PURPOSE AND PLAN OF CONFERENCE

7:45-8:15 P.M. Right and Wrong Ways to Fight Communism

a. The World Problem of Communism
Father Raymond T. Bosler

b. Right and Wrong Ways to Fight Communism at Home
William Sullivan, Assistant Director, F.B.I.

8:15-9:00 Totalitarianism - Left and Right - The Threat to America

9:00-9:45 Discussion

Friday, January 26, 1962

9:00-10:45 A.M. The Right Coalition.....Dan Lacy, Chairman

a. Sociology.....Alan Westin
b. Politics.....Robert Lowe and/or John V. Lindsay
c. Religious Implications . . .
Father John F. Cronin and Ross Coggins

10:45-11:00 Coffee Break

11:00 Case Histories.....C. Dale Fuller, Chairman

Describing attacks on:

1. Schools and Libraries
2. Health and Welfare
3. Religion
4. Labor
5. Desegregation
6. Voluntary Organizations
7. International Organizations

12:30-2:00 P.M. Lunch

2:00-4:30 Continuation of Case Histories

4:30-5:30 Analysis of Case Histories.....David Danzig

Discussion

6:30-8:30 Dinner.....John Morsell, Chairman

Presentation of Suggested Program.....Dean M. Kelley

Discussion

Saturday, January 27, 1962

9:00-11:00 A.M. Round Tables to Discuss Program

11:15 Showing of Defense Department Film on Communism

12:30-3:00 P.M. Lunch.....Edwin J. Lukas, Chairman

Report From Round Tables.....Rev. Arthur Walmsley

Discussion

Adjournment

CONFERENCE ON PRESERVING THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS (Jan. 25-27, 1962)

Invitations Accepted As Of 12/13/61

Albert J. Zack, AFL-CIO

Estelle Linzer, American Association for the United Nations

Roland E. Burdick, American Book Publishers Council

Alan Reitman, American Civil Liberties Union

Nicholas Paster, American Friends Service Committee, Rights of Conscience Commission

Brendan Byrne, American Heritage Foundation

David Danzig, American Jewish Committee

Edwin J. Lukas, American Jewish Committee

George Hunton, Catholic Interracial Council

Harold Fey, Christian Century

James O'Gara, Commonweal

The Rev. Dr. Russell H. Hitt, Eternity

Bruce Felknor, Fair Campaign Practices Committee

Dale Fuller, Foreign Policy Association

Howard Jewel, Sacramento, California

The Rev. O.C.J. Hoffman, Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod

Margaret Bender, Methodist Church, Women's Division of Christian Service of Board of Missions

John Morsell, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Father Cronin, National Catholic Welfare Conference

Arnold Aronson, National Community Relations Advisory Council

The Rev. Claud D. Nelson, National Conference of Christians and Jews

The Rev. Dean M. Kelley, National Council of Churches of Christ in U. S. A.

The Rev. James C. Moore, National Council of Churches of Christ in U. S. A.

Helen Raebeck, National Council of Jewish Women

John Redding, National Council for Industrial Peace

Edwin Davis, National Education Association

The Rev. Arthur Walmsley, Protestant Episcopal Church, National Council

Arnold Nicholson, Saturday Evening Post

Ross Coggins, Southern Baptist Convention

Lloyd Bailey, U. S. Com. for UNICEF

Hyman Bookbinder, U. S. Dept. of Commerce

Ethlyn Christensen, Y.W.C.A.

Martin Work, National Council Catholic Men

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LWD ✓ file

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N.C.
January 18, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am glad Colonel Muse will go to the ACLU meeting. I thought it important that SRC have a representative present. Since he will attend I will not plan to go.

Will you please reserve a room for me at the Piedmont for February 19th.

JA4-2431
CK 1/22/62
13P

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

February 7, 1962

Mrs. Freda H. Goldman
Institute Coordinator
The Negro College Committee
on Adult Education
4819 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Goldman:

In response to your letter of February 5 we are attaching a biographical data sheet for Mr. Marion A. Wright which we hope will be of service to you.

Please feel free to call on us if we can be of further service to you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mbb
Enc. 1

the negro college committee on adult education

4819 South Greenwood Avenue Chicago 15, Illinois WAgner 4-0200

STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, Chairman

PETER E. SIEGLE, Secretary

February 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Mr. M. A. Wright referred us to you for biographical material on him. We need it for a brochure we are publishing in connection with our Institute at which he will be a principal lecturer.

If you do not have a general vita, please let us have such information as his academic connections; publications, if any; key affiliations and/or activities, and the like. I would be grateful for a prompt response.

Sincerely,

Freda H. Goldman

(Mrs.) Freda H. Goldman
Institute Coordinator

FHG:bwm

H. A. BOWEN
Supervisor of Negro Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

B. R. BRAZEAL, Dean
Morehouse College

G. W. C. BROWN, Supervisor
Evening College and Adult Services
Norfolk Division
Virginia State College

R. P. DANIEL, President
Virginia State College

ALEXANDER A. LIVERIGHT, Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

SAMUEL M. NABRIT, President
Texas Southern University

C. H. PARRISH, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville

ANDREW P. TORRENCE, Head
Department of Agricultural Education
Tuskegee Institute, Consultant

February 21, 1962

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I'm sorry you got away yesterday while I was tied up with someone else. The next time you come into town I hope you will have a bit more leisure.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

March 12, 1962

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

June and Bob Coles (the SNC special project psychiatrist working on children adjustment) will be in the Burnsville area, March 15 - 18. I have urged them to get in touch with you if possible. I think you will find them interesting and know they would find your accounting of events helpful.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

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Address 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
March 19, 1962

Confidential

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Since you phoned me I have given some thought to the content or format of New South under its present editorship and give you my reflections for what they may be worth.

I am quite inconsistent in my attitude toward New South. My feeling, certainly during the latter part of John Constable's editorship, was that the magazine had become dull and lacked any spark or distinct flavor. It was filled with reprints. My slant then was that the magazine should have more personality and contain more original material.

Now, I am afraid I have swung to the other extreme. I begin to get the impression that it seeks to be a trifle smart and sophisticated and too greatly to reflect the personality of the editor. Probably because the editor is a woman or I have some vestigial traces of anti-feminism, I begin to think that the magazine is a little frilly and perfumed.

For example, the January issue of fifteen pages contains two pages by Mrs. Long, a prose poem of one page and reprint as one page (the rear cover) of a poem by William Blake written in 1789.

I entertain some doubt that any of that material would be picked up by a newspaper editor for reprint in his columns.

The two pages of Struts and Frets may be emotionally appealing but they contain nothing of a factual nature in which a kindly disposed editor might get his bridgework.

The Will Campbell article of two pages is beautifully written (everybody loves Will Campbell) but seems to be lacking in solid content.

My feeling is that New South may be becoming a bit mushy for the times. Hard facts, the economical argument and anything that points up the inevitability and benefits of change seem to me to be called for.

If I could put it affirmatively, I believe we should still play to win the head rather than the heart.

My impressions have perhaps been overstated. I would merely like for you to take them into consideration as being a point of view which may be entertained by a substantial percentage of our readers.

The kind of stuff which is coming out in the L-Reports seems to me more likely to win more able friends and influence more people who fashion public policy.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

Rec 3/29

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, Linville Falls, N. C.

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DIRECTOR

ML ✓ what do you think?

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March 28, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enclose copy of a letter to Mr. Inabinet who is Director of the South Caroliniana Library attached to the University of South Carolina. I think the letter is fairly self-explanatory. Penn's collection of papers and documents is one hundred years old. Logically it should be at the University of South Carolina but is not for the reason which appears in my letter to Mr. Inabinet.

It may be that, in pointing up the price which some Southern institutions pay for their segregation policies, a short article in New South or a press release might be helpful. If anything is done I would not like to see my letter quoted or any reference made to it, but I think the facts as revealed by the letter, if put into a brief newspaper story might have some value. It would at least acquaint South Carolinians, who seem dearly to prize anything historical, with the fact that a valuable collection of records has been lost to the State because of its antiquated notions.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

Linville Falls, N. C.

March 28, 1962

Dear Mr. Inabinet:

The Penn Board sincerely regretted that the South Caroliniana Library was unable to comply with the condition that the records and documents which the Board wished to deliver would be open to use and examination by all persons having a legitimate interest in them without regard to race.

Since this historical material was largely concerned with the life of Negro people, it would seem ironic, if not callous, that it should be placed beyond the reach of Negro scholars and researchers. For that reason the Board concluded that another repository for these records must be selected.

The Southern Historical Collection, located at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill imposes no racial restrictions upon those who wish to consult its materials. That Collection was quite willing to receive our records under the same terms which had been rejected by the South Caroliniana Library. Accordingly the records have been committed to the Southern Historical Collection.

The records are on indefinite loan, with the right reserved to Penn to recall them at any time. If your Library should at any time in the future remove racial restrictions upon use of its materials and if you should then be interested in having this collection, the Board will reconsider the matter and make such decision as seems proper to it.

Yours sincerely,

Marion A. Wright

M. A. Wright
Chairman

MAW:mg

bc: Courtney Siceloff
Courtney: Please supply Mr. Inabinet's correct name and title and mail the enclosed letter to him.

Rept 4/17

file

Linville Falls, N. C.
April 16, 1962

Mr. John Silard
Rauh and Silard, Attys.
1625 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Silard:

My notoriously weak filing system makes it necessary for me to write you this letter.

Just before or just after Mr. Kennedy took office, in response to a letter from you, I think I wrote you rather fully my views as to what the Department of Agriculture might do in the civil rights field. I had had a conversation with Mr. Rauh in New York on that subject and you wrote me at his suggestion in order that the points I made might be placed before Secretary Freeman.

My face is a rosy red as I admit that I cannot find your letter or copy of my reply. If you can locate my letter in your file I would greatly appreciate your having a copy made for me since it will save me the trouble of trying to re-think the entire subject.

With thanks and best regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
cc: Leslie Dunbar

Les:

A friend sent me this reprint from Steinbeck. I have to return it. Please run me off a copy and return the enclosed.

N.S. might be interested in reproducing.

I will make some use of the copy you send me.

M.A.W.

3-16-62

Returned W/2 4/10/62 Copies

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Auburn 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
April 20, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have your letter of April 18th telling me that you have only one of my photographs left. I will try to have others made and send them to you. I don't want you to use the existing negative — I can look prettier than that if I try.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

July 25, 1962

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Why not Wright, indeed?

We do, of course, expect you to fill reports from every port of call, and I assume that wherever you go you shall exact the treatment that protocol requires for a vice-president of the Southern Regional Council.

Have a good time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 25, 1962

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I thought I had better get this note off to you before you begin your world travels which, according to your itinerary, will take you to many interesting places.

Your little letter to Mrs. Alexander was most kind and thoughtful. I asked her for it to keep among my cherished items. Ruth has done as you asked and bought for me four additional pieces for my Russel Wright china which she, Paul Anthony and Les Dunbar were good enough to get started for me on my return to the Council. I now have the salt and pepper shakers, the sugar bowl, and the creamer which you have contributed to the set. Thank you Mr. Wright for your kind gesture and you can be sure that I have enjoyed serving a cup of coffee to you on each of your visits here. It was a distinct pleasure for which I had not expected to be compensated.

I go on maturnity leave August 15 and hope to return to work the first of the year at which time I expect to see you again and to hear about your travels.

Bon Voyage and have a good time.

Sincerely,

MFJ (Mrs.) Mildred Flowers Johnson

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MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Linville Falls, N. C.
July 21, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I confront you with the earthshaking news that I am about to embark on a trip around the world. I now plan to check out here about August 1st and go by way of Seattle to Vancouver from which point I sail.

I cannot imagine that anything will develop which will make you want to get in touch with me, but to guard against the possibility I enclose my itinerary.

I hope from time to time to be sending tinted post cards from far away places with strange sounding names.

If Glenn and Carpenter, why not Wright?

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
Encl.

ITINERARY OF MARION A. WRIGHT

I will travel on the S. S. Arcadia of the P & O-Orient Lines until London is reached. I will then transfer to the Corinthia of the Cunard Line to Quebec. Presumably mail should be addressed to me as follows:

See attached sheet for corrected method of address.

~~Marion A. Wright~~
~~c/o S. S. Arcadia~~
~~P & O-Orient Lines~~
~~Hong Kong, China~~

(or whatever the port on the date when letter would be received). Of course, after arrival at London mail should be addressed c/o S. S. Corinthia, Cunard Line. Of course also, everything should be sent air mail.

I do not have information about postage but, if I am able to secure that I will append a post script to the itinerary.

The Arcadia is scheduled to be at the following ports on the following dates:

Vancouver	August 6
San Francisco	August 8-9
Long Beach	August 10
Honolulu	August 15
Yokohama	August 23-24
Kobe	August 25-26
Hong Kong	August 29-30
Manila	Sept. 1-2
Sydney	Sept. 10-14
Melborne	Sept. 16-17
Adelaide	Sept. 18-19
Fremantle	Sept. 22
Colombo	Sept. 28
Bombay	Sept. 30
Aden	Oct. 4
Port Said	Oct. 7-8
Marseilles	Oct. 11
London	Oct. 16

One Hundred Years Later

- - -

I am due to leave London on October 25 on the Cunard Liner S. S. Corinthia and am due to arrive in Quebec on October 30.

CORRECTED METHOD OF ADDRESSING COMMUNICATIONS

The following is taken from a brochure of P & O-Orient Lines:

Letters to passengers at ports of call should be addressed as follows:

Marion A. Wright
First Class Passenger
Per S. S. Arcadia
c/o_____
(Name and Address of Port Agent)
_____
(Port)

Telegrams to passengers at ports of call should be addressed as follows:

Marion A. Wright
Passenger_____(Name of Ship)
c/o_____(Telegraphic Address of Agent)
_____(Port)

Adelaide, Australia
Elder, Smith & Co. Ltd.
27 Currie Street, P. O. Box 387A
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

Fremantle (Perth), Australia
P&O-Orient Lines of Australia Pty. Ltd.
19 Phillimore Street, P.O.Box 393
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

Melbourne, Australia
P&O-Orient Lines of Australia Pty. Ltd.
356 Collins Street
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

Sydney, Australia
P&O-Orient Lines of Australia Pty. Ltd.
2 Spring Street
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

Hong Kong
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. of Hong Kong Ltd.
P&O Building, 13 Connaught Road Central
P.O. Box 113
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

Kobe, Japan
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. of Japan Ltd.
Chartered Bank Buildings, No. 9, 2 Chome
Kaigan-Dori, Ikuta-Ku, P. O. Box 246
(Telegraph, Peninsular)

Manila, Phillippines
Smith, Bell & Co. (Phillippines) Inc.
Bonifacio Building, Bonifacio Drive,
Port Area
P. O. Box 311
(Telegraph: Shipping)

Yokohama, Japan
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. of
Japan, Ltd.
Sutherland House, 75 Yamashita-cho,
P. O. Box 215
(Telegraph, Peninsular)

Bombay, India
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co.
Private Ltd.
4 Ballard Road, P. O. Box 122
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

Colombo, Ceylon
Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. Private Ltd.
4 Leyden Bastian Road, Fort, P. O. Box 94
(Telegraph, Peninsular)

Aden Colony
D. L. Baylis
P&O Agent, P&O House, Larcombe Road, Tawahi
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

London, England
Passenger Inquiries, Write:
P&O -Orient Lines
16 Cockspur St., SW 1
(Telegraph: Oriental London)

Marseilles, France
Estrine & Co.
18 Rue Colbert
(Telegraph: Estrine)

Port Said and Suez, U.A.R.
The English Coaling Co. Ltd.
32 El Goumhouria Street, P.O.Box 130
(Telegraph: Peninsular)

San Francisco 8, California
P&O-Orient Lines
155 Post Street
(Ex 7-3700)

Honolulu 13
Theo. H. Davies & Co. Ltd.
841 Bishop Street
(507-911)

Los Angeles 17, California
P&O-Orient Lines
611 W. Seventh St.
(MA 6-1880)

Vancouver 2, B. C.
P&O-Orient Lines
409 Granville Street
(MU 2-3811)

Quebec 2, Que.
Cunard Steam-Ship Co. Ltd.
67 St. Peter Street
(LA 2-1241)

The night of August 5th, 1962
I will be at Bay Shore Inn,
Vancouver, B. C.

From October 16th to October 25th I can be reached through Cunard Lines, London. I will try to supply a better address if I can. I would be identified as passenger on S. S. Carinthia.

TAV
MJ

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1962

Linville Falls, N. C.
July 27, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

To save time I am using the reprehensible device of the form letter.

I will leave here about August 3rd on a little jaunt around the world which should get me back here about November 1st. If you are overcome with the desire to communicate with me, I have arranged with Wilcox Travel Agency, Boone, N. C. to handle all mail and messages. So you may write me at Boone, care of that agency, using only the normal postage for delivery at that point. The agency, which has my itinerary, will forward everything to me, wrestling with the problem of necessary postage and timing to reach me.

This seemed to me to be a simpler procedure than putting on my correspondents the job of figuring out such complicated matters.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright by MJ

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

November 1, 1962

Mr. M. A. Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Welcome home! I share your conviction that it is not good for the country or the international situation for you to be traveling about the world. I reassure myself, however, by believing that it was good for M. A. Wright.

We are not pre-judging what the lawyers may or may not do. If they want to issue a statement, fine. My own hope is, however, that they will do something other than that, or at least in addition to that. I am not sure myself what this should be, largely because I am not familiar with the arcane of the bar. What I look forward to is that out of this committee meeting may come a decision to take some next steps in the direction of organizing sentiment among southern lawyers in behalf of the bar's obligation toward unpopular defendents.

I want to have our lawyers motivate and direct themselves, consequently we are not drafting any statement to put before them. As a matter of fact, I am at the moment undecided as to whether I shall even sit in on the meeting; it may be preferable to leave the lawyers entirely uncontaminated by an "outsider". I have asked George Barrett to lead the meeting and to assume responsibility for any staff work that may come out of it.

Looking forward to seeing you, and if you could come in for the dinner Sunday night I wish you would; a few of the new members are going to have dinner with a couple of the staff some place and we would be delighted to have you also.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Topknot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am now back in residence after having been away since August 3rd. The exploding situation at Oxford and in Cuban waters, both of which developed in my absence, makes me hesitate ever to leave these shores again.

I believe the SRC meeting is set up for November 19th and 20th. Having letter from you (not before me as I dictate) dealing with a statement to be issued by the lawyer members of SRC, this seems to be an excellent idea. I think it would be of great value if, prior to the meeting , Mr. Joseph Haas would prepare or have prepared and circulated to the lawyers his own draft of what he considers to be a proper statement. I suggest that he do this since the idea of the statement actually originated with him several months ago.

In the absence of an advance draft, I can predict great frustration as eight or ten lawyers sit around a table, each trying to put in his own pet phrase or word or idea. This kind of statement does not lend itself to group composition or editing. The preliminary draft will greatly simplify the work of such a group.

I have not kept up with any correspondence in about three months. It may be that you have written me about matters letters which I should have answered. If so, please remind me of them.

Best regards

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

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bad corporation

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

file M. A. Wright

Linville Falls, N. C.
December 3, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I went to the meeting of lawyers with two or three mild suggestions I intended to make but did not get around to it. The gentlemen from Alabama and New Orleans spent so much time with their personal problems that, during the short time I was in the meeting, there was little time left for other matters.

These suggestions were, no doubt, advanced by others but I list them here just to be sure that they have consideration:

1. Try to get each of the State Bar Associations of the Southern states to have a speaker at their next annual meetings who will discuss the subject of the lawyer's duty to accept unpopular causes. Hopefully, a resolution might be prepared and adopted at such meetings.

2. Try to get in the journal of the American Bar Association an article by some lawyer of the standing of Bennett Williams along the same general line and have that Association also adopt a suitable resolution.

3. Try to get the deans of Southern law schools to give a lecture or series of lectures (and to invite some lawyer for that purpose) on the lawyer's traditional role and his duty under present circumstances.

4. Try to get articles in all of the Southern law school journals.

It might be a good idea to distribute among the Southern lawyers the sheets which were handed to those of us at the meeting which contain excellent quotations from the New York Times and other periodicals.

I raise a question as to which I have no fixed opinion. Would it be

well for Wiley Branton to offer an article to the magazine section of the New York Times or to Life outlining his difficulties in securing counsel in Mississippi and elsewhere? I thought his recital of those difficulties was moving and believe that such recital should have a larger audience.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

Bar – resolution

dean – lectures on
obligatory bar-
course?

meet next 3-6 mos
interim all what can
do now bar assn
through friends other
areas

SRC study – statement?

November 14, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wiley:

It was good seeing you again last Saturday, and to hear your incisive talk which I always enjoy.

As we discussed just prior to the meeting, this is a note of reminder concerning your estimate of the number of court cases over a period of a year arising from civil rights violations in the South (such as in connection with voter registration efforts) where it is difficult or impossible to obtain an attorney to defend these cases). If available, a state by state breakdown of such cases would be very helpful.

As I explained, we have the glimmerings of a notion of the possibility of providing legal aid in such situations, for which an estimate of the extent of the problem would be imperative. I know of no one who is more knowledgeable on this subject, even though I realize it may be difficult to estimate.

Since we probably will be discussing this matter again on November 30, I would appreicate a reply at your earliest opportunity. Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director

AJL:hjh

cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

P.S. I assume that Wiley will be discussing this with you, but in any event I would very much appreciate your estimate since I know SRC has been concerned with this problem over a number of years.

ajl

PA ✓
MU ✓
SB ✓
MJ - file

Linville Falls, N. C.
January 22, 1963

Mr. Walter Cronkite
Columbia Broadcasting System
RCA Building
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Cronkite:

Television has recently served well those of us in the South who are trying to observe the law and follow the dictates of conscience in the desegregation issue. I refer to the presentation on news broadcasts of remarks made by retiring Governor Hollings of South Carolina and Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina. The speeches of both of these men marked a new high in speeches by Southern political leaders.

The national play which they receive will, I think it reasonable to believe, strengthen their resolve and inspire them to future performances of a similar nature. More important, it will indicate to other Southern political leaders that the path to national recognition lies open to those who similarly espouse an honorable and a decent course in race relations.

This has suggested to me an idea which, if executed, might have fairly significant consequences. I should like to place it before you.

There have been, as you know, a spate of statements and speeches by Southern politicians and lay leaders. Many of these have already been captured on film and would be available for the purpose I have in mind. These utterances fall into two categories:

1. By men like Governors Barnett, Faubus and Patterson, Senators Byrd, Talmadge and Ellender, General Walker, Admiral Crommerlin and newspaper editors such as Kirkpatrick of Richmond, Waring of Charleston, and the man on the Montgomery Advertiser whose name escapes me. These are the voices of resistance and rebellion.

2. On the other hand there are the recent statements of Hollings and Sanford above referred to and other statements by former Governor Collins of Florida, possibly Governor Vandiver of Georgia, Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta and Dr. Frank P. Graham of United Nations.

Neither list is complete and I am sure other names will occur to you.

My idea is that a TV program of something like half an hour might be arranged under the general title of "Conflicting Voices from the South". About equal time would be allotted to both schools with no editorial comment. I think it would have a very salutary effect if the South and the nation could witness in half an hour a confrontation of the two types of leadership. A statement by Senator McCarthy and a later statement by Mr. Robert Welsh would not have produced the devastating effect on Senator McCarthy's fortunes which was produced by having the two men appear simultaneously. The program that I would have in mind would give Southerners their first opportunity to take the measures of their leaders when such leaders are contrasted with each other by their presences and their spoken words.

The tide is now beginning to turn. It should be taken at the flood. The program suggested would be not merely a dramatic presentation of recent history; it would tend to move the South more rapidly into the Twentieth Century.

I should like very much to have your views on this suggestion.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

bc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

February 26, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

The expense accounts have been sent out. Thanks for reminding us.

I read with much interest your remarks about SCEF. I entirely agree at this point. We want no public or semi-public argument. There is a chance, of course, that we may be pressed to the wall and that we may have to give some reasons for an adverse vote; I'm afraid that the nature of our position as an older and experienced agency to whom some others look for guidance could force us into doing something which an organization, not expected to lead, might avoid. On the other hand, there is the happier possibility that we may not have to face the question at all. I shall confess that a while back I had become so tired and tormented by the whole issue that I would have almost welcomed an open resolution of it. I do not feel that way now.

I would like to avoid any argument if for no other reason than I am not sure how well we would come out. I suspect that some of the SCEF people may be more adept and adroit on that kind of thing than are we. Having in one sense less to lose and in another everything to lose, they might be pretty formidable.

I wanted to have the discussion that we did because the staff senses the tenseness of this matter, and I wanted you to be informed. We shall try to keep you that way, but not oppressively.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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MA ✓
PA ✓
return DLD

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Address 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
February 21, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 22 1963
RECEIVED

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

MA
✓
sent
2-25-63
MA

There is one small matter that I think it is well to call to your attention. Probably because Paul Anthony has been shifted to a new post, members attending the recent Executive Committee meeting were not given forms on which to file their expense accounts. As for myself I keep a supply on hand and file them promptly and without having to be prodded.

However, we had some new members present who may not feel this same freedom to act. It might be well to send them these forms and suggest that they fill them out and file.

The discussion about SCEF was interesting. I am entirely willing to leave the matter of voting on admission of SCEF to the group you named (with which I am not familiar) to your discretion. I warmly concur in John Wheeler's view that the discretion should be wisely exercised by not stating your reasons for a negative vote. You are not required, and I believe it would be unwise, to do so.

For example, your reason may be that you feel the organization in question, or certain of its officers or agents, lack discretion. Others present may have great confidence in the discretion of the organization, its officers and agents. You would not want to plant a doubt where none existed before. Thus you might, with the best motive, injure the organization in the views of others who were voting. I am sure the last thing you would want to do would be to plant doubts or sow suspicions.

An analogy seems to me to be an application for church membership. One voting against admission may have reason to believe that the applicant was an old so and so. Everybody else who was voting

might have high regard for the applicant. His standing in the community could be seriously impaired if reasons were publicly expressed.

I string along with Blackstone who advised young judges: "Decide things from the bench and, if possible, never give your reasons. Your decision will probably be right and your reasons will probably be wrong". I believe I had rather run the risk of being thought merely obstinate than the risk of being thought inconsiderate of the other man's reputation.

I thought the meeting went off quite well and our present healthy state is a great tribute to your skill and ability.

Best regar ds.

Your s sincerely,

M. A. W.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
cc: John Wheeler

F.Y.I.
Please return
to A.J.
file
MA Wright

PAV
SBV
HLV
MJ - file
MA - Wow!

March 20, 1963

Chancellor J. C. Williams
The University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

My Dear Sir:

I have read with interest a copy of your address before the Commonwealth Club of California. Certainly your position in the tragic days of last September was one which deserves the sympathy of us all. But one finds it difficult to have sympathy with, or even comprehension of, the course which you and other Mississippi educators followed in the years between May, 1954, and September, 1962.

In May, 1954, you were put upon notice that the situation which did develop in September, 1962, was inevitable - that is, that Negroes would secure admission to your institution. For aught that appears in your address you took no step to prepare for this clearly predictable event. Referring to the prevailing Mississippi view that "It can't happen here", you ask, somewhat rhetorically: "What else was the average Mississippian to believe when he read nothing else in his newspapers, when he heard little else from his political leaders?"

Surely the Chancellor of a University is not an average citizen. Surely he knew better. And surely one of the obligations of the educated is to lead. The field of leading the uneducated, of informing public opinion, is too important and sacred a task to be left to the newspapers and the politicians. When the educators shrank from that task, which was peculiarly theirs, and left the field to the demagogues of editorial rooms and hustings, they sowed the dragon's teeth which you reaped last September.

Even now your address reveals you as apologizing for "the Southern way of life" without one word of indignation at the cruelties and barbarism which were its ultimate expression, its poisonous fruit. Many noble Negroes have risked and forfeited their lives because they sought to change that way of life. What risks did you take - you, the chancellor of a university?

You state that in September, 1962, "our quiet, tree-shaded campus became the battleground for a decisive struggle between opposing schools of thought - ethical, political, sociological." A university campus is just the place for opposing schools of thought, ethical, political, sociological. The world's great universities have become great precisely because opposing views were there threshed out, tested against each other. Isn't your

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

real complaint that the University of Mississippi faced in violence issues it should have faced decades ago in academic calm? So far as your student bodies knew, was there any other view than the one espoused by Governor Barnett and his ilk? If the other view had not been throttled on your campus, would you have had the riot and turmoil you now lament?

Mississippi's experience is somber proof of Edmund Burke's maxim that "All that is necessary for evil to prevail is that good men do nothing".

To be sure, your position in September was, as you state, that of the sparrow caught in the badminton game. But the forces which then buffeted you were not instantaneous creations. They were of slow growth. There were years when your weight might have counted; you might indeed, have been a force and not a pawn. You might have modified the course of events, or, if you could not have done so, gone down with guns blazing.

History will judge you by your inaction, your abdication of the heroic role of educational leader.

Remember: the eye of history, like the eye of God, is on the sparrow.

Sincerely,

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

May 6, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

You will recall that you are chairman of the sub-committee appointed to canvass the field of possible new presidents, and to advise the Nominating Committee on this important matter. Timidly, least I be presuming, I wonder if you would like for us to attempt to convene your sub-committee the evening before the Executive Committee meeting on May 21; or at some other time in connection with that occasion? The other two members of the sub-committee are Josephine Wilkins and Stephen Wright, both of whom have indicated that they will be in attendance.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 5, 1963

Mr. Donald B. King
Associate Professor
Wayne State University
School of Law
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. King:

As requested in your letter of July 3, I am enclosing a brief biographical data sheet for Mr. Wright.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

LAW SCHOOL DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

July 3, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are publishing an article by Mr. Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina intitled Set In Movement: Progress Report and Prognosis." He suggested that we write you about a biographical data that we might use for listing his qualifications in the article.

We would appreciate this information as soon as it is possible and convenient as we are ready to go to press.

Sincerely yours,

Donald B. King (kw)

Donald B. King

Associate Professor

DBK:kw

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

VJ - I told Mr Wright I didn't agree

MJ - file

Linville Falls, N. C.
August 8, 1963

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I enclose a clipping from the Christian Century and a form letter from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, both of which were sent me by a friend. They may be worth your careful examination.

You will observe that the Revenue Service is taking a hard look at "action" organizations. You might consider the advisability of leaving off of our stationery the slogan which appears at the top or, at least, leaving the word action out of the slogan.

I have no fixed opinion but thought you might like to consider the point.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

file

MAW:mg

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

JUL 1 1963

The Christian Century

VOLUME LXXX, NO. 12, MARCH 20, 1963

Revenue Service Revokes F. O. R.'s Tax Status

✦ THE FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation has notified its members and friends that the Internal Revenue Service has revoked its tax-exempt status. For 37 years F.O.R. members, along with friends and foundations, have supported the fellowship's meager budgets with gifts which individuals could deduct from their income tax returns and which foundations were privileged to make to nonprofit organizations. Unless the I.R.S. ruling is reversed the work of one of the nation's most effective peace organizations will be seriously crippled, if not destroyed. The Internal Revenue Service offered two fantastic reasons for its precipitous action in revoking the F.O.R.'s tax-exempt status: (1) The pursuit of peace, disarmament and the reconciliation of nations is not religious but political activity. (2) The fellowship's objective—world peace—can be secured only by passage of legislation, hence the fellowship falls into a recently created category of "action organizations" excluded by I.R.S. regulations from the right to tax-deductibility. Regarding the first explanation F.O.R. officials raise a pertinent question: "Is the American church willing to accept the dictum that religion has no voice in political decisions, that the church must stick to its worship and sacraments, with no word of judgment for the state?" Are the churches willing to accept the judgment that pursuit of peace is purely a political function? Will churches lose their tax-exempt status if they take note of the beatitude "Blessed are the peacemakers," if their minister preaches more than one peace sermon a year, if they inadvertently refer to Jesus Christ as "the Prince of Peace"? In regard to the second reason offered by the Internal Revenue Service for revoking the F.O.R.'s tax-exempt status it is pertinent to ask whether every organization which influences opinion—which in turn influences legislation—must be penalized by loss of its tax status. There is not a church in the United States which does not seek at least indirectly to influence legislation. If churches can do so with impunity, why not semireligious and humanitarian organizations? The F.O.R. is not charging that it is being obstructed and intimidated because it is a peace movement. Nevertheless it seems strange to friends of the F.O.R. that the Internal Revenue Service, which claims to be interested only in "tax loopholes," should fix its sights on a small organization like the fellowship and bypass numerous superpatriotic, extreme right-wing organizations which have substantial budgets, which are not religious in character and which are much more successful than the F.O.R. in influencing legislation. We feel that the action of the I.R.S. is an injustice to the F.O.R. and a threat to the churches. Undoubtedly the various peace organizations will resist this action together rather than be picked off one by one. They deserve the churches' strong support.

memo from THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Box 271, Nyack, New York • Elmwood 8-4601 • *Direct New York City wire:* LOrraine 8-8200

JUL 1 1963

March 20, 1963

Memorandum on the Tax Case

TO: Members and Friends of the FOR
FROM: Alfred Hassler

Nothing in all my 21 years with the Fellowship has moved me so much as the letters that have been pouring in since I wrote you (February 20) of the attack by the Internal Revenue Service on the Fellowship's status as a religious organization entitled to tax-exempt status. The financial response, in gifts to help in the Fellowship's challenge of the IRS ruling, has been very encouraging, but what has really touched our hearts and lifted our spirits has been the hundreds of messages of support and identification that have come in. They have ranged from the humbling letter from a retired couple who expressed their "shame" at being able to send only $20 of an annual income of $1,235, to that from a United States Senator saying that he is "thoroughly alarmed" and promising to "make a thorough inquiry;" from the ministers who declared their intention of preaching sermons on the subject; to the valiant souls who wrote the Internal Revenue Service that it will have to sue them to collect any taxes on their FOR contributions.

Many, many of your letters deserve personal replies, and I hope to get to them before too long. At the moment, however, the time and stenographic help are simply not available to answer them thus, and I want to try, therefore, to deal with some of the questions many of you have asked in this general "summary" acknowledgment.

Some of you have asked whether tax-exemption itself, for anyone, is not wrong. It is a legitimate question, on which good men differ. The assumption underlying the principle of tax-exemption is that it encourages the support of activities that are beneficial to the whole community in the form of (a) charitable and benevolent activities that might otherwise be a direct drain on the state, (b) assurance of the independence of minority and nonconforming religious faiths, and (c) encouragement of the free discussion of public policy that is essential to democracy. These seem to me important values that would be difficult to achieve in other ways in the kind of system in which we live.

But this is not the issue here, of course. The issue is not whether the principle of tax-exemption is right or wrong, but whether, given the fact that tax-exemption for certain purposes exists as law, it may be wielded as a discriminatory weapon against selected and officially disapproved causes. <u>This</u> is an important principle, and it is this principle for which the Fellowship is contending.

Others have urged that the Fellowship "get into politics with both feet," maintaining that only in this way can peace be attained. I do not deprecate efforts at political effectiveness through the electoral processes. I have welcomed the sight of the many "peace candidates" in the last election, (including several FOR members), and the indications that there will be continuing efforts in this direction in the future. But the electoral process is the process of recording the opinion of the citizens who make up the national community, not, basically, of moulding that opinion. The moulding is done by a multitude of influences--school, church, press--through education, discussion, and action. The Fellowship has its major responsibility here, with more opportunities than it can possibly meet, and this work is at least as important in the creation of a will to peace as that which works directly in the political arena.

A few people have asked whether this ruling does not affect other groups, including denominational peace fellowships. My understanding is that such a ruling affects only the group against which it is made--in this case, the FOR.

Another question has been of the identity of the some of the "right-wing" groups enjoying tax-exemption, to which I referred in my February 20 letter. There are many of them; the following is not by any means an exhaustive list, but does give an indication:

1.) American Council of Christian Laymen (Verne P. Kaub) Madison, Wisc.
2.) The Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (Fred C. Schwarz) Long Beach, Calif.
3.) The Christian Beacon (Carl T. McIntire) Collingswood, N. J.
4.) The Church League of America (Edgar C. Bundy) Wheaton, Ill.
5.) The Circuit Riders (Myers G. Lowman) Cincinnati, Ohio
6.) Facts Forum (H. L. Hunt) Dallas, Texas
7.) Harding College (George Benson) Searcy, Ark.
8.) National Education Program, Searcy, Ark.

Mostly people have asked what they can do (although many of you seem to have gone ahead and done it). Here are some suggestions:

1.) Bring the matter to the attention of ministers, and groups concerned with civil liberties and peace; their support will be needed at various points.

2.) Express your feelings on the matter to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue (Mortimer Caplin); Secretary of the Treasury (Douglas Dillon), and other concerned government officials, including your own senators and representatives. The officials directly involved are J.W.S. Littleton, Director Tax Rulings Division; J.F. Worley, Chief, Exempt Organizations Branch and Paul L. Kane, all of the Internal Revenue Service.

3.) Encourage the proper persons and publications within your own denomination to consider and discuss the issue. Editorial support for the Fellowship can be of considerable assistance here.

Another suggestion is that the Fellowship follow the example of other groups that have divided their work into two areas: one that is frankly involved in legislative-lobbying activities and to which contributions are not exempt from taxation, the other that carries on its educational and evangelistic work in other ways.

The difficulty here is that the Fellowship does not do legislative and lobbying work. Its activities are comparable to those carried on by the "exempt sections" of the organizations who have followed such a procedure, and it is precisely this that is the serious threat in this action. What the IRS has said in this decision, in effect, is that <u>any</u> work for peace, no matter what the religious basis, (and presumably for any other socially desirable goal) involves the ultimate passage or defeat of legislation, and hence is interpreted as an attempt to influence legislation. Whatever the intent, the consequence is to provide the IRS with the means to damage or destroy any organization with whose objectives it is not in sympathy.

Well, this letter is overlong and I apologize. But so many of you have expressed so much interest that it seemed advisable to keep you informed on these matters. And all of us send you our warmest appreciation of your comradeship; we know that, whatever happens, the bonds of affection and concern that hold us cannot be weakened, but only grow stronger.

JUL 1 1963

SECOND CHORUS:

Computing Jesus's Back Taxes

by Nat Hentoff

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a religious (but nonsectarian organization which has been working in this country since 1915 to explore nonviolent ways to peace, racial integration, and the solution of labor-management conflicts, among other resistant preoccupations. Among the more well-known groups which received a first impetus from the F. O. R. or from F. O. R. members are the American Civil Liberties Union, the Workers Defense League, the Congress on Racial Equality, and the American Committee on Africa.

Among the graduates of the Fellowship who have become seminal figures for fundamental social change are James Farmer of CORE, Bayard Rustin of the War Resisters League, and George Houser of the American Committee on Africa. Martin Luther King has long been a member, as is the Reverend James Lawson, who was a particularly resourceful strategist a few years ago in guiding direct-action campaigns for racial equality in the South—and who will surely be heard from again. From 1940 to 1953, the F.O. R.'s executive secretary was A. J. Muste (still connected with the organization, among his other multiple activities). It has been Muste, more than any other man, who has most effectively introduced and spread throughout the country an understanding of the philosophy and techniques of nonviolent resistance.

'Not Religious'

So much for the F. O. R.'s credentials. It has been tax exempt since 1926. As of January 10, 1963, the F. O. R. was informed by the Internal Revenue Service that its tax-exempt status had been revoked. The reasons given are dourly revelatory of the reasoning processes of our officialdom. According to the Internal Revenue Service, work for peace, disarmament, and the reconciliation of nations is political, not religious activity. (To be sure, the churches as a whole have done little to counter this impression.) Furthermore, the F. O. R.'s goal of world peace can only be achieved, says the government, by the passage of legislation. Thereby, the F. O. R. is now categorized as an "action organization" which cannot be tax exempt.

Also militating against the Fellowship is the fact that its credo has always been sufficiently flexible to contain people of widely varying beliefs and backgrounds. Its Statement of Purpose declares that its members, although "they do not bind themselves to any exact form of words . . . strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life. . . It is intended that members shall work out these purposes in their own ways. There is no uniform program of social reconstruction to which all are committed."

Crucial to the ruminatioins of the Internal Revenue Service is the further fact that the Fellowship's Statement of Purpose contains no "Supreme Being clause." Without such a clause and without attachment to a specific church, how, the Internal Revenue Service rhetorically asks, can the FOR be religious?

'Incidental Part'

As for the first point, a representative of the I. R. S. explained to the Fellowship that peace, after all, is only a very incidental part of any real Church's activities. "A preacher," he observed, 'preaches one sermon a year on peace, and that's about it." As for the second count, the F. O. R. points out that to expect peace to come only through the passage of legislation is at best ingenuous. "Legislation," the Fellowship underlines, "follows upon changes in attitude, but the changes in attitude are the essential development. Is this kind of activity to be harassed and frustrated? Is it to be denied to the religious and humanitarian conscience of the country, declared to be less worthy of public support than the charity that begins and ends with baskets of food to the poor?"

The Fellowship, incidentally, has been under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service since 1959, but so far no formal opportunity has been given the F. O. R. to examine or reply to the "evidence" against it, produce its own witnesses, or otherwise utilize "due process." In addition, the Fellowship wasn't given a single day to adjust to its new, non-tax-exempt status. The ukase was sent, and that was that—although there are substantial legal questions involved in the Federal excommunication of a religious group which is without a "Supreme Being clause." Furthermore, the 1959 regulation which set up the category of "action organization" to which the F. O. R. has been assigned has yet to be tested in the courts. There is also evidence that the Internal Revenue Service based its decision on a remarkably distorted conception of what the F.O.R. is and what it has been doing for 48 years.

Significant Battle

The Fellowship is trying to fight the ruling, first by attempting to get a formal hearing, and then, if necessary, in the courts. The F. O. R.'s financial resources are small. The Internal Revenue Service has access, of course, to all of our bread in countering the Fellowship's determination to be accorded "due process."

This is going to be a significant battle. If the F. O. R. loses, 1984 will again have come appreciably closer. The official administrative etymologists will have succeeded in proving—for the record—that fellowship for peace cannot be religious. And God, therefore, will indeed be on Our Side.

Interested? Ask us for extra copies for your friends. (from the March issue of *The Village Voice*, NYC)

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
101 - 2121 Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203
252-2722

File Wright, Marion A "Speeches"

LWD
VJ
PWV
SB
my file

An address, "Citizen and State", by Dr. Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C. before a joint meeting of Alabama and Georgia Councils on Human Relations at a workshop in Tuskegee, Alabama October 4, 1963.

This is an important occasion in Southern history and, incidentally, in my own experience. For the first time two State Councils on Human Relations hold a joint meeting. For the first time in my life I have two sponsors - something like being presented by B. C. and Anacin. I select those two because I am sure your organizations have your headaches - "have you tried B. C., B. C., B. C.?" - and need occasionally to control yourselves. Probably it is the misery which loves company which brings you together.

I certainly hope that, before this memorable meeting, the coach of the Georgia Council didn't call up the coach of the Alabama Council and give away secret information about Georgia's defensive formations. (Our councils, of course, are always on the defensive.) But, if such a conversation took place, we hope the Saturday Evening Post gets the story. What couldn't we do with $3,000,000!

Not only is the occasion unique. So is the place of meeting. Tuskegee has many claims to distinction. I could, perhaps, ingratiate myself with you by reciting them. (I am not above a little ingratiating.) But, because it fits in with my purpose, I limit myself to only one of Tuskegee's badges of distinction. Probably that one has appealed to me because I know one of the participants in a drama which had its setting in this city. In this way I have the warmly satisfying feeling of involvement with great events. This is much like the O'Henry character who was always bragging that his grandfather had been kicked by General Lee's mule.

Anyhow, this Institute's Dean Gomillion and I were both born in Johnston, South Carolina - I will not say when. We both left in early youth. Probably 40 years elapsed before we saw each other again, by which time I had failed to get an A. B. degree and he was a Ph.D. dean of this institution. Now, wherever I go, I run into him or find his pug marks. He is a constant reminder to me that, if I had settled down, and learned my geometry and Latin and all that junk, I, too might have become a dean or something.

But what interest us now is not C. G. Gomillion, Dean, but C. G. Gomillion, plaintiff, in the case of Gomillion vs Lightfoot. His career is further proof of the fact that a really able and dedicated man can find ways to serve his country - ways not connected with the things he fitted himself to do. Mr Gomillion no doubt worked hard and long to become a professor and dean, both of which roles he fills with great distinction. He never worked a day to become a plaintiff in a law suit. As an old time fellow citizen of mine, he will not, I hope, mind my saying that long after he is gone to wherever good deans go, and has been forgotten for all of his fine work here, lawyers and judges will read and ponder what he did in the unfamiliar field of the law. His name is emblazoned in the reports and in the moving volume entitled Gomillion vs Lightfoot.

Now, I didn't go into all of this merely to pay a deserved tribute to an old friend, though I have satisfaction in so doing. I did it as an indirect and somewhat sneaky way of getting us to think together about certain matters.

At one of these I have already hinted. It is that, above and beyond a man's career or profession, and infinitely more important than they, is his role as a citizen. We are too apt to stereotype people. This man is a lawyer, a doctor, or a dean, or a farmer, or a musician, we are told. Instantly, if subconsciously, we call up an image and decide the man must be of a certain type. We label him and file him away under his appropriate heading. This is, of course, pre-judgment, which is merely a polite term for prejudice. Others, when told that a man is Protestant or Catholic, Jew or Gentile, Chinaman, or white or Negro, leap to their own hasty conclusions and exalt or condemn without hearing. Such is prejudice in its baldest form. Of it we in Alabama and Georgia have tragic knowledge.

One's career as citizen is a thing apart from all such extraneous considerations. Society is properly concerned with none of these. Gomillion as citizen is a more important and heroic individual than Gomillion as dean. Who cares that George Washington was a surveyor, or Ben Franklin a printer, or Tom Paine a maker of corsets? They might have cared one time about Tom Paine's specialty but, from examining the ads, I don't believe they would now. The thing with which society is concerned is whether or not a man pulls his weight, pays his way, as a citizen. To do less than that is a form of parasitism.

But that is not the real point I had in mind about Gomillion vs Lightfoot. The point is that the case which originated here is not merely a landmark of the law. It gives every decent and law-abiding American hope for his country's future. It illustrates what Chief Justice Warren had in mind when he said "Law floats in a sea of morals". The case represents the conscious effort of the law to bring itself into accord with sound morality.

You recall the facts - the legislative re-drafting of this city's boundary lines into a geographical monstrosity for the purpose of disfranchising a large percentage of the population. The court has always had extreme reluctance to interfere in cases of gerrymandering, indulging every presumption in favor of legislative honesty and good intent. But there are limits to the presumption. The decision is a ringing affirmation that public morality will not be forever sacrificed on the altar of sterile legalism.

In another connection Alabama drove the court to the same position. The pupil placement law was at first upheld upon the ground that, if fairly administered, pupils would be properly assigned to schools. There was again the presumption of honesty and good intent. But the discreditable and ignoble use made of the statute forced the court to step in and correct abuses. This was the triumph of morality over form.

And, if we may pursue the point a little farther, the celebrated Plessy vs Ferguson case established the separate-but-equal-doctrine. Implicit is the court's trust in legislative and administrative honesty. But experience demonstrated the contrary - always separate, never equal. There was an essential immorality in application of the principle. So the principle was reversed in the 1954 Brown decision.

It has become a popular sport among Southern politicians to sneer at "the Warren Court". There will come a time-indeed it is here in the rest of the country - when men will give devout thanks that, at this juncture in history, there emerged and functioned a court which responded to the claims of sound

public morality. And, if there are those disposed to believe that no good thing can come out of Nazareth, let them reflect that Birmingham and Alabama, which produced Governor Wallace, produced also Justice Hugo Black.

A man named Gerry gave his name to create the term gerrymandering, a synonym for using strictly legal means to accomplish an immoral result in geographical sub-divisions. I suggest a synonym for using legal means to secure moral results in the same field. The word is Gomillionizing.

The point of all this seems to be that, if you want your cause to succeed, be sure it is grounded in morals. It is not enough to assert the moral position sporadically and only in times of crisis. That is what is now taking place all over the South. What is required is a day to day and issue by issue assertion of the moral position. We should never cease proclaiming: Segregation is morally indefensible - in the school, in the park, in the lunch counter, in the picture show, everywhere, and especially in the church. Cato concluded every oration "Carthago delenda est" - Carthage must be destroyed. Voltaire ended every letter "Escrasez l'infame" - Crush the infamy. We must exhibit the same daily resolution.

"Law floats in a sea of morals." The councils on human relations should permit no haziness to exist anywhere on the point that there is a moral force in the community which not merely condemns violence (certainly zero in indignation) but insists as a matter of common decency that in every public facility all are treated alike. When we sharply define the moral issue, we influence and forecast the legal decision. Thus we throw our weight around.

Let us be as precise as possible. What are some moral issues to be defined? Perhaps all of us would come up with different answers. But since the theme of this meeting is "New Ways for New Days", I shall plunge in with my own version. I hope it is no mere sense of the dramatic which prompts me to strike at the jugular. Anyhow, I propose that we should meet the State's Rights argument head-on and expose it for the fraud it is.

No one here, I am sure, is fooled by the State's Rights cry. When funds are being handed out in Washington we never hear it. Post offices, federal buildings and installations of all kinds, crop subsidies, erosion control money, aid for hospitals and all the rest - our representatives are there, passing around the hat and rushing into print to proclaim "Look what I got for you". No taint on the money, no fear of federal control, no cry of State's Rights. Only when a Negro citizen asserts a constitutional right - to vote, to attend school, to use a park, to dine in decent surroundings - only then is the cry raised in the land, only then are we warned against "outside interference in local affairs".

It is the instrumentalities which quickly transport and convey men, goods, and opinion, rather than any formal paper agreement, which have made this one nation, indivisible. (The segregationist needs occasionally to be reminded that the rest of the quotation is <u>not</u> "With liberty and justice for <u>some</u>.") When the nation became actually one and indivisible, justice also became indivisible and could not be measured by different scales of values. So, the segregationist's quarrel is not, as he supposes, with the NAACP, President Kennedy and the Warren Court; it is with MacAdam, Henry Ford and Marconi.

Since states and communities do impinge upon each other and since the experiments they conduct affect for good or ill their neighbors in other states and indeed, the entire nation, the national government is forced to have a concern with what goes on within these once insulated cells. If Prince Edward County wishes to experiment with bringing up a generation of ignorant boys and girls, and if Alabama and Mississippi wish to experiment with a system by which Negro citizens

are barred from attendance upon their state universities, the government of the United States would fail in the national duty if it did not put an end to these poisonous adventures.

So, if local practices present a national danger, they invite the use of national power to bring them to an end. We must bear in mind also that the citizens upon whom these experiments are conducted are citizens, not merely of a state, but of the United States, and, as such, entitled to national protection.

We must extract such comfort as we can from the conduct of wicked men. So let us give thanks to Senator Byrd, to Governor Faubus, to Governor Barnett, to Governor Wallace. What the senator did in Prince Edward County and what the governors did in Arkansas, in Mississippi and in Alabama awoke the country into a realization that these were no mere side shows to which the nation could remain blind and indifferent. Those incidents affected American citizens entitled to national protection. They were of profound national concern. If Mississippi and Alabama won't protect American citizens, the federal government will.

We have moved into a new day. This country will never be the same after the grisly events which took place in Little Rock, in Oxford, in Birmingham. The methods of the police state, long unrebuked, now stage their final orgy. No state has the right to suppress, to intimidate, to disfranchise. A citizen is entitled to enjoy in Alabama and Mississippi rights enjoyed in Massachusetts or Wisconsin.

So the Southern governors have forced a re-consideration of the relationship between the states and the federal government. They did much more than that. They have forced you and me, as citizens, to re-consider our relationship to society. We move into a new day. The old relationships do not suffice.

The church is an institution of society. Can we any longer give sanction, support or membership to a segregated church? The cruelest of all injuries is inflicted by the one agency which claims some divine or supernatural authorship. To turn one away from a lunch counter is evil; to turn him away from the altar is diabolical. What distinction is there in principle between boycotting or picketing a place of business and boycotting or picketing a place of worship?

When a minister is fired because he advocates welcoming all who would worship, is it enough to say "tut, tut" and settle back comfortably into a pew? Seven theological professors at Sewanee some years ago resigned in protest of exclusion of a Negro student. That action changed the institution's policy.

When we wink at tokenism in assignment of pupils do we not endorse token morality and is our own morality quite robust? One woman, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, personally carrying resolutions and petitions of women to reluctant sheriffs, almost alone drove lynching out of the South. In this new day has not the time arrived when committees of resolute women may by personal appearance before school boards bring an end to the scourge and hypocricy of tokenism?

When proprietors of businesses exclude Negroes or discriminate against them, personal visits from disturbed and concerned white persons may be effective supplements to the picket lines.

Boys and girls are in jail for going into forbidden rest rooms or singing hymns on State house steps. Can we not visit and cheer them and sit with them in court? We no longer dare to be squeamish or be moved by considerations of distaste.

At many places in the South parks, play grounds and swimming pools are being closed. These are instruments of civilization. Their closing is a retreat from civilization, an advance toward savagery. No good citizen can view that action with complacency. Every member of a state council, and the councils themselves, to the extent permitted by their tax exempt privilege, should not go unprotesting back to the dark ages. Surely it is legitimate to print the arguments which originally inspired the establishments of these civic ornaments.

Many years ago, when Dr. Frank Graham was president of the University of North Carolina, a faculty member went over to Durham and dined with a Negro. There was a movement among the trustees to fire the professor. Dr. Graham announced "If you fire him you have my resignation". That ended the movement and set the stage for the University's later gracious acceptance of Negro students. By such individual acts of private citizens does a state secure deserved fame and honor.

By contrast, James Reston in the New York Times, gives names of twelve powerful citizens of Birmingham who might have averted that city's shame. They were mute when they should have spoken. One is reminded of what Hesiod wrote in 720 B. C.: "Often hath a whole city reaped the evil fruit of one bad man." That 2700 years before Bull Connor!

And Marcellenus, still B. C., wrote: "He that would live completely happy must before all things belong to a country that is of fair report."

So, by a very roundabout way, we come again to Gomillion vs Lightfoot. A private citizen confronting the power of a state. But the conflict was not as unequal as one might think. Dr. Gomillion chose the battleground, as the Greeks chose Thermopylae and Salamis, where they were strong and the enemy weak. He chose to fight on a moral issue. There he was at home and Alabama was on unfamiliar ground. He was strong and Alabama weak. Any state, steeped in immoral policy cloaked with legalism, is inevitably vulnerable to attack by a private citizen whose cause is just. And, by making his stand, the citizen educates the state in basic morality. In the same way he may educate his church in basic religion. And society in basic humanity.

The tragic events which have occurred in Birmingham will have taught the South nothing if they result only in search for a scapegoat, one who will "bear upon him all our iniquities into a land not inhabited", as the Biblical phrase has it. Certainly the search is not difficult. There abound in many quarters in the South mean and ignoble spirits, who, from governors' offices and legislative halls, by calculated words and deeds, have inspired stupid and brutal men to barbaric acts.

But, if we are to seek for first causes, these political figures are themselves mere creations. Their words receive attention and their acts have authority only because they occupy the pedestal of office. We, the voters, placed them there, "drest them in a little brief authority", and so gave them forum and power. We begin to pay in flame and blood for our folly.

Too often those who "strut and fret their hour upon the stage" have had accomplices of surface respectability - irresponsible elements of press and bar, the White Citizens Councils, and in some instances, the pulpit. The press by urging resistance; the bar, by devising evasive schemes and interposing fictitious defenses, and the pulpit, by giving ecelesiastical sanction to segregation - all set in motion forces which came to flower in a charred church and four small graves.

The list might be indefinitely extended. There are in every state a company of accessories to the murders, bombings, assaults, intimidations, repressions and

lesser crimes which stain Southern annals. Sneers about the "Warren Court"; endless prating about "our Southern way of life"; the cries of "nigger lover"; the tattered and vulgar jokes about Negroes and the accompanying thigh-slapping and guffawa; the vote to turn them out if they come to our church; the ostentatious change of seats in bus or plane if the next seat is occupied by a dark-skinned person; the sneer and the scowl designed to put them in their place-all of these and much more known to every Southerner have helped to create the soil and climate in which our prize crop of demagogues has thrived. These are activities of those positively, if unconsciously, involved in setting the stage for thugs with bombs.

But, paradoxically, the most seriously involved offenders have been the uninvolved. They are the persons of anemic decency, "the meanly wise and feebly good", who have sat out this social revolution. They were not active parties to the dishonorable evasive maneuvers which preceded violence; they had no hand in their state's pretension to compliance with law while actually defying it; they were not massive resisters or token integrationist; they intiated no policy of exclusion of Negroes from church membership or swimming pools or golf courses. Nothing overt can be laid at their doors. But they are guilty of the monstrous sin of uninvolvement, of benevolent neutrality, fo disengagement from the struggle which raged about them. They had weight and power whoih were not used. Evil succeeds when good men do nothing. Not to participate in a crucial moral conflict may insure a whole skin which houses a craven heart.

Justice Holmes said; "I think that, as life is action andpassion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time at peril of being judged not to have lived."

How many of us have failed to share the passion and action of our times!

Shall Birmingham's lamented and tragically dead have died in vain? If we go back to business as usual; if we engage in legalistic arguments over the right to expel a customer; if we resume the petty school tokenism which means also moral tokenism; if gradualism is still our shibboleth - the sacrifice shall have little availed. But if, at last, shocked and contrite, we marshal the region's moral resources, if the white South will match the Negro's courage and nobility, we shall emerge from the Birmingham horror, cleansed, purged and dedicated to the creation of a more nearly perfect society.

In their death four little girls may lead the South into a more abundant life.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

December 10, 1963

file

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have mailed today a copy of your biographical data sheet to Mr. Barton, as you requested. Enclosed is a copy for you. Indicate on it any changes, if any, that you'd like made, and I'll be glad to re-type copies.

We had a very good meeting yesterday. Sorry you couldn't have been with us. If my memory doesn't fail me, I don't think you've missed a meeting since 1957 when I first came to work for the Council. We all missed you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

December 10, 1963

Mr. Lewis W. Barton
Kresson Road
Haddonfield, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Barton:

Mr. Wright has asked me to send you a copy of his biographical data sheet, enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
enclosure - 1.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
December 5, 1963

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Will you please send to Mr. Lewis W. Barton, Kresson Road, Haddonfield, N. J., a copy of my biographical data.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg
cc: Lewis W. Barton

Mrs. Johnson: You might send me a copy of this so I can see whether or not it needs revision. Thanks.

December 17, 1963

file

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

You will, in a day or so, get the stationery you asked for. You'll notice that it's a rather cheap grade as this I'm writing to you on now. The reason for this is that we're approaching the end of the year when our supply of everything has dwindled almost completely away. We have just about a half bax of the good paper which we're trying to stretch until after Annual Meeting, when the Nominating Committee submits its slate to the membership. So, I hope that you're agreeable to using this paper. As soon as we have new stationery printed, a batch will be sent to both you and Mr. Dabbs.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred M. Johnson

Lincoln Falls, N.S.
12-13-62

Please send me about 50 sheets S.R.C. stationery. Do not need envelopes.

Thanks & Merry Xmas.

M. A. Wright

November 27, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am having a hard time getting my thinking straightened out, but at the present I would assume that the statement we had drafted, and which you were to submit to the Annual Meeting, may need some modification because of Mr. Kennedy's death. I have not tried to think through it or to work over it, but will later. In the meantime, you may wish to do so. I remain convinced that the time is propituous for us to get out a good statement.

I believe, however, that we might now adopt a somewhat different procedure. Instead of the statement being placed before the Executive Committee merely for its information, I am leaning toward the idea of submitting it to the Committee at its December meeting for review and approval so that it can be submitted to the Annual Meeting with that authority. What do you think?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
M.A.W.
Speeches
1966

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Lloyd, Mr. G. A.
Humble Oil and Refining Company
Houston, Texas

REGARDING

Marion A. Wright's Chicago speech in Chicago of July, 1966 appealing to businessmen's participation in working to resolve the poverty problem.

DATE

Lloyd's ltr. dtd. July 28, 1966
PA's reply re reprinting in New South, dtd. August 8, 1966
Subsequent corresp. dtd. Aug. 16 and Aug. 23, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

SEE: "HU" gen. for correspondence
for copy of Wright speech see Bob Anderson's files.

Green copy

~~Wednesday~~ Thursday

Dear Marion,

A note, to catch you up; not yet a full answer to your letters.

When Frank Loescher came he was quite cordial. Said he had made the rounds of the standard people to consult in Atlanta, and heard us only praised. And that even from the banker whom he went to see. Frank and I had a budget-cutting session in his hotel, most of a day. They are prepared to spend something like 500,000 on us, or at least Loescher will recommend that, and I am sure the figure has been tentatively earmarked on whatever mental books the F for R keeps. How to get our proposal under the line? I did our best, with valiant help from all concerned, especially K Stoney, and came up with what will be sent you, and goes forward to F for R tonight. They will circulate this to their Board members, preparatory to a meeting which is expected to be about April 1.

I came to Chapel Hill and Loescher's heels, and confirmed there his good account of us.

This program is by a good deal less than we had wanted, but the situation has moved along since 1951, and I think earnest effort may well make it succeed.

HCF is hard at work on a boiled-down pamphlet for SRC to do on the Ashmore report.

F for R may well stake us to a minute planning conference at Williamsburg, late April, at say cost of 7,000. Guys to plan ahead to get best use of decision, six months hence, and five years hence. What to do in schools, in University research and teaching, in politics, or rather in Governmental reform, etc.

All here mighty busy, which we like.

Best,

NOOGA, TENN., SUNDAY,

THOUGHT CONTROL CITED BY LIBERAL

Speaker Calls Situation in South Something Out of Alice in Wonderland

Special to The Chattanooga Times

MONTEAGLE—A warning that an "alarming phenomenon of this age is the mass effort to control what men shall publicly say or print" was voiced Saturday at Highlander Folk School by a Southern liberal spokesman.

Marion A. Wright, of Linville Falls, N.C., long active in interracial group activities in support of programs to strengthen civil rights guarantees for Negroes, charged that efforts of Southern racists to "stifle dissent by character assassination and reprisals" constitute a "raw tyranny and a national peril."

Addressing an integrated meeting under Highlander auspices, Wright described the situation in the South as "something out of Alice in Wonderland." He said:

"You recall that she (Alice) used a word which did not at all convey the idea she had in mind. The Mad Hatter — I think it was —gave [illegible] ning, whereupon A[illegible] Words mean what I [illegible] all mean. It is just [illegible] who is master.'

"Our [illegible] friends, in brandin[illegible] subversive, demons[illegible] astery over words,'[illegible]

[illegible] ies

Becau[illegible] ists "feel so deeply [illegible] hallowly on the su[illegible] declared, they se[illegible] "it is somehow im[illegible] oyal even to assume that there are two sides to the question."

"We must live in a crazy, mixed-up world." Wright said. "The Puritans and Pilgrims fled to these shores because they were non - conformists. The nation received its birth in revolution, which is nothing but dissent carried to the ultimate. The fundamental law of the nation and of all the states encourages expression of opinion by guaranteeing freedom of thought, speech and the press.

"So one would have assumed that he was engaged in the practice of purest Americanism when he thought and spoke and wrote his real convictions upon any issue of public moment; in fact that he was thereby discharging a solemn civic duty.

"Now, however, we are told by the highest state authority that, on the issue of civil rights, guaranteed, incidentally, by those same constitutions, if he expresses his honest convictions and if those convictions do not agree with the views of that authority, then he is subversive."

Burden of Guilt

Wright declared that "one who carries a burden of guilt is apt to seek release from that burden by accusation of others, for he accomplishes two results — his own guilt does not appear so obnoxious if he can make it appear that others share it with him, and he diverts attention from himself by directing it to others."

The speaker asserted that the "character assassins" use the terms Communist or leftwinger against The National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., most non-Southern magazines and newspapers, the radio and television networks, organized student movements, the trade unions, the Attorney General of the United States, the Supreme Court and even the President of the United States.

"Rather distinguished company," Wright added. "I would be a little ashamed not to be included."

Wright charged that "if there is any group in this country which has given aid and comfort to the Communist cause, it is the segregationists." He charged that they employed the Communist tactic of "give your people something to fear and then rescue them from the peril you have created."

The "inciting phrases" of the segregationists, Wright declared, run straight from the phrases to "a wrecked school building, straight to a bombed synagogue."

Dear Hal:

Here is a story fromSunday paper on Wright's talk. Hope our next meeting is soon. My best to all in Atlanta.

~~Ink~~ Pop

Dave Jones

INFORMATION ON MR. MARION A. WRIGHT

Born at Johnston, South Carolina. Educated in South Carolina public schools and at the University of South Carolina, academic and law, receiving the LL. B. degree in 1919. Practiced law in Conway, South Carolina until 1947 when retired. Now living at Linville Falls, North Carolina. President of Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of University of South Carolina; President of South Carolina Conference of Social Workers; President of South Carolina Citizens' Library Movement; Chairman of South Carolina Library Board; Former President of South Carolina Division of Southern Regional Council; Chairman of South Carolina Commission on Adult Education; President of the Southern Regional Council; Contributor to law, library and educational journals. Married July 4, 1916, to Miss Lelia Hauser of Winston-Salem, North Carolina

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA SHEET

for

Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Profession: Attorney

President of the Southern Regional Council 1953 through 1957; currently Vice-President and member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council

Practiced law in Conway, S. C., until retirement in 1947.

Past President, Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina.

Past President, S. C. Conference on Social Workers

Past President, S. C. Citizens Library Movement.

Chairman, S. C. Library Board and S. C. Commission on Adult Education

Served, by appointment of President Roosevelt, as a member of the Enemy Alien Board for South Carolina during World War II

For the past few years Mr. Wright has spoken extensively throughout the South in support of the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954, and in support of the principle of integration. His speeches have been widely reprinted in the region.

Note: MR. Wright serves as Chairman of the Board of the Penn Community Services, Inc., and a member of the Board of the National Civil Liberties Union.

Dr. George S. Mitchell will leave the post of executive director of the Southern Regional Council in January, it was announced today by the Council's president, Marion A. Wright.

Dr. Mitchell, director of the Southwide interracial organization since 1947, said he plans to resume study in his original field of economics. He and Mrs. Mitchell will sail for Scotland this spring.

Mr. Wright said: "It is with deep regret that we accept Dr. Mitchell's resignation. He has made an invaluable contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council and the progress of the entire South in this challenging period."

Dr. Mitchell will be succeeded by Harold C. Fleming, assistant director of the Council and a staff member for nine years. Fleming is a native Atlantan, a graduate of Harvard University, and a veteran of World War II. He has directed the information and publications program of the Southern Regional Council since 1947.

"We are gratified," said Mr. Wright, "that the Council has so able and qualified a successor.

"The Council will continue to work by the same high standards that marked Dr. Mitchell's staff leadership. Its role, as an organization of responsible white and Negro Southerners, is needed today more than ever."

A native Virginian, Dr. Mitchell became associated with the Council in 1945 as director of veterans services. He received his B. A. at the University of Richmond, his Ph. D. at Johns Hopkins University, and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University.

He is the author of Textile Unionism in the South and co-author of The Industrial Revolution in the South and Black Workers and the New Unions.

Other posts held by Dr. Mitchell have included instructor of economics, Columbia University, 1929-35; special assistant, office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1934-35; director Labor Relations, Resettlement Administration, 1935; Assistant Administrator, Farm Security Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1939-43; U. S. Foreign Economic Administration, 1943-44; Southeastern Regional Director, CIO Political Action Committee, 1944-45.

Nine months have elapsed since the historic decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases. During that interval there has been ample opportunity for public opinion to find expression and for state policy to crystallize into proposed legislation inspired by the decisions. In only four Southern states--Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina--has there been officially expressed determination to preserve a segregated school system regardless of the decisions. The remaining affected states have adopted a "wait and see" attitude, or have already begun compliance, or have made preparations to comply.

The four dissident states do not appear to have concerted on policy, since their proposals for non-compliance are not identical in nature, though having certain features in common. Their objective is, of course, the same: the continuance of a segregated school system by employment of legal stratagems which, it is hoped by their advocates, would stand up under attack upon constitutional grounds.

The plans thus far proposed may be summarized as follows:

1. The conveyance or lease of school property to individuals or corporations for the purpose of conducting private segregated schools.

2. State grants of tuition to individual pupils attending such schools.

3. Conferring blanket authority upon school boards of trustees to assign pupils to schools.

4. In South Carolina, the setting up of a tri-school system with one school for whites, one for Negroes and one for members of both races with the right to the pupil to determine which school he will attend.

5. The gerrymandering of school district lines in such a way that only white residents would live in the area of the white school and only Negro residents would live in the area of the Negro school.

Such, in brief, are the best expedients which advocates of continued segregation have been able to devise. The vast perils and difficulties attendant upon such courses of action are obvious.

The grant or lease of hundreds of millions of dollars of public property; the termination of employment of hundreds of teachers who have

moral, if not legal, rights to continued tenure and vested interests in retirement funds; the striking down by one act of standards governing operation of schools, standards developed by decades of study and experience; the surrender by the states of any control over the qualifications of teachers; such are among the palpable, evident and grave evils inherent in a state's attempt to withdraw from the field of public education.

The tuition grant plan, under which the state pays a pupil's tuition at a private school presents its own serious questions. The schools would necessarily operate without instructional supervision by the state. Would such schools, so operating, meet academic standards so that children who attended them would be able to secure admittance to colleges and professional schools? Apart from the question of the degree of respect diplomas from such schools would receive from reputable colleges and universities, would the pupils of such hastily established and unsupervised institutions receive the quality of education to which they are entitled? Would the state receive full value for its tuition dollar? Would not such a system lend itself to widespread imposition on the state by parents and guardians?

Implicit in the grant of blanket authority to trustees to assign

pupils to schools is the intent that residence near a school would be no guarantee of attendance at such school. The convenience of parents and pupils might be completely disregarded at the whim of trustees. Bus schedules and routes would become a major problem under a system by which a single child living within a hundred yards of a school must be hauled twenty miles to another school. The cost of transportation would be greatly increased. The child's opportunity to perform helpful home and farm tasks in before-school and after-school hours is diminished with each unnecessary mile he is transported.

It has been generally admitted by advocates of segregation that maintenance of a dual system of schools greatly increased the expense and difficulties of school operation. The tri-school plan, suggested in South Carolina, would further increase the burden. It must be borne in mind that all three schools would have to provide completely equal facilities and instruction even if only a handful of pupils should attend one of the three schools.

The establishment of school district lines in the rural south so that only whites would live in one district and only Negroes in another is so obviously impossible that the plan may be dismissed without comment.

Such are the proposed plans and some of the practical questions they present. They are questions that may well be pondered by southern legislatures now charting their courses.

But there remains a far larger question: Would any of these plans stand up under attack upon constitutional grounds? That question has lately been thoroughly considered by two competent Southern authorities. Reference is had to an article by Prof. James C. N. Paul, of the University of North Carolina, "The Decision and Some Alternatives - A Legal Analysis," published by the University's Institute of Government, and "The Legal Standing of the South's School Resistance Proposals" by Prof. Francis B. Nicholson of the College of Law of Stetson University, published in the Fall, 1954, issue of The South Carolina Law Quarterly. These two scholarly and dispassionate articles should be required reading for Southern legislators now grappling with the region's school problems.

Prof. Paul points out that for the private school plan to meet the constitutional test there must be no form of "state action" in connection with the establishment, maintenance, operation or subsidization of such schools.

The attempt to divorce the state from various enterprises, so that it might retain all the supposed benefits of unconstitutional action without in a legal sense being a party to the action, has recently been before the supreme court. The cases analyzed by Prof. Paul involve racial restrictive covenants in deeds, primary elections and labor unions. Following the analysis, Prof. Paul writes:

> It is readily apparent from the above that there is no square precedent or "rule of law" to settle the private school issue. The problem is one of deciding whether there is or is not "state action" in the operation of the school. And the cases have not tackled this issue by discussing the "state action" doctrine in abstract terms. Still, some generalizations may perhaps be offered. The cases show that labels mean little; nor is it decisive that an alleged racial discrimination has been wrought by some person or group which occupies no official relationship with the state. All of the cases are distinguishable. But it is also apparent that the hypothetical free private school case which has been posed would partake of many of the very elements which led the Court to find "state action" in the activities of other private groups involved in those cases. And this combination of factors might induce a decision which would forbid the free private school--organized along the lines discussed--to deny admission to otherwise qualified Negroes who sought to attend them. (Emphasis added)

Prof. Nicholson's conclusion after discussion of all the proposed evasion tactics is even more explicit:

> The South's attempts to circumvent the school decision seem doomed to legal failure. The Court has ample theories to utilize in avoiding all circumvention proposals--ranging from the relatively simple state instrumentality concept to the all-permeating doctrine of Shelley v. Kraemer . . .

> The proponents of the circumvention proposals could well afford, however, to measure the probabilities existing before acting hastily and irrevocably. Time has already been gained since the school cases were first filed. Additional time has been wisely granted by the Court before it will attempt to make its decrees final. The effects of the decision have been measured by the South's people. Is it possible that they would be willing to admit Negroes in the scattered instances where admission would be demanded? This question should at least be pondered and its answer measured against the apparent futility of the evasive proposals and their only profit as delaying steps.
>
> Perhaps common sense compromise between the more militant groups, a tactic not hitherto used in the South's racial conflicts, would be the best approach in this time of crisis. (Emphasis added)

Analogous to the school segregation issue is the issue of segregation in public recreation. That question is the subject of a brief, "Segregation and Public Recreation," by Prof. Robert B. McKay in the Virginia Law Quarterly for October, 1954.

Prof. McKay points out that the effort to escape the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination had taken the form of conveyance or lease of golf courses, swimming pools, and the like, to private individuals or corporations, which carried on the interdicted practices. The court had had no difficulty in finding the element of state action in such procedures with the result that they were invalidated.

The Supreme Court in Love vs. Wilson said that the 14th and 15th Amendments nullify "sophisticated as well as simple-minded modes of discrimination." The plans proposed for circumvention of the decisions in the school segregation cases do not seem to have even the legal merit of sophistication.

The articles herein discussed are not by "outsiders meddling in Southern affairs." They are by Southernors subjecting the region's problems to disinterested and scholarly analysis.

The question for the South seems to be: Shall we disrupt a system built up over the years and destroy a wealth of accumulated values by adopting devices of such doubtful constitutionality that they are condemned in advance by the most competent Southern legal opinion?

MAW

Dr. Edward Teller, one of the nation's better brains and certainly no alarmist, recently in a Milwaukee speech made two somber predictions. He said flatly that within ten years Russia would have out-stripped this nation in all major fields of science, and that by the year 2000 -- roughly forty years away -- Russian ideas would probably prevail throughout the world.

We Americans have been brought up to demand the pollyanna type of utterance from our public figures, just as we demand the happy ending in our picture shows. Only a person of considerable courage and independence dares depart from this formula. We should salute Dr. Teller for those qualities. We should thank him also for causing us to undergo the ordeal of thinking about what we call American principles and their chances for survival in world competition.

Whether it is good or bad for mankind as a whole to embrace Russian, rather than American, principles will not depend upon their national origin. Principles have no right to survive just because they are labelled "Made in America." The triumph of one set of principles,one view of the relationship of citizen and state, over another will depend in the long run upon relative merit. Ultimately, though the process is long and tortuous, the principle which better serves mankind will prevail.

All human progress, all of what we call civilization, has come about because of comparison of concepts, because of the ability of men to discriminate between what serves them well and what serves them ill. The life and growth of society, as Justice Holmes pointed out about the law, has been, not logic but experience.

In this competition between systems there is one goal for which we may, of course, strive. It is the goal about which we hear most. It is to surpass the Russians. That is, I submit, a goal unworthy of a great nation. This implies that we are engaged in a kind of foot race for a blue ribbon as prize and that the race is worth the running so long as we come out first.

Are we not stirred by far more lofty motives if we conceive the national mission to be the development and dissemination of ideas and principles designed to improve the human lot? Under such a concept, the impelling force is not the fairly primitve urge to win -- always a strong appeal to ego -- but is the spiritual urge to lift all men aninch nearer to the stars. Woodrow Wilson phrased it nearly a half century ago: "America should seek nothing for herself that she has not a right to ask for all mankind."

So we must be concerned, first, with what our principles are, and next with how we exhibit them to the world. In terms of commerce, this may be likened to a produce and salesmanship used in securing its acceptance. We are

sufficiently under domination by Madison Avenue to concede that even a good product will have but a limited market if it is not attractively presented. Under modern conditions, it is not enough to build a better mouse trap. The image of a nation which is exhibited to the rest of the world, rather than what it says about itself, determines its impact.

For example only, and merely scratching the surface of principles we proudly call American, there are equality of all men before the law; equality of opportunity; freedom of opportunity; freedom from burdens or penalties because of race; the zeal of the law to protect the humblest man from despotic power; freedom of speech and all the other freedoms. Certainly, nowhere in the world have they been more eloquently expressed than in our own land. They are parts of the organic law of the nation and most of the states.

Certainly, those principles have given the nation character and direction. They have contributed to our nation's greatness. We have no intention of abandoning them or retreating one inch from them. They are principles of universal application, capable of serving all mankind. They may, we are convinced, survive in fair competition with the distilled wisdom and morality of any other nation.

But we are concerned with the national image we exhibit. That image is not a composite of abstractions.

If so, we would have an easy task. The voice of America would beam the words of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln and other noble spirits around the world and the world would embrace the principles by which we abide. Of course, we would have to be selective in broadcasting even the words of our leaders -- that is, we would have to choose our authors. For we must remember that men like Senator Eastland, Senatur Thurmond and Senator McCarthy have also spoken on these fundamentals.

But we would be naive to assume that the world will judge us by the words of our leaders, good or bad. In this pragmatic age, words count for little. Words are a dime a dozen. What counts is not words but deeds. If events negate claims, events will have the ear and attention of the rest of the world. Any gap between our pretensions and our practices is a wide chink in our armor.

This brings us to the matter of how we apply our principles. If they are correctly, fairly and honorably applied, the chink does not develop. The image we exhibit is one of consistency and resolution, of determination to put into practice the noble sentiments we have so proudly proclaimed.

This is peculiarly the field of the private citizen. The eloquent expression of a principle is the task of the political leader, or publicist, or intellectual -- egg head, if you prefer. Translating these pronouncements into

reality, the spade work or legwork is the job of inconspicuous men and women who labor unnoticed at their thankless occupations. But, by putting flesh upon the bare bones of a principle, they perform a task essential to giving perspective to the picture of a nation.

A field for employment of the gifts of the private citizen is now opening in certain areas of the South.

I am sure no one in this room doubts, for a moment, that most of the legal devices contrived to defeat desegregation of the public schools will be declared unconstitutional. (Most of them, in fact, have been.) In certain states, however, the statutes were held to be constitutional on their face. The court specifically held open the question of constitutionality in application.

The statutes in question grant to local school boards authority to assign pupils upon the basis of certain factors. The word "race" is studiedly omitted from those factors, though, I feel sure, anyone of us above the moronic level knows it is the controlling factor. Certainly, the officials know it since they have publicly patted their backs until raw over their cleverness in devising such a scheme.

We may be sure other resistant or reluctant states will now follow the examples of North Carolina and Alabama.

So the question of assignment of pupils under the acts is now a practical one. The question will be answered initially by the local school board. Normally such board members are known to residents of the district. To express to them an opinion as to their duty requires no trip away from home, no lobby, no intermediary or advocate. Communication may be personal and direct.

These circumstances present to the local citizen the truly golden opportunity to strike a blow for liberty -- and I don't mean what you may be thinking of.

If he is fed up with evasion and subterfuge and does not wish to see the application of the statute attended by the hypocrisy which surrounded its enactment, he will take steps to place his views before the board.

Remember, the image we present of this nation will not be manufactured out of statutes which seem fair upon their face; it will be manufactured out of events showing how the statutes operate. In their operation will the bent of mind of school board and public be revealed. When North Carolina, for example, uses the statute to admit only eleven Negro pupils into white schools, its conduct is not reassuring as to its bona fides. It is conduct strikingly in contrast with the national claims. In a conflict of ideologies it tends to weaken our cause.

So, as to the desegregation issue generally, we have, in the last five years, been living through the period of conflict over strictly legal issues. Broadly stated, this was conflict over principles of government. The Southern view was that a caste system is compatible with democracy and that states have vested rights to enforce such systems legally. The view that prevailed was that the caste system is not compatible with democratic principles, and that, under the 14th Amendment, no state may legally enforce such system. A whole majestic series of decisions reveals the will and conscience of the court.

For the next decade certainly -- how much longer no one may predict -- we will be living in the period of application of principle. In that field the will and conscience of the people, as distinguished from the court, will be revealed.

The rest of the world will not be content merely to read judicial opinions and conclude "This Is America." It will read headlines, it will examine statistics, it will heed the voice of events, and conclude "This Is America."

No one, of course, may legitimately disparage the profound importance of judicial opinions. But they come from men aloof and scholarly, men who are no cross-section of the country's thinking. The opinions which will have

impact upon mankind are fashioned by average men and women. They will reflect the thinking, the attitudes, the principles, of the anonymous citizen.

Some weeks ago the Supreme Court, as you are no doubt aware, declared unconstitutional the Louisiana statute forbidding boxing between opponents of different races. That was, of course, another judicial blow at discrimination, and, as such, will be hailed by all Americans who are truly democratic.

On the same day the voters of Little Rock struck their own blow at discrimination -- this time, in the field of public education. Theirs was the blow that will be felt around the world. In that election the average citizen of a deep South city put Southern politicians upon notice that the voter has his own principles which he will not forever forego. In that election, rather than in the judicial decision, we heard the real voice of the nation.

So all individual concepts of principle will be tossed into the national hopper and from their blending the real national principles will emerge. Upon the quality of those composite principles will depend their survival in competition with rival ideologies. Their character, which you and I may help determine, will establish the truth or falsity of Dr. Teller's gloomy forecast.

So, then, the role of the private citizens is vastly enlarged. The contest is no longer between Thurgood Marshall and Senator Byrd. That battle is over with the rout of the Senator and the collapse of massive resistance. The struggle of the Titans is ended; the struggle of the Lilliputians begins.

I call your attention to a sharp reversal of our usual concepts of the function of a leader. The view which Thomas Jefferson announced from the classical calm of Monticello was that a political leader actually led; that he was ahead of the thinking of his day and, by force of intelligence, character and personality, he informed his constituency and elevated it to something approaching his own superior standards.

In a sentence, we may fairly dismiss the political leadership of most of the South on the desegregation issue with the comment that it was insensitive to the pressures and necessities of this age and was geared to the thinking of the 1860's.

With what result?

For sheer venality there was nothing in the annals of Reconstruction to equal the legislation spawned and concocted throughout the South for the sole purpose of depriving some millions of people of their constitutional rights. And this example from high official source has

begotten the ugly brood of violence and bloodshed -- the bombings, the assaults, the murders -- which have brought disgrace upon an entire region.

We have had, then, in Virginia and elsewhere, a political leadership which not merely did not lead, but which actually retarded normal adjustment to the inevitable. In mechanical terms, what these leaders supplied was not motive power, but brakes; not sail, but anchor.

This bankruptcy of leadership forces upon us the reversal of our concepts to which I referred a moment ago. The impulse to progress, instead of moving from the leader to the citizen must now move from the citizen to the leader. The citizen, by force of his own intelligence, character, and personality, must now elevate the leader. The immutable force of circumstance is casting the citizen in a new and heroic role.

This failure of political leadership has occurred not merely upon the state level. If leadership there has been vicious and depraved, it has, on the national level, been bumbling and inept.

The press conference is, of course, the president's most effective means of getting his views to the American people. Have you kept up with the reports of these conferences on the desegregation issue? Without regard to such trivia as grammar and syntax, subject and predicate, have you detected one word or note of strong moral

leadership? When the nation has begged for bread what stones have been given it!

When repeatedly asked his opinion of the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the President's replies have run the gamut; for it didn't matter. What he thought -- surely the very limit in abnegation -- to the statement that he may have privately told friends that desegregation should proceed more slowly. That, at a time when seven states had not moved an inch in four years! To move more slowly than that you must go backward. How many times have we been treated to the inane platitude, delivered with an air of great profundity, that you can't legislate morals!

So, into this vacuum created by absence of state and national leadership the private citizen perforce must move. Perhaps this is not all bad. It revives and strengthens the conception that, in a democracy, he is the ultimate repository of power. Thereby it adds to his stature and dignity. It further accentuates the point that, while in the field of politics per se, the superior capacity of experienced officials may be conceded, in the field of morals each one of us carries his credentials in his heart. We are face to face with a moral issue.

The legal rights of Negro children are now established. The period of quibbling and evasion, insofar as the law is concerned, has run its course. With unparalleled faith in

human nature, the court has assumed that the pupil assignment statutes will be fairly administered -- that school officials will completely disregard the color of children in determining to which school they will be sent. The question now becomes one of good faith; in other words, one of morals. Here John Doe and Mary Smith may throw their weight around.

This shift of emphasis from law or politics to morals is one of the striking phenomena of the times. Both law and politics require special skills, special competence. That requirement disqualified the layman from full participation in the making of major decisions affecting the public schools. Necessarily he was side-lined while the battle raged. But in the struggle's aftermath, in the grassroots adjudication of the right of a neighbor's boy or girl to go to a nearby school, no one of us is so insignificant that he may not influence the result.

Consider for a moment the import of such adjudications. The school board of Charlottesville, for example, is an arm, or agency, or creature, of the state. It exercises a fractional part of the state's sovereign power. Its decisions, wise or unwise, good or bad, will be regarded in this country as an expression, not of Charlottesville, but of Virginia, sense of justice. And abroad, no note will be taken of Charlottesville <u>or</u> Virginia. There they

will be regarded as an expression of American sense of justice. What happened at Little Rock, for example, is not used by the Russians to discredit that city or Arkansas, but to defame the United States.

Such, then, is the momentous nature of every decision affecting a lone Negro youth seeking admittance to a white school. If there is a formerly white school near his home, but he is sent across the city or county to a Negro school, there is a stain upon the national honor. If, however, it should develop that assignment is made upon the basis of distance and other proper considerations, without regard to race, Virginia and national prestige are enhanced.

Last it should be thought that foreign opinion of Virginia's fairness and sense of public honor should be over-emphasized -- I doubt that it is possible to over-emphasize it -- let us reflect for a moment upon the internal effect of decisions such as we have mentioned.

If experience should demonstrate that the Supreme Court's trust in the fairness of administration of assignment statutes should be misplaced, what moral consequences would ensue?

Every Negro child improperly denied admission to a desegregated school knows in his heart of hearts that he has been betrayed by his state. What a reservoir of bitterness would be built up in the minds of future adults!

Is widespread bitterness a good foundation upon which to rear a great state?

Every white child receiving special treatment and consideration because he is white tends to acquire the conviction that rewards are inherent in color and that they flow from sharp practice. Is a widespread attachment to such a standard of values a good foundation upon which to rear a great state?

There is a moral aspect to the legal maneuvers already employed. The qualities upon which the resisting states relied were cunning, slickness, shrewdness. Such were the qualities magnified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and politicians. They are no substitutes for brain, intelligence and character. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick or shrewd, he is profound.

We say that a state maintains schools. But vastly more important than the schools it maintains is the school which the state itself is. The fine precepts of the classroom mean but little when contrasted with the effect of a state's official policy. If the policy be tinctured and tainted with deviousness and chicanery, the lesson will not be lost upon the youthful citizen.

Now that certain states have gotten around to application of pupil assignment statutes, let us hope that the original felony will not be compounded and that the average

citizen's sense of justice and fairness will set the state again upon an honorable course.

We have lived through five years of legislation, litigation and liquidation of much of our public school system. Who among us has not breathed a sigh of relief that, apparently, that sordid era draws to a close? We should be on guard that we do not enter upon another.

We are relieved because there now seems ground for hope that the tragic dissipation of the emergies of state governments may be at an end. I have no way of proving it, but I think you will agree that far more than half of the time, thought, effort and energy of our governors, legislators and public officials generally has been devoted to shoring up the shaky edifice of segregation. That item has been No. 1 on any political or legislative agenda. Education, science, the arts, the humanities -- all of those functions of government which tend to improve the lot of the citizen -- have been relegated to secondary position. What matters it that a man is poorly fed, or clothed, or housed, or unemployed, or his children poorly educated, or justice poorly administered, in face of the dire threat that young people of both races shall together learn that two times two equals four?

All of this blood, sweat, tears and toil have been spent, essentially, to see that a white child and a Negro child do not, side by side, learn their ABC's or the multiplication table.

It might be possible to ascertain the dollars actually poured down this rat hole, though I am not sure how it would be done. But the greater losses are indirect, and not measurable in dollars. The other American states move forward on many fronts while we mark time. They strengthen their school systems to meet the demands of this age. They build up their public libraries. They enlarge their parks. They strengthen their public health services. They do all of this while we debate -- debate who shall go to school with whom; how to keep certain people out of our libraries and out of our parks. When it comes to public health, one of our states took time out to fire a white public health nurse for eating with a Negro nurse. Another has a requirement that donations to the blood bank shall be accompanied by certification of the color of the donor.

Surely with the legal issues settled for all time, the state governments may now cease frittering away their energies upon ignoble enterprises and apply them to legitimate and appropriate governmental concerns.

And what of you and me as individuals?

We, too, may now, at last, apply our own energies to constructive ends.

We may let school boards know that we expect them to deserve the faith expressed by the Supreme Court that they will disregard race in pupil assignments.

We may applaud them when fairness is evident and rebuke them when it is lacking.

We may let police officers know that they will be held to strict accountability for safety of Negro pupils and members of their families.

We may support teachers in maintaining discipline on the campus.

We may open Parent-Teacher Associations to Negro members, not as an act of grace, but as an act of simple justice.

We may, also as simple justice, secure Negro membership on school boards.

We may teach our children to receive the new-comers with warmth and cordiality and appreciation for the ordeals they have so nobly borne.

We may express to Negro parents our admiration for the ambition they have for their children and for their own Sparten courage in braving the community's hostility.

In one sense these are but trivial acts. They will receive no headlines. The actors will remain anonymous. But, in these pendulous times, even the trivial deed is affected and charged with a public interest. Upon such deeds may hang the destiny of this nation, the fate of mankind.

The nation has been treated to few spectacles more thrilling than the recent assertion of the moral power of the private citizen. We may perhaps thank Governor

Faubus and Senator Byrd for prodding the citizen into this self-revelation, into this calm assertion of his essential decency.

When those two characters made it apparent that the public schools may be closed, the silent became vocal, the hesitant became bold. Teachers, risking their careers, have challenged the prevailing lunacy. Ministers in the eye and vortex of the storm have confronted evil with the zeal of the ancient prophets. Editors risking circulation and income have denounced the destructive tendencies of the times. As you in Virginia well know, Parent-Teacher Associations have asserted their own profound convictions. Thus is demonstrated the inherent moral strength of the anonymous individual.

We have referred to the Supreme Court's faith in school boards. I hope it is not invidious to point out that a democracy rests upon a faith more sublime. It is a faith in the sense of honor, the decency, of the average man.

To the extent that those qualities are non-existent or anemic, democracy fails. To the extent that they are present and vital, democracy succeeds. The measure of its success is the zeal of the state to safeguard the rights of the weak.

The test of the honorable and decent citizen is his willingness to grant obedience to the unenforceable, to move in response to inner compulsions.

Nothing offers greater hope for the future of this commonwealth than proof that its men and women now act in

response to such imperatives.

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Harold.

Substitute for the last 3 pages of Little Rock speech.

Mr. C. W.

And abroad, no note will be taken of Charlottesville or Virginia. There they will be regarded as an expression of American sense of justice. What happened at Little Rock, for example, is not used by the Russians to discredit this city, or Arkansas, but to defame the United States.

Such, then, is the momentous nature of every decision affecting a lone Negro youth seeking admittance to a white school. If there is a formerly white school near his home, but he is sent across the city or county to a Negro school, there is a stain upon the national honor, If, however, it should develop that assignment is made upon the basis of distance and other proper considerations, without regard to race, national prestige is enhanced.

The private citizen, by urging an honorable course upon school boards, engages in action affected with a public interest.

So, without elaboration, whoever hires and promotes employees; whoever builds, leases and sells homes; whoever extends a welcome into church membership -- all with a vision which takes no note of color -- such a one in only the narrowest sense engages in private action. In the widest and truest sense he contributes to national grandeur. Vastly more important, he strengthens the bonds which unite into the family of man all human creatures.

In any community in a single day there are thousands or millions of private acts. There are millions of thoughts, ideas, emotions, expressions, gestures, postures, assertions, laughs, nods, frowns -- all of the things which individuals do, consciously or unconsciously, to give outward expression to their inner selves, to indicate their reactions to events and their attitudes toward other individuals. The composite, the resultant, the synthesis, of these myriad and fleeting revelations of attitude is an awesome and potent force. It is the force of community pressure.

The destiny of the community is involved with that force. It may drive

talent and skill and genius out, or it may retain and attract men and women of such qualifications.

If the community attitude is hostile to the new and novel; if it places limitation upon advancement; if it assigns fixed status to men and women, drawing lines beyond which one proceeds at his peril; if it exalts a way of life merely because it is venerable -- if the community attitude does those things, men and women of spirit, initiative and enterprise will elsewhere seek a more congenial climate. The constrictive force of the community, like pressure which forces cream from a tube, will expel the superior and elite.

That same constrictive force will warp and twist those who remain. Community pressure is a Procrustean bed which fits to its own dimensions those who yield themselves to its clutches. But, so insidious is its operation, its victims do not comprehend the extent to which they have been shaped and molded.

But if the community attitude encourages every creative activity, however novel; if it slams shut no door to human aspiration -- man and women of genius will remain and others will come to join their gallant company.

States which lose population may ponder these somber facts.

Don't let us delude ourselves for one moment into believing that the only persons who leave are Negroes. Who's Who in America is studded with names of persons, white and Negro, born under Southern skies but whose careers have been carved out in the North and East and West, where they have enriched other states.

Nor dare we believe that they go only for better pay and that all will be well when our wage scale matches that of the rest of the nation. Admittedly, many move in response to that lure. But your really superior man, your man of genius, who doesn't keep pace with his companions here, in Thoreau's phrase, moves "because he hears a different drummer." He wants to breathe an ampler air, have his being in a freer society. He will "step to the music he hears,

however measured or far away."

The movement of industry to Arkansas, I am told, has been greatly retarded. Arkansas' percentage loss of population in the last ten years exceeded that of any other American state -- that at a time of expanding population in nearly all other states. Those are somber facts.

But there is an unprovable, but, I think, reasonable, assumption much more somber. That is that in this migration from your state, there was more than a sprinkling of superior men and women who sought elsewhere a freedom of association and self-expression denied them here. For a state to have against it a balance of trade in commercial products and commodities is bad enough. To have against it a balance of trade in ideas is profoundly tragic.

No one knows or cares what products moved by boat or camel back from Athens or Judea or Alexandria. What matters it to us in 1960 that so many tons of olives, or so many hogsheads of wine, or so many bushels of rice, were loosed in the channels of trade 2,500 years ago? What does matter profoundly is that in Athens and Judea and Alexandria there were evolved ideas and principles of conduct and ethics, which, if they do not wholly govern us, at least have daily impact upon our lives. They evolved in a society in which every man was prodded to think, to express himself, to achieve up to the full limit of his powers.

So, in some dim and distant future, men will little note nor long remember what agricultural or commercial products flowed from Arkansas in the year 1960. Even the victory of the Razorbacks over Georgia Tech in the Gator Bowl may go unremarked! But the attention of men could be riveted to this state, and they could be exalted in spirit, if there were here produced ideas and principles of use and service to mankind.

Perhaps history does operate upon the pendulum rule, move in cycles. The Dark Ages were followed by the flowering of the Renaissance. It could happen here.

For this development there is present one ingredient heretofore lacking. You may utilize talents and skills of a substantial part of your population heretofore barred by law and custom from making more than minor contributions to the state's development. That part, in addition to natural endowments, has reached its new state by suffering and travail. Out of suffering and travail have sprung the world's great literature, drama, music, all the arts, which are the ornaments and evidence of civilization.

The road back to secure fame will not be so long and hard if we march resolutely and unafraid in full comradeship with these gallant and battle-tested recruits.

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This is a day in which our imaginations soar with our satellites. None of us is so dull-witted that he does not visualize as happening within his life-time, or certainly within the life-time of his children, easy and safe flights to the moon and slightly more arduous journeys to Mars and other planets. All eyes are toward the future and toward the skies. Men look up and ahead. At no time in all the tortured history of mankind has the next decade seemed so alluring and beckoning.

The prospect is so rosy and enticing that it is almost inconsiderate to direct our attention elsewhere; almost a brutal intrusion to turn our thoughts from the bright future to the dark past. I don't want you to think for a moment that I am insensitive to the romance of the times. My own space helmet hangs conveniently in a closet. But, of course, there is always connection between past and future. If we seem to stray from contemplation of tomorrow's fair vision, we shall, I hope, a little later return to that congenial occupation.

So--to the past. And when I say past, I mean past. Pre-historic past. In that day the most conspicuous feature of tribal life was the tabu. Every tribe had them, as every primitive tribe has them today. Men may not eat the heart of a deer; to do so would make them timid, whereas they gain courage from eating the heart of a lion. If one should touch the foot of a chief he would die of scrofula, later known as "the King's disease." There were elaborate rules men must observe to keep from offending the gods. Incantations must be spoken at birth. Marriage, war, death--every human custom or occupation was hedged about with tabus. A great part of the time,

attention and energy of the tribe was devoted to preserving these tabus in pristine vigor. They were a way of life, and, as such, sacred to primitive minds.

Every tribe had as part of its social system special rules regarding aliens or foreigners. It was generally permissible to steal from them though not from members of the tribe. Kipling wrote of "lesser breeds without the law." An alien was strange, unknown, and therefore, dangerous. In The Golden Bough Sir James Frazer writes: "Of all sources of danger none are more dreaded by the savage than magic and witchcraft, and he suspects all strangers of practicing these black arts. To guard against the baneful influence exerted voluntarily or involuntarily by strangers is, therefore, an elementary dictate of savage prudence."

This primitive suspicion of the foreigner carried over to later generations of men otherwise civilized and cultured. Dr. Frank Graham has collected many instances. To the Greeks, he points out, the world was made up of Greeks and barbarians; to the Israelites, of Jews and Gentiles. Aristotle, the Greek, rated low the intelligence of the people to the north of Greece. Cicero, the Roman, later considered the Greeks to be given to much talk and more ineptness, held that Syrians were fit only to be slaves, that Britons were "incapable of learning, too stupid to be slaves and unfit to be a part of the household of Athens," and called the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula wild and barbaric people. A thousand years later a resident of the Iberian peninsula, Said, an Islamic scholar of Toledo University, said that the races north of the Pyrenees were "of cold temperament, never reached maturity, were tall and of a white color, but lacked keeness of intellect." In the late eighteenth century the Emperor of China scorned receiving an Ambassador from the British King and made it clear that such a presumptuous suggestion came from "outside barbarians," who had nothing to contribute to the superior Chinese civilization, and could not be considered by the Emperor of the favored people of the "Celestial Kingdom." In this

country the white man used "redskin" as a term of contempt, and the Indian so used "pale face." None here has forgotten that Hitler's Germany regarded as inferior everyone who was not of pure Aryan blood.

Of course, from the vantage point of 1958, we may smile indulgently at

the primitive tabus and those later assumptions of racial or national superiority. But it is hardly fitting or becoming to smile when we reflect upon the woe and misery which men have endured because of their belief in such nonsense. Such beliefs have through the centuries produced not merely the short, sharp agony of war but the prolonged and subtle and refined torment of spirit which follows discrimination.

Nor are we justified in using the past tense as to such beliefs. In certain of our state capitals--not all--are men highly placed--irresponsible men in responsible positions--who apparently cling to such dangerous and repudiated concepts. Some of these men are coarse and they use harsh language. Others, suave and oily, use polished speech. But their basic ideas are the same. They are the ideas of the tribal chief of 5,000 years ago.

If I may illustrate: The Governor of North Carolina, my state, uses good grammar. He never champions "white supremacy" in so many words; he employs euphemisms that are supposed to be becoming to moderates, though the euphemisms mean white supremacy and nothing else. Recently, he was interviewed in company with a Michigan congressmen, who remarked that many Southern Negroes were moving to Michigan. "Yes," Governor Hodges replied, "we are sending them up to you as fast as we can." How ironic that a governor of <u>all</u> the people considers 35 per cent of his constituents as undesirable citizens! No doubt when Adolph Hitler drove a certain Jew into exile he chortled that it was good riddance to bad rubbish, though the rubbish turned out to be Albert Einstein.

The principal concern of the tribal chieftain, as I have said, was to preserve the tabus which constituted what they no doubt called their "way of life." A large part of tribal time, attention and energy went into strengthening the tabus, adding to their rigidity and meting out punishment for their infraction. To the chief and, it must be admitted, to a majority of the tribe, these tabus were not, as we now know, completely meaningless; they were felt to be moral principles of the highest order, re-

flecting the strength and virtue of the tribe.

I hope that what I have said thus far may have suggested to you the point which I should now like to drive home. That point is that every one of our customs which flow from segregation is nothing more nor less than a primitive tabu and that those who strive to maintain them have merely failed to distinguish between a tabu and a moral principle. All of the turmoil and social upheaval and personal tragedies we now endure flow from the dominance of the aboriginal over the cultivated intellect.

Let us examine some of the tenets of the creed of the segregationist, keeping a sharp watch for any suggestion of a moral principle which may lurk in any of them.

Basically and generally, they seek to regulate association of human beings with each other. Whites must sit in the front and Negroes in the rear of buses. In theaters whites must occupy the lower floor and Negroes the balcony. Members of the two races may not play on the same golf course, use the same swimming pool or even ocean. They may not read together in the same library or eat together in the same restaurant. They must occupy separate waiting rooms at railroad or bus stations or airports. The men who fought together in Germany or Korea must be members of separate American Legion posts when they have returned home from enduring common dangers. They must not risk incurring the wrath of God by worshiping Him jointly. Nor must they damage young minds by having them trained in the same schools.

Underlying all of this elaborate code of conduct is the basic premise that somehow members of the white race would undergo some debasement or contamination if exposed to members of the Negro race under the condemned circumstances. But not under <u>all</u> circumstances. There is one important exception. That is, the master and servant relationship. It is quite all right for whites to have Negro cooks, maids, wash women, gardeners and chauffeurs where the relationship is far more personal and intimate than under the proscribed conditions.

Why the difference? There is but one answer: The master and servant relationship is consistent with the idea of superiority of the whites; the other relationships are consistent with the idea of equality of members of the two races. Up with that, as Mr. Churchill would not say, your segregationist will not put.

The point is important because it lets the air out of the principal contention of the modern segregationist. The old fashioned segregationist was a hardy and forthright individual. Your "Cotton Ed" Smiths and Cole Bleases and Vardamans openly and unequivocally championed white supremacy. They didn't flinch from use of the phrase. The modern boys have become soft and effete. They no longer use the term and, in fact, disclaim the entire idea. They are, for the record, of the separate but equal school, bearing down on the word equal. But when they fully uphold the master and servant relationship, with all the personal and intimate contact associated with it, and condemn the purely formal and conventional and incidental contacts detailed in the segregation code, it becomes evident that equal status is the last thing they will concede. The present day breed of segregationist politician is spiritual heir of the cruder demagogue of an earlier and a more forthright day.

Reverting to the segregation code, it is evident from our brief resume of its essential features that what and all that it does is to impose limitations upon the right of association. It outlaws normal contact between individuals of different color. It does so for the sole reason of the supposed detriment suffered by the white person from such association.

Now, habitual and constant conformity to a moral principle, theoretically at least, makes one, if not wiser, certainly better. Do you see in any of this baffling code the slightest suggestion of a moral principle? Would the scrupulous observance of every one of its provisions for an entire lifetime make one wiser or better? Rather, would it not, by the contraction of his sympathies, by the narrowing of the circle of his associates, by the ex-

clusion from his full friendship of an entire segment of human beings, however worthy, by the hostility and arrogance which flow from an assumed superiority--would not the faithful observance of all the rules make one smaller, meaner, something more of the brute and less of the divine?

Religion and philosophy are concerned with principles by which men should live. Can the segregationist refer us to any system of religion or philosophy, holding the allegiance of civilized men, which conjures a white man to ride in the front end of a bus, or to leave a restaurant if a Negro should enter, or not to share with him a book in a public library, or to withdraw his child from school if a colored child should also there seek light and truth, or to have his name stricken from the rolls of his church if a person of another color there sought the solace of religion?

So the segregation code seems to have little in common with any moral principles of which we are aware. On the contrary, it is a system of tabus, of things men are forbidden to do, which would fit perfectly into the primitive tribal life of 5,000 years ago. The motivations of tribal tabus are suspicion of those of another tribe or color, belief in the superior excellence of the tribe of which one is a member, and fear of contamination from association. In India today, despite the devoted labors of Ghandi and Nehru, there are millions of outcasts whose very shadow is believed to contaminate those Brahmins upon whom it falls. Such are also the motivations of the segregation code!

The role of the tribal chief deserves somewhat fuller attention than we have given it. Murdock writes in Our Primitive Contemporaries" The chiefs are the custodians of tradition, the censors of etiquette, the masters of ceremonies." Upon their shoulders rests primarily the burden of seeing that the entire congeries of tribal tabus is preserved--that, for example, no soldier shall eat the knee of an ox, lest, like the ox, he should become weak in the knees, and unable to march; that no male animal shall be killed at the home while a soldier is away at war; that no person who has helped

bear a corpse to the grave may enter a house until he has undergone a ritual of purification; that shorn hair and clipped fingernails must be a carefully buried, and so on. All of these tabus constitute the tribal "way of life" which the chief feels he must defend.

It is a matter of historical record that the office of chief evolved into the office of governor. I think it is equally a matter of proof that the primitive tabus evolved into the segregation code of the Southern states. The defense of that code by certain of those governors is a classic example of atavism. They are in 1958 playing the role of a Timbuctoo chief of 2,000 years ago.

There is a species of kinship of vastly larger significance than relationship by blood. In this country, at least, by refusing to establish royalty as an incident of the newly created union of states, by abolishing the right of primogeniture and by decreeing that the father's misdeeds should impair no rights of the son, we relegated blood relationship to the realm of the governmentally and officially unimportant.

The kinship which <u>is</u> important is the kinship of spirit. Not what corpuscles run through our veins but what ideas run through our brains -- there's the rub. Between certain Southern governors and certain African chiefs there is a kinship more momentous and more ominous than any mere blood relationship. In the insistence by chief and by governor that no hand shall be laid upon irrational custom there is a kinship of spirit which transcends the affinity of blood.

I return now to the point which I tried to make moment ago. That is, that those who strive to maintain segregation fail to distinguish between moral principles and a mere system of tabus. How much of this failure is due to perversity and how much to pure ignorance I do not know. If the former, there can be no palliation; if the latter, there is still no excuse for, in this age, ignorance is not compulsory. In John Erskine's phrase,

there exists a "moral obligation to be intelligent." All of the facilities for enlightenment are available if they were only used. None is so blind as he who will not see.

May I press the analogy to the tribal mentality a little further. As I said somewhat earlier, much of the time, energy and attention of the chief went into preserving and strengthening the tabus. Naturally, agriculture, industry, education, the arts, suffered from this concentration of thought and effort upon non-essentials, upon maintenance of "a way of life." In the competition between tribes, that one forged ahead which first diverted tribal energy away from pre-occupation with its caste system and applied it to more seemly pursuits.

What have we been witnessing in the South, particularly since May 17, 1954, the date of the first segregation decision? With notable exceptions which history will honor but which we do not have time here to discuss, what has been the absorbing engrossment of our political leaders? Any headline reader, any school child, can give us the answer. It has been the devising of ways and means to preserve the region's caste system. I have no way of proving it, but I think you will agree that far more than half of the time, thought, effort and energy of our governors, legislators and public officials generally has been devoted to shoring up the shaky edifice of segregation. That item has been No. 1 on any political or legislative agenda. Education, science, the arts, the humanities--all of those functions of government which tend to improve the lot of the citizen--have been relegated to secondary position. What matters it that a man is poorly fed, or clothed, or housed, or unemployed, or his children poorly educated, or justice poorly administered, in face of the dire threat that young people of both races shall together learn that two times two equals four?

All of this blood, sweat, tears and toil have been spent, essentially, to see that a white child and a Negro child do not, side by side, learn their ABCs or the multiplication table.

On some of the French battlefields a plowman occasionally turns up a stone battle axe or an arrow lying alongside a rusted 75 millimeter gun or the remains of an exploded tank. Five thousand years intervene. The tools

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have changed--but men?

If one could believe in re-incarnation, in whose person would we now look for the shade of the tribal chief who, in History's dewy morn, impaled upon a spear that fellow creature who violated the caste system of the group? Well, it wouldn't be among this company or in the person of anyone who has a sincere attachment to the Bill of Rights or who is genuinely devoted to democratic principles.

Can there be any doubt that the Southern states have suffered from this enormous expenditure of official energy upon the task of maintaining our caste system?

It might be possible to ascertain the dollars actually poured down this rat hole, though I am not sure how it would be done. But the greater losses are indirect, and not measurable in dollars. The other American states move forward on many fronts while we mark time. They strengthen their school systems to meet the demands of this age. They build up their public libraries. They enlarge their parks. They strengthen their public health services. They do all of this while we debate--debate who shall go to school with whom; how to keep certain people out of our libraries and out of our parks. When it comes to public health, one of our states took time out to fire a white nurse for eating with a Negro nurse. Another has under consideration a requirement that donations to the blood bank shall be accompanied by certification of the color of the donor!

Let us disregard the facts that, by such antics, we make ourselves a national laughing stock and that, by the turmoil and uncertainty we have created, we discourage Northern investment here. The important fact remains that wise government requires the closest attention of the best minds. Far from giving it such attention, we are frittering away our energies grappling with a mock issue. The same energy applied to compliance with law would long since have devised a plan of integration satisfactory to the courts, and we could have kept step with the other American states in their advance

toward proper goals of government. As it is, while we stop to bolster our caste system, the procession of progressive states leaves us in the lurch.

I think I may perhaps demonstrate how we lag because of our concern with caste. Just a very few years ago in the national government the witch hunt was on in full cry. Sen. McCarthy, notably, and other lesser inquisitors, blasted reputations ruthlessly in the effort to find Communist influence in government. It took some years for sanity to be restored and for the senate and the country to call a halt on such inquisitions. Even now the army, the State department and all other branches of government are quietly, almost furtively, re-employing the discharged, purging records, issuing pass-ports long withheld, making formal apologies, and, generally, seeking to atone for the reckless disregard of constitutional rights and human sensibilities manifested by Sen. McCarthy and the senate and house committees on un-American activities. The whole country has breathed a sigh of relief that this orgy of brutality is ended.

But, mark you, it is merely beginning on the state level in the South. In South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Louisiana--no doubt there are other states--they have created, or plan to create, their own state committees on subversive activities. This means that, despite the existence of the F.B.I., especially charged with the duty of detecting subversion and especially equipped for that purpose, and despite the existence of congressional committees having duties in that field, these states now will devote time, attention, energy to catching Reds. And, of course, in the view of these committees any person or organization that believes in upholding the Supreme Court decisions in the segregation cases is a Red.

My point is that, in their zeal to maintain the caste system, these states will now, on the state level go through the orgy of investigation and persecution which the nation as a whole has repudiated. The energy of the states will be dissipated on a futile enterprise when it should be applied to solution of the legitimate concerns of government. No wonder we lag be-

hind the procession.

There is, of course, an ironic touch to these investigations. They ostensibly seek subversives. A subversive, by definition, is one who seeks to undermine the foundation of his government. The foundation of our government is the Constitution. Hence, one would suppose, the committees would attempt to ferret out those who act contrary to constitutional provisions, who to deny rights guaranteed by the constitution, or who use unconstitutional means to attain their ends.

But those who sponsor the legislation creating the committees and who will conduct the investigations are members of supporters of the notorious White Citizens' Councils, organized, financed and maintained for the sole purpose of denying to millions of people their constitutional rights. The country has recently been treated to the spectacle of Sen. Eastland, proceeding directly from addressing these councils all over the South, spewing his particular type of venom, to conduct investigations of honorable men and women and honorable organizations who are suspect only of favoring due observance of law. If he wanted to look subversives in the face he should have cast his eyes around him at his council meetings. By the way, I wonder if the man has a good mirror.

Of course, Sen. Eastland has no connections with Moscow. Of course, he mortally hates Communism. But he is apparently unaware that not all subversion is manufactured in Moscow. There is an equally detestable American brand.

One of the symptoms of our immaturity is this belief that all evil things come from abroad, are imported. Take the names of our diseases and pests: Spanish influenza, Asian flu, German measles, Mexican bean beetle, Japanese beetle, Mediterranean fruit fly, Dutch elm blight, to mention only a few. Did you ever hear of a disease or pest or blight which bore an American name? American malaria, Yankee small pox, or Carolina chestnut blight? It is treason to suggest the idea.

This fundamental trait of equating the evil with the foreign affects our use of color in description. A bad taste is dark brown. A coward has a yellow streak. Prose that is too rich or frothy is purple. A guilty man is caught red-handed. A thing is black as sin. But when we have received unusually kind and considerate attention, we have been treated white. Our color, white; hence a synonym for the good, the pure, the beautiful.

You see, we make our own vocabulary, coin our own terms. You recall Aesop's fable of the man and the lion who were looking at a statue of a man standing with his foot on the neck of a prostrate lion. The man remarked that the statue correctly showed the relationship of the parties. Replied the lion "If a lion had been the sculptor, the lion would have his foot on the neck of the man."

But, to return to matters governmental--

Such, then, are the pre-occupations of certain of our statesmen--not all, thank God. For the exceptions, for those who have resisted the mass pressures of the times, special niches will be reserved in History's hall of fame. But such are the pre-occupations of the majority at the dawn of the satellite age.

One is reminded of what Robert Louis Stevenson wrote of the French poet Francois Villon:

"The world to which he introduces us is blackguardly and bleak. Paris swarms before us, full of famine, shame and death; monks and servants of great lords hold high wassail upon cakes and pastry; the poor man licks his lips before the baker's window; people with patched eyes sprawl all night under the stalls; . . . the drunkard goes stumbling homeward; the graveyard is full of bones . . .

"In our mixed world, full of green fields and happy lovers, where, not long before, Joan of Arc had led one of the highest and noblest lives in the whole story of mankind, this was all worth chronicling that our poet could percieve. His eyes were indeed sealed with his own filth. He dwelt all

his life in a pit more noisome than the dungeon at Meun. In the moral world, also, there are large phenomena not cognisable out of holes and corners. Loud winds blow, speeding home deep-laden ships and sweeping rubbish from the earth; the lightning leaps and cleans the face of heaven; high purposes and brave passions shake and sublimate men's spirits; and, meanwhile, in the narrow dungeon of his soul, Villon is ~~mumbling~~ crusts and picking vermin."

How modern is every word of this! In this day how much intellectual rubbish is being swept from the earth, including man's most dangerous myth--the inviolability of caste. What high purposes and brave passions now shake and sublimate men's spirits--including the passion for equal and exact justice and opportunity for every man and woman, every school child. And, with such a back-drop of stirring and whirling events, how dwarfed and shrunken appear those who seek to interpose their puny wills and desires against history's onward surge. / page 9

Surely, scales must fall from eyes. Surely, none is so deaf that he cannot hear the message of the satellites. The beeps which come to us from chill and distant space tell us of temperature, radiation, all the secrets of the ionosphere, but they tell us something vastly more important.

They tell us that the globe which we all inherit is now so diminished and shrivelled that every man is our next door neighbor. In this enforced intimacy friendship with all men is our most priceless possession. We must make friends and be friends with all mankind.

And so we move into the age of space. What mental equipment shall we carry with us on this leap into the unknown? What shall be our credentials as citizens of the brave, new world? Shall we go as Neanderthal men, weighted down with the suspicions, fears and hatreds of our Adamic ancestors? Or shall we go as men and women, erect and unafraid, recognizing every other man and woman on this now tiny orb as full and equal partner in the most fundamental and enduring of all enterprises? That enterprise is to develop human capacities for good to the ultimate limit of their poten-

tial.

If we shall enter the new age in that spirit and with that high resolve, we shall slough off some traces of the gross and the brutish; prove that we are indeed made a little lower than the angels.

I am delighted that you have given me this opportunity to visit your city and am especially pleased that we meet under the auspices of the Urban League. No doubt I would have known something of the League if I had never had connection with the Southern Regional Council. But my work with the Council has given me unusual opportunity to have some knowledge and appreciation of your accomplishments. Those who seek to establish a better social order in the South have long recognized the superb contribution you are making to realization of that goal.

Having bracketed the names of our two organizations, I am reminded that both enjoy a tax-exempt status. That happy condition must not be imperilled by any word of mine. If I should touch delicately upon any political matter, let me hasten now to say that no member of the Urban League or the Southern Regional Council has conspired or confederated with me in the preparation of these remarks. "An ill-favored thing, Sir, but mine own."

I am getting a little tired of making that explanation. The next time Senator Eastland tells me he is pursuing subversives, I think I shall tell him "Go chase yourself."

Well, here I am, a man from the deep and rural South, before a city audience in the industrial North. I am tempted to dilate upon the contrasts in our situations. But surely no good can come from accentuating differences. They tend to set up apart from each other, whereas we are drawn together by things we hold in common. As Mr. Attlee remarked in his graceful birthday tribute to Mr. Churchill, "The things which unite us are vastly more important than those which divide." Under the enveloping mantle of American citizenship, my interests and yours are identical.

If I may paraphrase the blunt and forthright language of a former head of General Motors -- sometimes called "Bird dog Charlie" -- what is good for the

South is good for the country.

And, of course, one of the startingly obvious facts of the times is that the contrasts between our regions are rapidly disappearing.

Certain factors are inexorably at work. The most important of these is the movement of industry to the South. I shall not burden you with the figures. The pained criss you hear from New England mark the departure of textile mills to warmer climes. Steel, petroleum, pulp -- the story is the same everywhere -- Southward, ho, is the cry. Birmingham, Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston and hosts of lesser cities and towns are new hives of industry. A citizen of Flint or Pontiac or Detroit could move there and fill his lungs with the old familiar smog.

Of course, the important fact is that what goes South is not machines but ideas. The plantation economy, with its semi-feudal system of share-croppers and tenants in thralldom to the owners, has gone forever. Under such a system segregation developed as a natural child of slavery. It has no place and will not long survive in an industrial society.

Therein lies one of the ironies of the present situation. Certain states are officially committed to preservation of their caste systems. Yet their governors and other state officials lead their safaris into the North stalking the mills, trying to bring them back alive. With every success they have they speed the doom of a segregated society. They must choose between segregation and industrialization. Thus far they have found no way to eat their Southern biscuits and have them, too.

Recent developments must have given them some concern. The Southward march of industry has ground to a halt in Arkansas and begun to stumble in Virginia -- two states most noted for their insistence upon segregation. The conservative Wall Street Journal presents an imposing array of instances of plants abandoning intention to move South because of the local segregation practices.

There has been, too, for two decades a pouring of Southern labor into your Northern cities. Farming has become increasingly precarious at a time when Northern wages were rapidly advancing. So the tenant farmer and share cropper of the South has moved in with you here in Flint and Pontiac and Detroit and is now a full fledged citizen of Michigan. In every industry of this region there are strong personal bonds between substantial numbers of employees and families in towns, villages and the countryside of the South.

These are facts of great significance for the nation. They mark the removal of sectional differentials. A nation in a strictly technical sense may be created by ratification of a constitution. But this is far removed from the organic entity of a people. That depends upon the existence of forces more unifying than a paper compact. First the steel rails, then the telephone and telegraph wires, then the long strips of macadam, and finally the air waves themselves -- means of moving people and goods and ideas -- these are the forces which create the essential unity and indivisibility of a people. Because we have these instrumentalities and employ them liberally we are at that state where every section of this nation -- the great city, the cross roads, the farm -- has an abiding concern with the problems and the fate of every other section.

Not everyone knows that. Carl Sandburg recently put it in homely vernacular: "The United States is, not are. The Civil War was fought over a verb. Governor Faubus don't know that. But he gonna learn, he gonna learn."

If I take the time to remind you of our common concern in each other's affairs, it is only because that fairly elementary truth seems recently to have come under violent attack. You should be aware of the attack and on guard against it.

The segregationists, as you no doubt know, have lost nearly all of their legal battles. It is quite evident that. on the legal front, all that they may

now do is to fight rear guard actions. So they pitch their battles on new terrain. That terrain physically is here in the North. Intellectually and spiritually it is in the minds and hearts of Northerners. The present strategy of the white supremacists is, at a minimum, to neutralize Northern opinion; at a maximum, to enroll you under their banner.

You here in the North may not be aware of it, but you are being wooed by Senator Eastland and Senator Thurmond. We hope there shall be no betrothal, certainly no union, and, as to issue, God forbid!

I may only indicate to you the extent to which your benevolent neutrality or active partisanship is being sought.

Several Southern states maintain their propaganda bureaus out of tax funds -- contributed in part by Negro taxpayers -- which flood the North with slick and glossy literature proclaiming that desegregation is a Communist device and that the Supreme Court is a tool of Moscow.

The notorious White Citizens Councils take full page ads in such respectable Northern papers as the New York Herald Tribune to present a letter developing the thesis that Negro inferiority is scripturally established. Over a quarter million dollars has been spent in such advertising and distribution.

Extensive radio net works present what is called the Southern story.

Skilled and effective advocates of bigotry invade the North eschewing the term "white supremacy," but nevertheless seeking your help in maintaining a social system of which a preferred status for whites is the core.

If thus far your city has been spared this pestilence from the South, don't congratulate yourselves prematurely. They have just not gotten around to you. Your time will come.

Now, when a pestilence may strike, wise medical practice is to publicize the symptoms. Thus may the endangered population be on guard, and hence,

innoculated. Surely those of us in the human relations field may take a lesson from the doctors. This may be a rare chance to get free medical service.

Of course, if the white supremacist were quite frank with you, this medical exercise would be unnecessary. The segregationist would say to you openly and boldly, "We want your help in maintaining in our region a system by which people with white skins enjoy certain advantages over people with colored skins." That approach would, of course, not be recommended by Dale Carnegie. Whatever else the segregationist may be, he is a master of diplomacy. So he adopts finesse in his approach. He is oblique and indirect.

Since, according to his view, the Supreme Court is the auther of all his misfortunes, it is the object of his malevolent attentions. All of its decisions upholding the right of an accused to confront the witnesses against him, the right to freedom of travel, the right to privacy of association, the right to retain governmental employment unless removed for valid cause, the right of freedom from tapped telephone wires -- all of those stern judgments will be paraded before you. Little, if anything, will be said about the school decisions. The impression will be subtly conveyed that here are nine men drunk with power and bent upon destroying the republic; hence, their authority must be curbed.

Historically, one of the conspicuous badges of tyranny is its antagonism for courts and established judicial process. From the banishment of Aristides, the Just, from Greece, through establishment of People's Courts by Hitler and Stalin to the creation of a special tribunal by Fidel Castro, that antagonism has found expression.

When limitation of judicial authority is now urged upon the rest of the nation by the segregationist, it is not unreasonable to infer that he seeks to throttle the one agency which protects the Negro citizen from the raw tyranny

of the state.

Speaking of badges of tyranny, we must not overlook the fact that every tyrant rises to power or retains power by suspending constitutional guaranties. You may examine every one of history's more grisly chapters and there emerges a man or clique who have ruthlessly ignored or struck down constitutional provisions asserting rights of the citizen. A tyrant may be one or many acting in concert -- a Hitler or a Stalin, or a governor or a school board. The right involved may be freedom of the press or attendance upon a school. When any right is denied by official action, there is tyranny.

I remind you of these disagreeable facts, not, I hope, because I am morbid, but because you should know for what cause the segregationist seeks your aid. The cause is nothing less than the denial of a constitutional right. That is nothing less than tyranny.

Now, those of us on our side of thisissue are by no means disinterested spectators in this struggle for the minds of Northerners. We, too, seek your support. I am not above doing a little proselyting of my own.

You will recall that Mr. Adlai Stevenson remarked that when a Republican turned Democratic, wisdom had been granted him, but when a Democrat turned Republican, he had succumbed to treason.

Similarly, when the segregationist seeks your support, he is guilty of vile propagandizing; when we seek it, we are merely being reasonably persuasive.

First of all, let me get you to consider for a moment the plight of the Southern integrationist. (I must qualify that statement by conceding that conditions vary greatly in the South and that I intend no blanket indictment.)

What forces are against him?

There are against him his state and local governments. These have at their disposal tax funds, prestige, unrestricted and free access to television, radio and press. Time and space which would cost thousands of dollars are his for the asking, whereas the wisdom of men like Sandburg and Faulkner receives

greatly curtailed presentation.

Usually, though with increasing exceptions, the press is strongly pro-segregation. The exceptions are occurring as it becomes evident that the hard choice is between integration and no public schools.

Adult public opinion, if given free choice, would overwhelmingly favor segregation. Hopefully, the youngsters are breaking with their parents on the issue.

Churches (on the local level), lodges, professional societies and private clubs are segregated -- always with notable exceptions.

The Southern integrationist then, must pit his puny strength against these impressive forces. Sometimes he must break with friends and family.

You can, I hope, begin to comprehend how vastly important to him are the favorable opinion, good will and moral support of those who live beyond the region. When every man's hand seems to be against him at home, there is balm in the thought that beyond an imaginary line bisecting the nation there are sympathy and understanding. If you should begin to weaken, his desolation would be complete.

The point which I should like to drive home is that your own destiny is bound up with the destiny of the Southern liberal. You may not weaken on him without weakening on yourselves. Liberalism cannot be divided into neat compartments labelled "Northern" and "Southern" with freedom to choose one and reject the other. Because this is one nation, indivisible, the fate of every citizen rides with the fate of every other. Thus, the liberal cause may not flourish in one section while it languishes in another.

I think that statement may be susceptible of proof.

You will recall that in the 1920's the Ku Klux Klan received a new birth in the South. It was ignored by the rest of the country as being a purely local phenomenon. With what result? It rose to great power in Indiana. It

was a force to be reckoned with in many Northern states, and its sinister shadow fell across the Democratic convention which nominated Al Smith for President.

So, even now the anthropoid utterances of men like Senator Eastland and Governor Faubus have the power to stir the primitive in men, not only in Mississippi and in Arkansas, but in Michigan as well. Outcroppings of racial violence in New York, Chicago, even remote London, have been nurtured by the irresponsible mouthings of bigots in high places. Prejudices lie so close to the surface in even the most civilized and urbane of men that they may easily emerge from the sub-conscious into the conscious.

Hence, let no one deceive himslef into believing that the Mason and Dixon Line is a rampart behind which he is secure or a kind of Curtain which will inevitably deflect ideas and sentiments having Southern origin. Ideas nowadays are all-pervasive.

But, rahher than have you think negatively and defensively about the pervasive quality of ideas, we much prefer that you think positively -- if Dr. Norman Vincent Peale will pardon us; not so much about guarding against the bad idea as about wise and full use of the good. Surely every American city is under the moral compulsion, not merely to insulate itself against evil, but to aid right to triumph everywhere else.

You will see that we in the South don't want to settle for your neutrality. We want you actively on our side. We don't quite go along with Daniel Boone's prayer, "God help me,but, if you can't help me, don't help the bear."

To invite you to remain neutral does but little credit to your intelligence or your principles. It is to assume that you fail to perceive your self-interest in the integration issue, or that, perceiving such, you lack the spiritual urge to throw your weight into the struggle. When, therefore, the segregationist, flaunting the banner of State's Rights, accuses you of "outside interference" in a local matter -- meddling," I believe, is the exact term -- you may, with

complete propriety inform him that you have a stake in all that transpires anywhere in this nation, and that repression or denial of right is one infant industry you do not propose to protect. Or, if you prefer, you may tell him bluntly where he may go.

Neutrality assumes large proportions in segregationist thinking. He not only wants you, the Northern public, to remain neutral. He wants the Government of the United States to remain neutral. Neutral in what conflict and between what parties?

To answer that we have to go back a bit. The Court has held that a Negro child has a constitutional right to attend an integrated school. He presents himself. He is denied admission. So a suit must be brought. In several states they have so-called anti-barratry statutes designed to inflict severe penalties on the NAACP if it should intervene.

Several senators and congressmen propose that the Attorney General be authorized to initiate a suit for the child, merely translating a paper right into an actuality, putting living flesh upon the bare bones of the court's decision. But the Southern bloc fought and continues to fight such a provision.

Their position is that the child, usually without funds or friends in high places, shall be left to match his feeble strength against the awesome power of his state; that the federal government shall remain a neutral and callous spectator of so unequal a conflict; that government, like Nero at the gladiatorial games, shall observe with indifference the outcome of a fateful issue.

I cannot believe that such is the sentiment of this nation. I am sure that all of us here wish the government we all support to interpose its majesty and power between the child and the raw tyranny of the state.

More is involved than denial of the rights of a child. Consider, if you will, the by-products of such denial.

As the dark and bloody history of tyranny has revealed, one denial is not enough. The original felony must be compounded.

Governors, senators and others highly placed proclaim a holy war to preserve segregation. They are suave and sophisticated men. They propose to use legalistic and parliamentary stratagems. But essentially what they advocate is disobedience to law. Some of their henchmen are not suave and sophisticated. They know nothing of such tools. But they have fists. They can easily learn the gentle art of dynamiting. So they use the only tools they know.

The road runs straight from the inciting official phrase to a wrecked school in Clinton, Tennessee, to a bombed synagogue in Atlanta.

The officials deplore the wrecking of a single school. But they themselves wreck the entire school systems of states, destroying in a vindictive moment procedures developed through decades.

The segregationist asks you here in Michigan to regard with equanimity the condemning of millions of Southern children to relative or total ignorance and to turn your faces from lawlessness officially propagated.

The official weapons, as we have noted, are guile and duplicity. They involve enactment of statutes and constitutional provisions which pretend to follow the court's mandate but actually are designed to thwart that mandate. This is a species of fraudulent misrepresentation which would be repudiated in an ordinary horse trade.

The qualities magnified in the public mind are slickness, shrewdness, cunning. They are ideals held up before young lawyers and politicians. The hard truth is that they are no substitutes for intelligence and character. The great lawyer or statesman is not shrewd; he is profound.

We say that a state <u>maintains</u> schools. Vastly more important than the school it <u>maintains</u> is the school the state <u>is</u>. Example is more powerful than precept. The example of a state resorting to subterfuge, evasion and misrepresentation will not be lost upon young minds. That example will effectively

negate the noble maxims of the class room.

Can you here in Michigan view with indifference a decay of public morals anywhere in the nation?

So, I am here in your city seeking your help. You do not need my help and there is little I could give you if you did. But those who fight for justice, for simple law observance, in the South desperately need your help.

What may you do?

First, and negatively, don't succumb to the argument that you are outsiders meddling in other people's affairs. We must never overlook the dual nature of citizenship in this country. The Negro children knocking upon school doors may be citizens of South Carolina or Louisiana. They are no less citizens of the United States of America. It is rights under the American Constitution they seek to assert. They do so as your fellow-citizens. In that view, your concern is fully as acute as the concern of a native-born white citizen of South Carolina or Louisiana.

Keep always in mind that what is happening in certain areas of the South is a suspension of guaranties of the American Constitution. That suspension is as real as if proclaimed by a formal edict of a dictator. Such a suspension, whether formally proclaimed or not, is an act of tyranny. No American citizen has the right to acquiesce in tyranny.

All rights guaranteed by the constitution are of equal sanctity. The right of school attendance is as sacred as freedom of the press. There is no moral difference between closing school doors and closing printing presses. One will lead to the other.

Finally, the White Southern liberal is acutely vulnerable. He bucks the truly formidable power of his state; quite often he bucks community, friends, family. He is apt to be lonely. Don't wash your hands of him. Let him at all times be sustained by the consciousness that, in those areas of his land

where men are not so stirred by the passions of the moment, there are understanding and sympathy.

You take just pride in your commercial primacy, in the long procession of automobiles that roll from your assembly lines, in the material products with which you flood the world. No one would detract for a moment from the significance of such achievements.

But it may not be amiss to remind ourselves occasionally that no one recalls the economic exports of Athens or Judea or Alexandria. But the world still is moved by ideas and ideals which there found expression.

A secure place in history, a kind of urban immortality, is reserved for cities which fashion and show complete devotion to the highest principles of civic virtue.

MPW

Whatever else I may do today, I shall try to avoid giving you advice. This isn't especially out of consideration for you, it is out of consideration for myself. Like everybody else, I am concerned with what you think of me. Everybody agrees with the maxim "old people like to give advice." So if I gave you any, you would conclude at once that I am an old person. That would be so near the truth that I shy away from it. If I were younger, you see, I wouldn't care what you thought about my age.

Most of us would also agree with Philip James Bailey that "the worst of men often give the best advice." Now, I don't want to be thought any worse than I am--that is bad enough--so I play it safe.

But, of course, Alice in Wonderland put her finger on my real trouble:

"You are old, Father William," the young man said,
"And your hair has become very white;
Yet you incessantly stand on your head--
Do you think, at your age, it is right?"
"In my youth," Father William replied to his son,
"I feared it might injure the brain;
But now that I'm perfectly sure I have none,
Why, I do it again and again."

If I were younger, I would probably feel that I was qualified to instruct you. With every year I become less confident, more aware of my inadequacies. As far as I now go, is to say that, if you won't advise me, I won't attempt to advise you.

But if I were looking for advice I would turn to this group and others like it--young people in our colleges. I would not be seeking primarily for information. That is not too hard to come by. I would be seeking for a spirit, an attitude, a bent of mind, a sense of adventure. That is rare and priceless. A few, really great men, such as Justice Holmes and Winston Churchill, manage

to keep a glow in the heart and mind until the end. But, for the generality of mankind, the flame grows dimmer as youth recedes. Youth is the period of rebellion and rejection of the status quo.

In her, "Revolution of 1848", Robertson points out that in one year university students spear-headed uprisings in Austria, Prussia and Bavaria which altered the entire character of governments.

Students in the military and technical schools of the Ottoman Empire led the Young Turk Movement in the year 1896 to 1908--a movement which compelled the Sultan to restore constitutional guarantees.

The nationalistice movement in Germany in the early years of the 19th century, culminating in the War of Liberation, had its origin in the students of Berlin and Breslau.

So with the Cuban Revolution of 1933 and the abortive 1956 uprisings in Poland and Hungary. The list is long and honorable.

But one does not have to thumb the pages of history, or leave American shores to document student leadership of revolutionary movement.

Revolutions are not always characterized by gunpowder, blood and barricades in the streets. Perhaps the more profound and lasting revolutions have not had any of these features. Revolution in the classic or historical sense seeks the overthrow of government. Revolution, minus its violent manifestations, seeks the overthrow of custom, a much more difficult task. Physical force only is required to overthrow government. Intellectual and moral force, the force of reason and persuasion, is required to overthrow custom. We in the South have been witnessing the application of such force in a social revolution of the first magnitude.

It has often happened that those who lived through great events were unaware of their historical significance. Another generation with increased perspective begins to grasp their importance and, ultimately, to realize that they are milo-stones in human progress. What was merely an exciting episode

to a participant may, upon later examination, turn out to have been one of the pivots upon which history turns.

A dozen or so citizens of Massachusetts clamber at night upon a ship at anchor in Boston harbor and throw some bags of tea overboard. As they slipped furtively back to their homes, probably not a man of them ever dreamed that his descendants would some day boast that Grandpa had taken part in the Boston Tea Party, or that his action had sparked the creation of a new nation. The determination of Bostonians to drink tea without paying a tax to the British crown, a few minutes of daring action, and History begins a fresh chapter.

Now, behold a parallel. On February 1, 1960, a few college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, enter not a ship at anchor, but Woolworth's 5 and 10 cent store. They do not throw tea out on the street; they order coffee to be drunk sitting down. (Instead of standing up for their rights, they sat down for them, in other words, they were sitting on their Constitutional rights.) They were refused service. You know the result. The movement has spread electrically throughout the entire South, forcing every community to re-examine its segregation practices.

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea--I am a Bourbon and branch water man myself--but I suggest that in History's long view the Greensboro Coffee Party may loom as large as the Boston Tea Party. Lipton and Maxwell House may fight out that issue between themselves. Neither has given me any payola and I give them no plug.

The historical significance of the sit-ins arises, in part, from the fact that--for the first time in the life of our nation--the view of a minority group was clearly, intelligently and powerfully expressed and it affected law and custom. It beneficially influenced public policy.

If we may, for a moment, grow mildly philosophic about government, we must, as usual, go back to the Greeks. In "The Suppliants," Euripides had his characters in dialogue develop the essential differences between tyranny and

and democracy.

Tyranny has the fatal weakness that the tyrant destroys all strong men who might become his competitors. In this generation we have seen that policy followed in Germany, Italy, Russia and Cuba. This insures rule by the weak which ultimately means national disaster.

In a democracy, however, such as the Athens of Euripides' day, the idea and opinion of all men tend to fertilize government, hence to make it strong and vigorous. To the extent that the opinions, insights, intuitions and experience of any individual or group are not taken into account, government approaches tyranny, and hence, weakens itself.

It took us a long time in this country to learn what was evident to Euripides 2500 years ago. It was only in the year 1920 that the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, conferring rights of citizenship upon women. We went for 144 years of our national history deprived of the contribution which women as citizens could make to the national strength and purpose.

The 14th Amendment was adopted in 1868. After 93 years we have not entirely given it full effectiveness. Meanwhile, society suffers from an unbalanced diet of opinion and experience.

This has been a prosperous nation. As compared with the rest of the world, we have had it easy. If you will pardon a personal reference, we may have become a little fat and soft: laws, customs, and social values may tend to reflect the point of view, and protect the status of, the highly privileged. It is my thesis that, if a sense of balance and proportion is to be attained, we must also in law, custom and social values, give ear and heed those who have not had it so easy.

"It is not learning, grace nor gear,
Nor easy meat and drink,
But bitter pinch of pain and fear
That makes creation think."

We must always remember that most of the world's great literature, song, philosophy, religion--all of the arts--have come from the hearts and minds of those who have suffered. Out of their travail, from the womb of their experience, have issued the fresh and new-born ideas which glorify mankind. We build a greater edifice when the brick has passed through the crucible.

Society tends to become anemic when it excludes from full participation in all of its concerns and activities those who have endured struggle and want.

Since we are in the South, and most of us, I hope, will remain here, may we mention briefly a characteristic malady of the region.

Anyone who examines with clear vision the relevant tables of statistics must admit that our section experiences a cultural lag when compared with the rest of the country. It is strangely fascinating to observe that this lag is the greatest in the so-called 'hard-core' states of the South.

I think it will be agreed by all students of the southern region that the principal cause of this lag in cultural development is the attachment of our present leadership to what is called 'our way of life.' The South has proven what China proved centuries ago, that ancestor worship is the natural enemy of progress. We have been shackled by misguided loyalty to a fictitious entity known as the South. It has no corporate existence--has had none since Appomattox. Yet it is daily invoked by our politicians as if it had some political vitality. Always the rest of the country is supposed to be attacking the South, seducing it from ancient principles, cramming something down its throat.

The evil consequences of this sectional loyalty were foreseen in 1882 by one of the South's enlightened spirits, Louisianna's George W. Cable. Speaking at the University of Mississippi, he said:

"When the whole intellectual energy of the Southern States flew to the defense of that one institution (slavery) which made us the South, we broke with human progress. We broke with the world's thought. We have not entirely, in all things, joined hands with it again. When we have done so we shall know it by this--there will be no South. We shall be Virginians, Texans, Louisianians, Mississippians, and we shall at the same time, and over and above all be Americans. But we shall no more be Southerners than we shall be Northerners. The

accidents of latitude shall be nothing to us. We shall be the proud disciples of every American alike who adds to the treasure of the truth in American literature, and prouder still if his words reach the whole human heart and his lines of light run through the varied languages of the world. Let us hasten to be no longer a unique people. Let us search provincialism out of the land....

There is a newly-coined name that.....I would gladly see met with somewhat disrelish: The New South. It is a term only fit to indicate a transitionary condition. "hat we want--what we ought to have in view--is the No South! Does the word sound like annihilation? It is the farthest from it. It is enlargement. It is growth. It is a higher life."

Obviously, there are many who do not share this unqualified devotion to a way of life which has served us all ill. Preserve what is best in Southern life, its manners, its spirit of hospitality, its appreciation of the aesthetic and all the rest which is good; but down the drain with its caste system, its raw violence, its use of legal and non-legal means to deprive people of their constitutional rights.

The ingrowing and pathological loyalty to a mere geographical area is felt most strongly by the old and uneducated. Young people, coming from colleges such as this, must apply the needed corrective.

There is another malady from which the South suffers. I am afraid it has become chronic, since this year it celebrates the centennial of its earliest sympton.

I listened recently to a radio program re-creating the occasion of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as president of the Confederacy. Now, every historian, probably everyone except the members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, knows that the Confedracy was created to defend the institution of slavery. Yet, in all of the long and platitudinous address, there was no mention of slavery. A historian friend tells me that it was not mentioned in the Confederate Constitution. So the distinguishing characteristic of the new and short-lived regime was--to put it mildly-- a certain lack of candor.

If that characteristic had perished with the regime, had died at Appomattox, it would have had a niche in history as a transitory, but inglorius, phenomenon. Unfortunately, the disease, like cancer, spread to all members of the original

organism. The states which composed the Confederacy became infected. Like planets, they carry with them material from their parent sun.

So we in 1961 observe this same lack of candor concerning an issue which flows from slavery. In all of the furor about our schools, certainly in the welter of legislation and constitutional amendents, there is never a frank statement of real intention and motive. There are a multitude of assigned reasons; psychological factors of pupils, public peace and tranquility, health, scholastic and moral standards, and all the rest--you know the jargon as well as I. That is a species of dishonesty as contemptible as avowed deceptions.

There are schools and schools. The greatest school of all is the state. It teaches all of its people by force of its example. As Justice Brandeis pointed out some years ago, if the state sets an example in law-breaking, it thereby encourages all citizens to become law-breakers. If it sets an example in deception, it encourages all citizens to deceive.

Sometime and by some generation this sinister trend must be halted, this unholy link with the past must be broken. The generation now being fed by our colleges into the main stream of our society faces no nobler task.

There is another phase of Southern life in which your influence may be properly asserted.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and clubs and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths times the national average. It is substanially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York.

I know of one Southern state in which a lieutenant-governor, a district attorney and a chief justice of the supreme court each killed a man. They

lost no status.

College students throughout the South have demonstrated that violence is no match for non-violence and that moral and intellectual power, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable victor over mere brute force.

Our society can stand much greater infusions of that spirit. It must flow from campuses such as this. The struggle must not be by default to creatures of the jungle.

The eagerness of the better South to adopt and follow enlightened leadership, from whatever source, is amply demonstrated by the sit-in movement. It orginated on a college campus in Greensboro--for which all North Carolians may be proud. But immediately it was taken up by other colleges, your own and similar institutions throughout the South. Men and women from Wake Forest, Duke, the University of North Carolina, Randolph Macon, and a host of others sat with you, picketed with you and went to jail with you--and still do, for that matter. There was no asking: who originated the idea, no timidity because of racial overtones, no reluctance to follow leadership not self-created.

There seems to be a lesson in all of this. Fewer and fewer among us are inclined to examine the source of an idea; more and more are concerned only with its merit. Fewer and fewer are content to view an act of injustice as being another man's problem or misfortune; more and more identify themselves with another's woes.

The Southern college man or woman, then, now has the assurance that if his thinking is sound, he will be heard; if his example is noble he will be followed. The quality of his thought and conduct will increasingly be appraised by a society which is ready to be enriched by any man's contribution.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in Athens. He replied, "When those who have not suffered injustice are as indignant as those who have." If he were alive today he would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward the high Ideal.

You come of age at a time and upon a scene of complete revolution in men's attitudes. The change is all in your favor. The tide runs with you.

We are not merely probing outer space. We are probing the human heart.

We in the South have learned a hard and bitter lesson. We have learned that one who follows a course of exclusion of people from the circle of friendship, who builds walls and erects barriers to shut himself off from others, who drives lines of cleavage between himself and others, who segregates himself from mankind--such a man shrinks with the years. John Donne was right. Whatever diminished mankind diminishes me. Likewise, I am diminished when I shut other men out of my life. That lesson has been hard and bitter.

But we have also learned a lesson which is warm and benign. We have learned that when one extends the range of his interests and sympathies, includes all men within the compass of his friendly concern, seeks for every other man the opportunities he himself enjoys, he thereby enters into and shares the lives of all mankind. He enlarges himself. So personality grows and expands.

The reception given the President's Peace Corps plan on college campuses throughout the nation shows the vast reservoir of concern of educated youth with the plight or state of all men everywhere.

You will recall that Marcellus and Horatio were together when the ghost of Hamlet's father appeared on the balcony. Marcellus, gibbering with fear, exclaimed, "Thou art a scholar; speak to it, Horatio."

When the baffling, the unknown, the apparently insoluble, confronts society, society turns--immediately or ultimately--to the scholar.

The South has its share of ghosts. They mutter their incantations. They frighten the unlettered. But to the informed and serene intelligence, these are mere insubstantial wraiths.

They appear formidable. But, at wise and courageous words, which some of you may utter, they will retreat into the chilly dark whence they came. And when these ghosts are laid, when the South has rid itself of fear of those

fictitious perils, then shall the walls which keep men asunder come tumbling down. Ancient hatred and suspicions shall wither and perish in the light and warmth of a new day.

And there shall be rejoicing in the streets.

I must be very careful what I say tonight. Less than a year ago I spoke before this same group at Nashville. Timidly, and bearing in mind your tax-exempt status, I managed to get in a kind word about a certain United States Senator, whose name I dare not mention. What was the result? The Tennessee voters in droves rushed to the polls to send him back to Washington. I had no idea they would take me so seriously. It makes a man watch his words.

The whole country had its eye on that race. It now has its eye on races of all Southern politicians. When the race is in Virginia, we are all Byrd watchers.

I must tell you too, that since we last met, and just prior to the victory in Tennessee, we in North Carolina were burying under a blanket of ballots, one who beat the ~~born-towns~~ tom-toms for segregation. A few years ago, the same type of anti-Negro campaign in North Carolina produced a victory over Dr. Frank Graham, one of the state's most enlightened citizens. So rapidly has public opinion shifted as it has become informed! In the delicate and important task of informing the p public, your own Council on Human Relations, and the Councils of all states have played significant roles.

Our politicians are among the most intuitive of men, tuned in with the utmost precision to the wave lengths of their constituencies. The recent session of the Congress has seen the Southern senatorial bloc reduced to a position of relative futility. Only by the aid of Northern Republicans -- that unholy alliance -- were they able to maim, but not destroy, civil rights legislation. The four senators from Tennessee and Texas have defected. Among those who remain, only

such characters

as Eastland of Mississippi and Thurmond of South Carolina may be said to be white supremacy advocates of the old school, to carry on the Bilbo, Tillman, Cole Blease and "Cotton Ed" Smith tradition.

Among those nominally members of the bloc are men of such attainments as Fulbright, Hill, Sparkman and Long who obviously gag and retch as they observe the tribal rituals.

So, as the recent Senate debate made clear, the obstructionists are fewer in number and weaker in conviction. Instead of inspiring awe or fear, they are now merely a little ridiculous, a little pathetic.

The national pressure upon our politicians daily increases. It is the most subtle and effective kind of pressure in that it involves national recognition, appreciation and reward for meritorious conduct. Governor Collins, of Florida was honored by being made chairman of the Democratic Comvention, over which he presided with dignity and grace. Governor Hodges, of North Carolina, is an imprtant figure in the councils of the party. It seems more than an inadvertant omission that such party stalwarts of by-gone days as Eastland, Byrd, Talmadge, Thurmond, and Byrnes are left to wither in the wings - off - stage/ The quality which they have in common is devotion to the cause of a segregated society. In 1960, endorsement of that cause is the quickest form of national political suicide.

What do these developments portend?

Throughout the South, in law schools and elsewhere, young men and, I hope, young women, are contemplating careers in politcs. They observe the trend of the times. They read handwriting on walls.

Assuming that they are merely calculating and self-centered, to what stars shall they hitch their wagons? They wish to ride the wave of the future. Does that wave flow toward a program of freezing men and women into a fixed status, dividing them into hostile and sullen groups, the racially elite and the racially outcast? The most dangerous and discredited figure of our times is the one who would drive lines of cleavage between men. The one who, the South of the future will delight to honor is he who seeks, not to preserve, but to strike down, such artificial walls and barriers.

These truths, I am sure, will be as evident to the budding politician as to you and me. If so, there is now in incubation a new breed of Southern political leader, one orientated to national and international consciousness. The sense of sectional solidarity, with which we have so long been afflicted, will perish in the new day.

Not only are forces here at home propelling us into the twentieth century. The force from abroad is even more compulsive and urgent.

In one day last month, thirteen new African nations became members of United Nations. The nations of Africa and Asia now constitute almost fifty per cent of the membership. They are non-white members. Their destinies have heretofor been very largely in white hands. The converse could become true. I hope it will be more consistent with truth to say that the color of hands will not enter into the destiny of any nation, or any individual, for that matter, but that the combined wisdom of all men, distilled at United Nations, will shape the destinies of us all.

But certainly the emergence of non-white peoples throughout the world, their new position of international authority, has a lesson for us here in the South. We need desperately to get along with these new

fellow members in the family of nations. We need their sympathy and support, as, indeed, they need ours. The Southern attitude can be crucial in securing and holding sympathy and support.

Now, the Civil Rights movement in this country is designed to guarantee the Constitutional rights of all people--including colored people. You may be sure that the peoples of Asia nd Africa know what is happening to their brethern in this country. The Russian propaganda machine sees to that. So they are aware of the resistance movement in the South, aware of speeches made in Washington and in the State capitols, aware of the shabby and fraudulent tricks used to deny rights to people of color in the South, aware of burnings, boycotts and bombings.

Let us suppose that the colored citizens of Ghana were sumultaneously informed of certain facts. They were told that the United States government had made a grant to Ghana for the purpose of building a dam. They were also told that a Southern state had announced no Negro should attend its law school; or that Negroes must ride in the back end of buses in a certain city; or that another city sold its golf course rather than permit Negroes to play on it; or that a United States Senator gave active support to an organization set up to keep Negroes in their place. And so on indefinitely. Which kind of facts, do you suppose, would have the larger impact upon the minds of Ghana citizens? You and I know that the personal insult to men of color would far out-weigh the national gesture.

So the bold and stirring program of aid to the new African nations which President Eisenhower presented to United Nations may be completely nullified by the official policy of a lone Southern state. The world may be plunged into chaos or holocaust, men by millions may be

scared and pulverized, because Negroes are kept out of schools.

The choice may not be between segregation and integration. It may be between integration and disintegration.

Surely then, upon the political front, pressure, self-created, and imposed from abroad, push the South into the main stream of this century.

Upon the legal front the pressures are even more clearly evident with prospective results more imminent.

I need hardly remind you of a whole spate of statutes and constitutional amendments adopted by the resistant states in the wake of the school decision. These were designed to preserve the shaky edifice of segregation. With monotonous regularity, they have been struck down by the courts. Only one survived. It is the pupil assignment act.

You are aware that, under that act, school boards may assign pupils to schools upon the basis of certain factors, none of which, of course, is race. The court held that the act is constitutional upon its face, though keeping open the question of constitutionality in application. That decision brought great cheer to the segregationists. "Massive resistance" was gone but there would be only "token integration".

Mr. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, put the matter quite baldly:

"There are indications that it may be legally possible for Southern states to satisfy the Federal courts, keep open their public schools, and yet to hold mixing of the races in the schools at an absolute minimum."

It seems almost presumptuous to give news to a newspaper man, but we have news for Mr. Dabney. He might find it enlightening to consult the New York Times of September 18.

"There is evidence at hand", The Times says, "to suggest that the long patience of the Federal courts toward Southern delaying tactics on school integration is wearing thin".

After reviewing decisions affecting Houston and New Orleans, The Times reports:

"But perhaps more significant than these judicial stands against open intransigeance have been some less-publicized Appellate Court rulings that could, in the long run, threaten what has so far been the South's most effective legal weapon. This has been, and is, the use of so-called pupil assignment plans to hold school integration down to a trickle".

The Times then discusses appellate court decisions affecting Dollarway, Arkansas, and Norfolk, Virginia. Time doesn't permit detailed analysis of those decisions, but the conclusion drawn from them follows:

"What the recent opinions should indicate to the South is that the process of desegregation is not going to end with a handful of Negroes filtered into white schools. Some day, even if not right away, Negro children will be entitled to enter public school systems without being channeled here or there on account of their race."

So, upon the political front where both parties have gone beyond any prior commitments in the Civil Rights field, and upon the legal front, proponents of a legalized caste system for the South are in utter rout.

All of these momentous developments have occured since your last annual meeting. They have occured in the year 1960 -- political conventions, African membership in United Nations and historic judicial decision. But these events are dwarfed by a movement having no political, legal or judicial origin.

Perhpas the greatest compliment ever paid one man by another was that paid Benjamin Franklin by Tom Paine. When asked where he was

born, Paine replied, " I was born in a cafe in Paris the night I met Ben Franklin."

In a real sense the culminating drive against segregation had its birth at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when some Negro college students ordered a cup of coffee.

I play no favorites as between coffee and tea-- I am a bourbon and branch water man myself -- but the Greensboro Coffee Party deserves to rank with the Boston Tea Party in inaugurating a revolution. I will let Lipton and Maxwell House fight out that issue between themselves. Neither has given me any payola, so I give them no plug.

The year 1960 may have interest to the historian for many reasons. Not the least of these will be because an idea emerged in the South -- an idea which had application to the entire region.

You will note that I do not say the idea was then and there evolved. I say it emerged and it had application. For the idea itself-- non-violent resistance to tyranny - was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up. "

But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so thy walked unscathed through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babyloh there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Crolina.

There is epic drama in the emergence of such an idea at such a time and place. It emerged in the South in the year 1960. There is a jarring contrast between the gentle and humane philosophy of non-violence and the prevailing spirit and mood. A Sophocles or a Shakespeare would have arranged it thus.

Traditionally, the South is wedded to violence. It would be an exercise in morbidity to lead you through the maze of figures which indicate the Southern tendency to rely upon guns and slaves and dynamite as substitutes for due process of law. It may be sufficient for our purposes to point out that, in the Southern states, the per capita rate for crimes of violence varies from one and a half to one and three fourths the national average. It is substantially higher than the rate of such uncivilized and benighted communities as Chicago and New York. More than incidentally, violence has often been the ready tool of some segregationists.

We hear much of "our way of life." I am never sure what our friends mean, but it is the way of violence.

It was against this backdrop of raw, red violence, into this world of bared fangs and claws, that the idea of non-violence entered a Greensboro lunch room on February 1.

So you may see at once how heretical to most Southerners was the idea that, as the race is not always to the swift, victory is not always to the violent.

Here then, for the resistant South, is a completely new concept.--

certainly a completely new tactic in securing social change.

Let us pause for a moment to point out two facts of utmost significance about this new tactic.

First, It is an exclusively Negro conception. The movement that rocked the South was the product of brains of Negro boys in a college dormitory at Greensboro. If the white South views this phenomen on realistically, must it not ask certain questions: If non-violence may secure results so sweeping and profound, may we not have erred in relying upon violence? If violence is proven the incorrect policy, what about its city cousins, intimidation and repression, which are nothing but kid glove violence? If a custom a century old may be upset by a few resolute and poised college students in lunch rooms, at lunch counters, is it entitled to survive elsewhere? And, finally, if Negro brains could conceive and execute so unorthodox and masterly a campaign, could not such brains be profitably utilized in all other phases of Southern life?

I must state quite frankly that I doubt that many white Southerners at the moment are asking such questions. But the questions are inherent in the situation. They will be asked by increasing numbers. They demand answer. We cannot forever deafen out ears to them. And the ultimate answer will mean the employment of full Negro skill and talent and ability everywhere in the South.

So, in a social revolution of first magnitude, origination and direction have come from the Negro community. This is as it should be.

But -- and this is the second point upon which I wish to comment -- in some instances, particularly in North Carolina, white college students and professors have marched with Negroes on the picket line, sat with them on the lunch stools and gome with them to jail. If leadership has

been the Negroes', loyal support has come from the whites. I think you may search Southern history without uncovering a precedent.

As a white man, I hope you will let me point out that the white students and professors could have eaten anywhere. To fight another's battles requires character in superlative degree.

May I dilate a bit upon this idea. I do so because it marks a long leap forward in men's relations with each other.

Macaulay said that "If the law of gravity had disturbed vested rights it would not be accepted to this day."

Disraeli remarked that any noble lady of England would be more concerned about pinching her little finger in a door than about the drowning of 10,000 Chinese in a flood of the Yangtze River.

And, finally, Tolstoi said: "The poor are hungry and we feed them; the poor are naked and we clothe them; the poor need shelter and we put roofs over their heads. But we won't get off their backs."

These fairly cynical and somber reflections upon human nature were made by highly intelligent and civilized men. They proclaim man's determination to preserve a favored status for himself and his unconcern with the plight of others. No one may question the legitimacy of the observations.

And yet --

In significant instances white college students and professors, representing many institutions, have leaped into the struggle. They sought voluntarily to give up their preferred status -- their vested right, if you please -- and they showed the deepest concern with the plight of others.

So the lunch counter struggle was lifted above the ruck of an interracial brawl. It was not whites versus Negroes; it was the decency of whites and Negroes versus indecency and injustice.

The great law-giver Solon was asked when there would be perfect justice in Athens. He replied "When those who have not suffered injustice are

as indignant as those who have." If he were alive today hw would find in the lunch counter episode solid proof that the South begins to grope toward that high ideal.

Yet, of course, the South is a region of contrasts. (Nature seems to deligh in producing contrasts.) So, in the interest of historical accuracy, it must be pointed out that this evidence of groping toward the ideal of complete justice exists side by side with evidence of retreat from all conception of justice, indeed retreat from civilization itself.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the lunch counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings, I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to re-produce the dwarfed and stunted eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they, too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life, The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breath and depth, -- that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter and better world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

Speech-At VAACP

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File

NO HIDING PLACE

I've repeatedly been asked to talk about "the personal difficulties which white Virginians meet when they make a stand for integration." For a long time, I ignored these requests, feeling that such difficulties are "irrelevant and immaterial". But, as they persisted, I finally concluded that there really is a need for this information. After all, it's important that you know why more white people don't speak out at this time.

When so many minority members are courageously raising their voices, it's hard to excuse the silence of good-willed whites. Colored citizens understandably conclude that their so-called good will is merely a pose.

With some, of course, it may be a pose. There are all kinds of people in both groups. But all the data which I have been able to collect indicates that the large majority of educated whites, at least, sincerely sympathize with the colored citizens' struggle for recognition, and would like to give him a hand at some point along the line.

Some may not see clearly the logic of all his demands, and some are prepared to argue concerning which ones should be conceded to first, but a truly large number would like to go to bat for minority rights at some point, and they say so privately, not only to colored, but also to white friends.

Why don't they say it openly? I'll try to explain, for I want you to see that your white brothers really can be your brothers in their hearts and still not join their voices to yours.

We all know what courage it takes for a Negro to speak out against the existing order. He lays himself open to many embarrassments. He often risks antagonizing his employer. In some communities, he is even threatened with bodily harm. In addition to these dangers, he must often suffer heartaches and discouragements as a result of the fact that unthinking, run-of-the-mill citizens are always dead weights for any leader who advocates change, no matter how much that change may benefit themselves. The whole human family is indebted to our colored heroes and heroines for their example in setting right above personal welfare.

But the minority member who makes an open stand for integration has one comfort to sustain him on his difficult road. This is the knowledge that he is giving voice to the official position of his group. He knows that he can count on the approval and moral support of his press and of all the outstanding leaders and intellects in the colored world.

He knows that if he is subjected to public embarrassments or reprisals, they will come from outsiders, from near strangers, who do not hold his heart strings in their hands. Among his own, he will often be thought of as a champion. His clubs will

commend him. His community on the whole will be kind, even though some individuals may not take much interest in his efforts. If he suffers greatly as a result of his brave stand, correspondingly great will be the sympathy and recognition of his friends. He will rightly be made to feel that he is a valued member of their society.

But the white citizen who defends minority rights does not have this comfort. He runs the same risks which his colored brothers run. His job is often endangered, his life is sometimes threatened. And discouragement hangs equally heavy on heart. But unlike his colored brothers, he has no hiding place. For his own people are the ones whom he has chosen to oppose, and many disapprove of this who approve the Negroes' stand.

This audience is composed almost entirely of Americans who are prepared to make a stand for what they believe. Yet, even among such upright and courageous citizens, there may not be one who would care to put himself in the relationship to his family, friends and organizations which a white Southerner holds when he makes a stand against the official position of his group.

Suppose you believed that if you raised your voice to express your convictions, you would grieve your parents, embarrass your sisters and brothers and endanger your children's social acceptance? Suppose you expected your own people to receive you as a traitor and as a threat to their welfare? Suppose you anticipated that your clubs, instead of commending you, would feel

obliged to apologize for you, and would consider your membership a blot on their good name? Suppose on Sunday you could look forward to curt nods and stiff smiles from such fellow churchmen as could summon sufficient Christianity, and the careful avoidance of those who could not summon it?

Suppose you believed that any insults or humiliations which you suffered as a result of your stand would be met, not with sympathetic indignation by your neighbors, but with titters and such comments as "Maybe that will teach him!" Suppose you had noticed as the attacks on you grew hotter that many of your friends, instead of rallying round, found more and more excuses for knowing you less and less well?

Suppose you could expect that in your community ugly stories would be circulated -- stories that you were in the pay of communists, that you spent your evenings in disgraceful pleasures, or any other invention which would destroy your prestige? Ask yourselves, honestly, are you sure that many of you would raise your voices then?

Yet, this is a broad outline of what a white citizen expects when he takes a stand for racial equality against the proclaimed, official position of the white South.

Does he get what he expects? Not always, and not immediately. But this is what he expects, nevertheless. And with good reason.

It's true that a well-respected white person can do nearly twice as much to further integration as he thinks he can before

the sky over his world begins to fall. My sky was so long in falling that I was beginning to believe that Southern skies just didn't fall any more. I went around urging other liberals to move forward more boldly, assuring them that it was safer than they thought.

None of them paid much attention to me, though; and, on the day that my sky fell, they were glad they hadn't.

Some of you may be thinking, "But she just said that the majority of educated whites would sincerely like to go to bat for minority rights. Can't a person who actually does go to bat count on the enthusiastic applause of this majority?"

Unfortunately, no. Why? Because nearly all those who do not themselves speak out maintain that silence is not only the safest, but also the most effective policy. Bringing the issue into the open, they will tell you, only arouses the opposition and makes matters far worse.

Is this merely an excuse for not exposing themselves? With some, it may be that. But many sincerely believe it and are prepared to fight for their conviction that it only stirs up trouble to make an open stand for integration in the South. As a result, the liberal who attempts to raise his voice for what he believes is immediately told by other liberals that he is doing more harm than good.

In short, a white Southerner who speaks out for equality can expect the approval of nobody in his own group except those

few others who also speak out. He's regarded as a public enemy by liberals as well as by the real opposition. Practically nobody encourages him. Almost everybody calls him a fool.

Do you begin to see why it takes very much more than a sense of common justice, normal good will toward men and ordinary courage for a white man to raise his voice for equality in the South?

"Oh, but the love and appreciation of Negroes must compensate you for all you endure!" Northern friends often say. It certainly would, if it were forthcoming. For love is something which is precious to us all, and appreciation can put new heart in us in the face of almost any disaster. But I don't have to tell this audience that, as a result of generations of betrayal, it's nearly impossible for Southern Negroes to trust a Southern white. No matter what he does or what he suffers, a white liberal is never established beyond suspicion in the hearts of the minority. He's never fully accepted. He's always on trial.

You know and I know that a white Southerner can fully expend himself for years in a fight for human rights and then if he does or says one thing which is misunderstood, he will be classified as a phony overnight.

Were it not for the few rare souls in each group to whom, like himself, neither race nor personal gain have any meaning, human fellowship would be beyond the reach of a vocal white liberal.

If I have succeeded in making you understand why so few

speak out, some of you may be wondering why <u>any</u> do. That is the real mystery. I'm afraid I can't solve it for you entirely, but I'll tell you what little I know.

I can tell you that I personally couldn't do it if God were not more real to me than man. I personally couldn't, if I did not regard myself as totally expendable. I couldn't do it if I didn't think of myself as no more than a grain of sand, as virtually of no importance beside the truth I uphold.

I couldn't do it if I did not have a vast and unshakable faith in mankind. For me, it is necessary to believe that the people whose rights I defend are made of such stuff that even those who now oppose them will be enriched by their total liberation. For me, the conviction is necessary that even those who now bitterly oppose us would be with us if they knew what we know and understood what we understand.

I personally could not raise a finger or voice a syllable if I did it in anger or in hate. I could not endure the solitary road, the vast isolation which presses in, if I did not integrate myself through my own love of God and of man.

For those of you who read my article, "Southerners Will <u>Like</u> Integration", which appeared in the SATURDAY EVENING POST last February, I must say that it was this article which made the sky over my world fall. I'm prepared to stand by everything I said in this article except the last line, in which I assured liberals that it's perfectly safe to speak out.

There is, I still insist, far more good will in the South than most of us suspect. We must not make the mistake of thinking that the large majority which appears to oppose is really solid in its opposition. For many, many in their ranks are moving quietly toward integration at every point where they see the chance. Our real enemies are thunderously noisy, but fewer than either we -- or they -- think.

I urge you to wipe from your hearts any belief that white people are acting differently in this situation than colored people would act in their place. For we are all just people together, each acting as people act. There are some individuals just like yourself in the white group, you may be sure. And when you say to yourself, "If I were white, I would do thus and so," you may be certain that either there <u>are</u> white people who, unknown to you, are doing just that, or else that you probably wouldn't actually do as you now think you would.

I personally believe that in reality we have only one enormous common enemy whose name is FEAR, and that if only we could destroy FEAR, both in ourselves and those who oppose us, we would find that all our disputes and conflicts automatically disappear.

But how can we destroy the power of so mighty a dictator as FEAR? There is a way.

We are sometimes advised to route out fear in ourselves by replacing it with anger. Does this work? Yes, for a while

it works very successfully. Anger does crowd aside fear, and none can dispute that it's better to be angry than afraid. But the success of anger has no roots.

The policy of anger boomerangs with tremendous force. For anger begets anger in others, and the acts of violence, which stem from their anger, turn again and beget new fear in us.

There's another way of destroying fear, one which gives us the power to move forward in confidence and in peace. I'm going to tell you a story from my own experience which I hope will show that by this means fear can be destroyed at its source.

Some of you may know that I was one of those who spoke in support of integration at the Public Education Hearing, which was held at the Mosque Theatre in Richmond, November of '54. Waiting for my turn, as I looked out over an audience of 2,000 people, most of whom were there because they violently opposed integration, I knew that I was too frightened to speak. Yet, I would soon be called and <u>must</u> speak. I thought of all the formulas for conquering platform fear and, one by one, they failed me. So I did at last what I should have done in the first place. I prayed for help.

Immediately, there came to me the thought, "If you concentrate on loving these people, you won't be afraid of them any more."

"But how can you love people you don't know?" I asked. And the thought came, "Think about their troubles and their virtues."

So I thought, "Everybody here has been in pain -- some of them in awful pain, such as I have never known. And all of them have at some time in their lives felt great fear, and great remorse, and great doubt, and sorrow, and numbing depression. And maybe many of them are enduring some of these torments even now."

And then I thought, "And everyone here loves someone, and everyone here seeks some light and seeks some better way of life, and has some virtue which I probably don't have."

When my turn came to speak, there was no fear left in me. I had a strange and good feeling of having dispelled my individual separateness, and of being somehow part of all the people there, no matter whether they were with me or against me.

The truth alone was now important to me, and I knew that I was no more than the channel through which it might come. So I spoke the truth as I saw it to an audience which was dear to my heart, and the Joy of the Lord was my strength.

Even after I stopped speaking, a feeling of freedom, detachment and love remained with me. And this was fortunate, for, as I left the auditorium, I suffered a violent, face-to-face attack. A woman, white around the mouth with rage, stepped in front of me and barred my way. She hoarsely demanded to know why I was trying to "mongrelize my race."

As I looked into her hate-blazing eyes, I felt a surge of love which was not my own flow through me and envelop us

both. I felt suddenly as close to this woman who despised me as if we had been dear friends and had shared everything for many years of close companionship. I knew just how heart-torn and desperate she felt, and I wanted only to help.

In that moment, I knew that one could face an angry, murderous mob without even the beginning of fear if one could love them like this. I knew that Jesus' admonition, "Love your enemies", is the most practical suggestion ever offered, for love consumes fear like a flame and make true defeat impossible.

I always close my talks with a portion of the prayer of St. Francis of Assissi. Please join me in praying it aloud.

O Lord,
Make me an instrument
Of thy peace.
Where there is hatred
Let me sow love;
Where there is injury,
Pardon;
Where there is discord,
Union;
Where there is doubt,
Faith.

O Divine Master,
Grant that I
Shall not so much seek
To be consoled
As to console;
To be understood
As to understand;
To be loved
As to love.

AMEN.